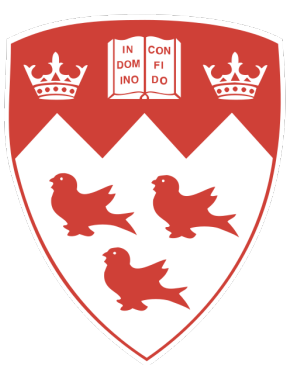
Sri Mulyati

The Educational Role of the Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya

With Special Reference to Suryalaya

McGill UNIVERSITY



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The Educational Role of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* with Special Reference to Suryalaya

Sri Mulyati

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Arts
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
Montreal, Canada
2002

Abstract

Title : THE EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF THE *ṬARĪQA QĀDIRIYYA NAQSHBANDIYYA* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SURYALAYA

Author : Sri Mulyati

Department : The Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University

Degree : Doctor of Philosophy

This dissertation surveys the historical and intellectual development of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* (TQN), the amalgamated Sufi order founded in Indonesia by Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas (d.1875). After a brief recapitulation of the progress of Sufi orders in and beyond Java, it looks at the life and activities of Shaykh Sambas, and analyzes in particular his work *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* situating it against the *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* sources that inspired it. The focus then switches to the transmission of the TQN doctrines by Sambas's disciples, especially 'Abd al-Karīm Banten (b. 1840), and the gradual dispersal of the order throughout the archipelago, which resulted in the formation of branches that maintained separate existences but largely similar teachings. This leads into a discussion of the TQN of Suryalaya (west Java), one of the most significant branches of the TQN in present-day Indonesia, although some attention is given also to other TQN centers, such as Mranggen and Rejoso in central and east Java, and to the writings of *shaykh*s in these regions. Although the main teachings of the *ṭarīqa* have remained constant,

local *shaykh*s have some cases developed in response to local circumstances; thus we find in the case of the TQN of Suryalaya, that its *shaykh*, Kiyai Haji Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin (better known as Abah Anom) has concentrated on *dhikr* as an educational tool and as a means towards healing young drug addicts and victims of other mental illnesses. The spiritual and social benefits of TQN teachings came across clearly in Abah Anom's work *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr,* which contains his views on a variety of mystical subjects, and which is analyzed in the final chapter. There we find that Abah Anom preserves TQN teachings intact while stressing some of its aspects and de-emphasizing others that preoccupied the order's founder, such as the doctrine of *murāqaba.*

RÉSUMÉ

Titre : LE RÔLE ÉDUCATIF DE LA *ṬARĪQA QĀDIRIYYA NAQSHBANDIYYA* DE SURYALAYA.

Auteur : Sri Mulyati

Département : Institut des Études Islamiques, Université McGill.

Diplôme : Doctorat ès Philosophie

Cette thèse porte sur le développement historique et intellectuel de la *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* (TQN), un ordre sufi fondé en Indonésie par Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas (mort en 1875). À partir d'un bref aperçu de l'évolution de ces groupes mystiques à Java et ailleurs en Indonésie, cette étude se penchera sur la vie ainsi que sur les activités de Shaykh Sambas et analysera l'ouvrage *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* face aux sources *qādiriyya* et *naqshbandiyya* qui l'ont inspiré. Il sera aussi question de la transmission des doctrines de la TQN par les disciples de Sambas, particulièrement 'Abd al-Karīm Banten (né en 1840) ainsi que l'expansion graduelle de l'ordre mystique à travers de l'archipel indonésien et, qui résultera par l'apparition de nouveaux chapitres indépendants dont l'enseignement sera similaire. Le cours de cette recherche se poursuivra par un débat sur la TQN de Suryalaya (ouest de Java), un des plus importants chapitres de la TQN au sein de l'Indonésie actuelle, tout en ne négligeant pas d'autres centres de la TQN, tels que ceux de Mranggen et Rejoso ainsi

que les écrits des *shaykh*s de ces régions. Alors que les principaux enseignements de la *Ṭarīqa* demeurèrent constants, les *shaykh*s locaux ont, dans certains cas, adapté ces mêmes enseignements aux circonstances régionales. Ainsi, on pourra retrouver l'exemple de la TQN de Suryalaya, dont le *shaykh*, Kiyai Haji Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin (mieux connu sous le surnom d'Abah Anom) a concentré son enseignement sur le *dhikr* comme outil pédagogique et comme moyen de guérison pour les jeunes affligés par la dépendance à la drogue et autres maladies mentales. Les bénéfices spirituels et sociaux des enseignements de la TQN apparaissent clairement dans l'oeuvre *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* d'Abah Anom dont les points de vues sur de multiples sujets mystiques seront analysés dans le dernier chapitre de cette thèse. C'est ainsi que l'on pourra conclure qu'Abah Anom a préservé intacts les enseignements de la TQN en insistant sur certains aspects et en minimisant d'autres qui, pourtant, préoccupaient les fondateurs de la *Ṭarīqa*, dont la doctrine de la *murāqaba*.

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Notes on Transliteration

This study adopts the system of Arabic transliteration used by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. Indonesian personal names and terms derived from Arabic words are, when first used in the text, accompanied by the Arabic original in brackets. The same treatment is applied to other terms that originally derive from other vernaculars, such as Javanese and Sundanese. All Arabic words that have been adopted into Indonesian however will be written according to their Indonesian spelling, without indicating their Arabic diacritical signs; i.e., *Nahdlatul Ulama*, instead of *Nahḍat al-'Ulamā'*; *Pesantren Darul Ulum*, instead of *Dār al-'Ulūm*. Only in a few cases is the same term written in different ways such as, the word *ṭarīqa*, which is transliterated in Indonesian in different ways: *tarekat, thoriqot,* etc. Foreign words [other than English] are italicized.

For the benefit of readers unfamiliar with the Indonesian language, it should be pointed out that personal names or words in the titles of books and articles originating from prior to the 1972 reform of Bahasa Indonesian's spelling system will use the old spellings, i.e., ch, dj, j, nj, sj, tj, instead of the new system, kh, j, y, ny, sy, c.

The transliteration table from Arabic to English and Indonesian is as follows:

Arabic	English	Indonesian
ب	b	b
ت	t	t

ث	th	ts
ج	j	j
ح	ḥ	h
خ	kh	kh or ch
د	d	d
ذ	dh	dz
ر	r	r
ز	z	z
س	s	s
ش	sh	sy
ص	ṣ	sh
ض	ḍ	dl
ط	ṭ	th
ظ	ẓ	dh
ع	‘	‘
غ	gh	gh
ف	f	f
ق	q	q
ك	k	k
ل	l	l
م	m	m
ن	n	n
ه	h	h

و	w	w
ي	y	y

Long vowels are indicated by placing a macron above the characters: ā (ا), ī (اِيْ), and ū (اُوْ). Diphthongs are written thus: ay (ـَيْ); aw (ـَوْ). The *nisba* adjective (ـِيّ) before *tā' marbūṭa* (ـِيّة) or other vowels is written *iyya*, while *tā' marbūṭa* is transliterated as " a " ("at" in conjunctional form (*iḍāfa*), such as in *Naqshbandiyya*, and *murāqabat al-aḥadiyya.* The two Persian letters ژ and گ are transliterated zh and g, respectively.

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List of Abbreviations

BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
EI	The Encyclopaedia of Islam. 8 vols. Ed. M. Th. Houtsma et al. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1913-1936.
EI 2	The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New ed. 10 vols (to date). Ed. H.A.R. Gibb et al. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954-.
ER	The Encyclopaedia of Religion. Ed. Mircea Eliade et. al. 15 vols. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987.
GAL	Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Second edition. 2 vols. 1943-1949. Supplement 3 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937-1942.
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Institute of Islamic Studies).
IAILM	Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah.
ISIM	International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World.
JATMN	*Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh An-Nahdliyyah* [Ara. *Jam'iyya Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara al-Nahḍiyya*].
JATMI	*Jam'iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia* [Ara. *Jam'iyya Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara al-Indonīsī*].
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JPHS	Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JSAH	Journal of Southeast Asian History.
JQS	Journal of Qur'anic Studies.
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
MW	The Muslim World.
PP	Pondok Pesantren.
REI	Revue des études islamiques.

SI	Studia Islamika (Jakarta).
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
TQN	*Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya (wa) Naqshbandiyya.*

Introduction

1. The Subject

The Sufi brotherhood (*ṭarīqa*) known as *Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* is perhaps the most active and widespread of all such groups in Indonesia today. And yet despite this fact, it is little studied; in fact, no comprehensive, in-depth study has ever been made of its origins, thought or development. One reason for this lack of attention may be the comparatively recent origin and brief history of the *ṭarīqa*, founded in the nineteenth century by Aḥmad Khaṭīb (d.1875) of Sambas, Kalimantan. Perhaps another reason is the fact that the *Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* has a compound provenance. The fact that it draws on two distinct spiritual traditions makes study of this brotherhood more complex than is usually the case with most others. Whatever the exact reasons, the reality is that in-depth historical studies of its establishment and development are few.

Dutch scholars have shown some interest in the subject of Indonesian Sufism. More often than not, however, they have chosen to avoid focusing on the historical development or normative teachings of a specific Sufi order, preferring instead to offer general surveys of the subject. The most important research in this area was that of Snouck Hurgronje[1] and his successors such as G.F. Pijper,[2] G.W.J.

[1] Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century (1889); The Achehnese, 2 vols. (1893-94). However, these two books only discuss the Sufi orders very briefly, devoting only a few pages to the subject.

[2] "De opkomst der Tidjaniyyah op Java," in G.F. Pijper, Fragmenta Islamica (Leiden: Brill, 1934), 97-121.

Drewes,[3] Ph.S. van Ronkel,[4] C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze,[5] P.J. Voorhoeve,[6] R. Roolvink[7] and P.J. Zoetmulder,[8] most of whom wrote in Dutch, and occasionally in English. Hurgronje's students D.A. Rinkes,[9] B.J.O. Schrieke[10] and Hendrik Kraemer[11] also wrote in passing on Sufism and Sufi orders in Indonesia. However most Dutch scholars were interested more generally in Indonesian Islam,[12] as were

[3] Drewes wrote at least 19 works on Indonesian Sufism, but not on any specific Sufi order. See Martin van Bruinessen's article, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," Die Welt des Islams 38 (1998): 210.

[4] Three articles written by Ronkel: "Het heiligdom te Oelakan," TBG 56, (1914): 281-316; "Een Maleisch getuigenis over den weg des Islams in Sumatra," BKI 75 (1919): 363-378; and "Raniri's Maleisch geschrift: exposé der religies," BKI 102 (1943): 461-480.

[5] Samsu'l-Din van Pasai. Bijdragen tot de kennis der Sumatraansche mystiek (Leiden [diss.], 1945); "Nur al-Din al-Raniri als bestrijder der wugudiyya," BKI 104 (1948): 337-411.

[6] There are seven articles on Indonesian Sufism written by Voorhoeve, particularly on Rānīrī and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf. See Bruinessen's article, " Studies of Sufism and Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 216.

[7] "The Answer of Pasai," JMBRAS 38, (1965): 124-139; "Indonesia: vi,- Literatures," EI 2, vol. 3, 1230-1235.

[8] "Pantheisme en monisme in de Javaansche soeloek-literatuur" (Leiden [diss.], 1935). English translation: Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994).

[9] In addition to his dissertation, "Abdoerraoef van Singkel. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de mystiek op Sumatra en Java" [diss. Leiden, 1909], there are seven other writings of his on Indonesian Sufism listed in Bruinessen's article, "Studies of Sufism and Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 214.

[10] "Het boek van Bonang" [diss . Leiden, 1916]; "Bijdragen tot de bibliografie van de huidige godsdienstige verschijnselen ter Sumatra's Westkust," TBG 59 (1921): 249-325.

[11] "Een Javaansche primbon uit de zestiende eeuw: Inleiding, vertaling en aanteekeningen" [diss. Leiden, 1921].

[12] See B.J. Boland and I. Farjon, Islam in Indonesia: A Bibliographical Survey (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1983), 1-56 for more general overview of Dutch scholarship on Indonesian Islam.

scholars from other countries, with few exceptions -- William G. Shellabear,[13] R.L. Archer,[14] and A.H. Johns[15] falling into this latter category.

As a matter of fact, Indonesian and Malaysian scholarship on the Sufi orders began relatively late, specifically, in the 1960s, when there appeared Tudjimah's [16] and S.M.N. al-Attas's[17] works on Hamzah Fanṣūrī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī. Ahmad Daudy[18] too has written on Ranīrī, and has criticized the mysticism of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn Sumatrani. Abdul Aziz Dahlan,[19] in his turn, has written about and defended the latter against his detractors. A study of the learned 18th-century Sufi 'Abd al-Ṣamad Palimbānī has been completed by M. Chatib Quzwain,[20] while H. Wan Mohammad Shaghir Abdullah, a prolific Malay scholar, has contributed several works using an approach that is in keeping with the traditional Islamic rather than

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[13] "An Exposure of Counterfeiters," MW 20 (1930): 359-370; "A Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices," in The MacDonald Presentation Volume (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1933), 351-370.

[14] "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," JMBRAS 15 (1937): 1-126.

[15] See the list of his works in my bibliography. The most important of John's writings appeared in 1953, 1955, 1957, and 1965.

[16] See her study entitled "Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifa al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān" (thesis, Faculty of Literature, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 1961) and Syekh Yusuf Makasar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya (Jakarta: Indonesia University Press, 1997). Another work on Shaykh Yusuf Makasar was written by Nabilah Lubis. See her book, Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia (Bandung: Mizan, 1995).

[17] There are six works of al-Attas listed by Bruinessen, all written between 1963 and 1986. See the latter's "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 207-208. Al-Attas wrote sympathetic studies of both Hamzah and Ranīrī, emphasizing that the latter also expounded a form of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and endeavoring to explain this doctrine as compatible with Islamic orthodoxy.

[18] See his work entitled Allah dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Nuruddin ar-Raniry (Jakarta: CV. Rajawali, 1983).

[19] "Tasawwuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani" (Ph.D. dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 1992). A summary of this study was published in Ulumul Qur'an vol. 3, no.3 (1992): 98-113.

[20] Mengenal Allah: Suatu Studi mengenai Ajaran Tasawwuf Syaikh 'Abdus-Samad al-Palimbani (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985).

the orientalist style.[21] Finally, two Indonesian scholars of different backgrounds, the religious scholar Abu Bakar Atjeh and the social historian Sartono Kartodirdjo, have contributed to this body of scholarship several important historical surveys of the Sufi orders that are still frequently used as works of reference.[22]

This generation was followed by a group of younger Indonesian scholars trained in the 1970s, who undertook descriptive sociological studies of particular Sufi orders, or of individual teachers and their disciples.[23] Thus in the 1980s the Sufi orders received more attention from new urban-based and trained scholars, such as Djohan Effendi, Zamakhsyari Dhofier and Moeslim Abdurrahman. Their works were published mainly by the government and have provided insightful observations on the social and political dimensions of *ṭarīqa* activities. This approach was also followed by two European scholars: Werner Kraus and Martin van Bruinessen.[24]

Other approaches to the subject have been historical and political, as well as philological in nature. Scholars such as Anthony Johns, A.C. Milner and M.C. Ricklefs best represent these approaches. To understand properly the 'indigenous' mystical tradition (which has a strong Islamic element in it, to say the least), a

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[21] Thirteen of his works are listed by Bruinessen. See the latter's "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 206-207.

[22] H. Aboebakar Atjeh, Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat (Uraian Tentang Mistik) (1966), reprinted as Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat dan Tasawuf (Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press, 1980); see also his Pengantar Sejarah Sufi dan Tasawwuf (Solo: Ramadhani, 1984 (first published in 1962)). Sartono Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel. A Case Study of Social Movement in Indonesia ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1966) and his Protest Movements in Rural Java (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975). See Bruinessen's article on "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 199.

[23] All of them BA, MA and doctoral theses submitted to various IAINs

[24] Martin van Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 200.

combination of anthropological, historical, philological and islamological approaches is needed. One question is how Sufi metaphysics became indigenized, and how in turn it further islamized Javanese mysticism. This is what Indonesian scholars such as Soebardi and Simuh have attempted to explain in their works.[25]

It is fair to say that in the period before Indonesian independence (1945), Dutch scholars monopolized the study of Sufism. Although their numbers have decreased since then, they continue to be influential. One example of the continuing Dutch tradition is Martin van Bruinessen's work on the *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya,* the first study on a specific *ṭarīqa* to be published in the Indonesian language.[26] The brief discussion of the TQN in this book served as the starting point of my research. Research and writing on the Sufi orders have subsequently flourished and developed rapidly -- a phenomenon that Bruinessen describes elsewhere.[27]

Among those who have written on various aspects of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya and the TQN we may include the following writers: Sekti Ambarwani,[28]

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[25] Soebakin Soebardi, The Book of Cabolek: A Contribution to the Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975). Among Simuh's works are the following: "Aspek Mistik Islam Kejawen dalam 'Wirid Hidayat Jati,'" in A.R. Hasan (ed.), Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia: Telaah atas Karya-karya Klasik (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), 59-75. Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita: Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Hidayat Jati (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 1988). Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa (Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya, 1995).

[26] His work is entitled Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1992). As mentioned by Hamid Algar states in his preface, this work is a precious contribution to the history of Islam in Indonesia, but it is also as a research model on the *Naqshbandiyya* in other places. However, the work pays little attention to teachings developed by Indonesian *shaykhs*; it is more a historical survey, using geographical and sociological approaches. The ritual and spiritual techniques of the Naqshbandis, furthermore, are given only slight attention in chapter five, pp. 76-88.

[27] Martin van Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 194.

[28] "Penanggulangan Remaja Nakal oleh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya" (B.A. thesis, Universitas Padjadjaran (Bandung), 1982).

Hafidz Dasuki,[29] Bachtiar Djamily,[30] E. Usman Effendy,[31] Yulius Fahmy,[32] Harun Nasution,[33] Emo Kastama,[34] Herdi Saleh,[35] Soebakin Soebardi,[36] R.H. Su'dan,[37] Unang Sunardjo,[38]Ahmad Supardi,[39] Sandisi and Ibin Kutibin Tajudin.[40] Most of

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[29] "Biografi K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin" (Laporan Penelitian). Jakarta: Pusat Litbang Lektur Agama Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama Departemen Agama R.I., 1989/1990).

[30] Dari Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya ke Ka'batullah (Bogor: Umi Hajjah Mar Ibrahim, 1990).

[31] "Perawatan Pecandu Narkotika melalui Pendidikan Keagamaan di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya" (B.A. thesis, IAIN Sunan Gunung Djati (Bandung), 1981/1982).

[32] "Peranan Pesantren Suryalaya dalam Rehabilitasi Korban Narkotika di Pondok Remaja Inabah" (B.A. thesis, Universitas Muhammadiyyah (Jakarta), 1986).

[33] Harun Nasution has edited Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah Sejarah Asal-Usul dan Perkembangannya (Tasikmalaya: Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah, 1990), a work that has been crucial to my research. Among the valuable contributions to be found in this book we may point to: Zurkani Jahya, "Asal-Usul Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah dan Perkembangannya," pp. 55-88. Ahmad Sanusi, "Abah Sepuh dan Pembentukan TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," pp. 89-109; Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," pp. 111-194; Zainal Abidin Anwar and Juhaya S. Praja, "Pengaruh TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya di dalam dan di luar Negeri," pp. 197-222; Arief. Ichwanie AS, "Berbagai Pandangan dan Berita Tentang TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," pp. 225-254; and many others.

[34] First research report entitled INABAH Suatu Metoda Penyadaran Korban Narkotika Dengan Menggunakan Zikrulloh Thariqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat, Indonesia, n.d. ; whereas the second report entitled Studi Pendalaman Mengenai Metode Inabah, Dalam Upaya Penyembuhan Penderita Ketagihan Zat Adiktif Melalui Proses Didik Menurut Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1994).

[35] "Pembinaan Mental Remaja Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika di Pondok Pembinaan Mental Remaja Inabah I Desa Cibeureum Kecamatan Panjalu Kabupaten Ciamis" (B.A. thesis, IKIP (Bandung) , 1987).

[36] "The Pesantren Tarikat of Pesantren Suryalaya in West Java," in Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana on his Seventieth Birthday, S. Udin (ed.) (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1973), 215-236.

[37] "Penyembuhan Penderita Kecanduan Narkotika di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya" in Basith (Bahasan Sinar Tharikat Januari (1988): 15-17.

[38] Naskah Buku Pesantren Suryalaya dalam Perjalanan Sejarahnya (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bhakti, 1985).

[39] "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Nilai-nilai Agama tentang Pemeliharaan Lingkungan Hidup di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya" (B.A. thesis, IAIN Sunan Gunung Djati (Bandung), 1981).

these have discussed the history and the Islamic education in the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, the life of Abah Anom, and the Pondok Inabah. In recent years there have also been several BA theses written on the TQN and its development in certain cities or districts in central and east Java. The most recent study on the teachings of the TQN was completed by Kharisudin Aqib.[41]

2. Significance of the present study

Despite the wealth of general studies on Sufism in Indonesia indicated above, not much of an attempt has been made to provide a critical and comparative analysis of any Sufi order (*ṭarīqa)* based on the available primary sources. According to Martin van Bruinessen,[42] the Dutch scholarship in this field has long remained inaccessible to the wider scholarly community, including Indonesians. The reason for this situation is that Dutch lost its position as a language of learning after Indonesian independence. German and French scholars, such as Werner Kraus,[43] Denys Lombard[44] and Henri Chambert-Loir,[45] have furthermore done little in this

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[40] Sandisi wrote "Metode Pendidikan Islam di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya" (B.A. thesis, Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah (Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya), 1991); whereas Kutibin wrote "Konsep-konsep yang ada Hubungan dengan Psikiatri yang ada Dalam Islam dan Cara Pengobatan Para Ulama Islam di Jawa Barat" (B.A. thesis, Universitas Padjadjaran (Bandung), 1986).

[41] Aqib's book is entitled Al-Hikmah Memahami Teosofi Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah. This work emphasizes the works written by TQN *shaykh*s in east Java (Surabaya: Dunia Ilmu, 1998. rev. Jan. 2000).

[42] Martin van Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 192.

[43] Four studies written by Kraus are listed in van Bruinessen's article, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," 212-213.

[44] Three articles written by Lombard: Le sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1967); "Les tarékat en Insulinde," in Les ordres mystiques en Islam, ed. A. Popovic & G. Veinstein, 139-163 (Paris: EHESS, 1985); "Tarékat et entrepris à Sumatra: l'exemple de Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan (c.1830-1926)," in Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle

particular area of study. The Indonesian work on Sufism on the other hand, has rapidly been increasing, yet it is less known to a broader audience for the simple fact that it is written in the Indonesian language. The present work will therefore be a contribution to the study of Indonesian Sufi orders in the English language.

In addition, study of the TQN recommends itself for a number of significant reasons. First, while Pesantren Suryalaya shares characteristics with other traditional Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, it has its own unique properties. Its position as the center of a Sufi order, the *Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*, makes it unique. Secondly the educational system differentiates it from other *pesantrens* due to the emphasis it places on mystical teaching. Also unique is the role of the figure of Abah Anom as the head of the *pesantren*.

Among the main primary sources of our study is the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, an Arabic work of K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin (Ara. Aḥmad Ṣāḥib al-Wafā Tāj al-'Ārifīn), better known as Abah Anom of Suryalaya. This work relates directly to the topic of our dissertation. Of equal importance is the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas, the founder of the TQN. We shall examine here the manuscripts and the printed editions of both sources carefully to reveal the foundations of TQN's teaching and its development. This approach to the sources has not been applied before. In addition, we shall also take note of the development of the teachings of the order in central and east Java, through a close reading of the Arabic, Malay and

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d'un ordre mystique musulman, ed. M. Gabrieau, A. Popovic & T. Zarcone (Istanbul: Isis, 1990), 707-715.

[45] "Abdussamad al-Falimbani sebagai ilmuwan Jawi," in Sayr al-Sālikīn [transcription of a ms. of 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani's work] (Banda Aceh: Museum Aceh, 1985-1986), v-xvi

Javanese works of Shaykh Muslih of Mranggen and Kiyai Romly Tamim, who spread the TQN doctrines in those regions, respectively.

This dissertation aims to answer the following questions: 1. How has the TQN come into being and developed since its foundation, and how has the order been sustained? 2. What is the basis of its teachings, especially as derived from the founder's work, *Fatḥ al-'Arifīn* ? 3. Finally, how have the TQN's teachings developed in terms of their implementation in the field, and especially with respect to the order's educational role in Pesantren Suryalaya?

In sum, this study attempts to explain the educational role of the TQN of Suryalaya, not only in terms of practical, but also spiritual instruction. For example, the method of *dhikr* created and implemented by Abah Anom as part of his effort to rehabilitate the victims of drug abuse and other mental disturbances reflects an institutionalized spirituality. This entire effort draws on both a modern sensibility to social problems, as well as the classical Islamic tradition. Thus, analyzing our subject requires both a quantitative and a qualitative approach, in addition to the other methodologies that I employ in the course of my research, such as the historical approach, the philological study of manuscripts, and descriptive and comparative analyses. These approaches will also allow us to analyze the normative values and teachings of the TQN tradition in different regions.

In order to achieve some of these objectives, I in fact paid a visit to Pesantren Suryalaya and its Pondok Inabah, as well as its branches in west Java, i.e., Tasikmalaya, Bandung, and Tangerang, during the months of January, February and March 1999. I also visited its branches in Jakarta, Surabaya and Lampung (Sumatra).

In Suryalaya, I met personally with Abah Anom, and conducted in-depth interviews with some of his *talqīn* agents, the *pesantren* committee members, and the officials of the Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya. I had the opportunity to attend their ritual ceremonies, *khataman* and *manakiban*, and also interviewed people involved in the Pondok Inabah, in particular the leader and the *anak bina* (residents) of the latter institution. However, I base most of my quantitative information on the Pondok Inabah on Dr. Emo Kastama's research.

To gather more information relating to the development of the TQN, specifically the role of *silsilas* in the order, I also visited Mranggen in central Java, and Rejoso Jombang in east Java. I likewise interviewed the heads of the *pesantrens* in these villages and have drawn on their writings.

3. Scope of the discussion

To present the TQN of Suryalaya, and especially its educational role, I have begun by introducing earlier general works on the Sufi orders in Indonesia, followed by a discussion of the research done specifically on the TQN of Suryalaya, and then relating these discussions to the gap of knowledge my dissertation will fill.

Chapter one will review the main Sufi brotherhoods that came to and developed in the Indonesian region. It briefly discusses their introduction and dissemination throughout the archipelago. This is followed by chapter two, which provides a historical account of the TQN from its establishment up to the present day. Included here is information on the founder of the TQN, his disciples, the political role of the TQN, and the establishment of the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh* (*An-*

Nahdliyyah). Chapter three deals with some Sufi terminology within the context of the TQN. This chapter also deals with the development of the order's normative teachings, based on primary sources, i.e., the works of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Kiyai Muslih and Kiyai Romly Tamim. Chapter four deals with the historical development of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, where the TQN carries out its mission to its adherents and the community at large. This chapter begins with the early history of *ṭarīqa* practices in the Tasikmalaya region, and continues with a profile of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. It also profiles its founder, Shaykh Abdullah Mubarok (Abah Sepuh), and its current leader, Abah Anom. After discussing the educational and social roles of the TQN, the chapter focuses on the dissemination of the TQN of Suryalaya overseas.

Chapter five discusses the teachings of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* as reflected in the works of Abah Anom. I begin with an investigation of the manuscript of his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, and continue with a summary of Abah Anom's works on Sufism, i.e., the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, *'Uqūd al-Jumān*, *Al-Akhlāq al-Karīma* and *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja.* This is followed by a discussion of certain mystical issues from Abah Anom's point of view, such as the *dhikr* of the TQN. In this subsection I investigate the types of *dhikr* used by the TQN, how the *dhikr* is performed, the explanation of the significance of *talqīn*, and *bay'a* in the *ṭarīqa*, and a description of subtle centers (*laṭā'if*). Following this part is an explanation of the spiritual exercises of the *ikhwān* of the TQN, which include daily, weekly and monthly spiritual exercises and a discussion of the necessity of the spiritual chain (*silsila*) of

the *ṭarīqa* and matters connected to it, such as the identification of some of the names in the chain, the analogy to *ḥadīth*-chains, spiritual links (i.e., the Uwaysī-relationship), *tawassul* and *rābiṭa*. We close this chapter with an analysis of the *dhikr* of the TQN, covering such topics as the essence of *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt*, the impact of *dhikr* on one's spiritual education, the explanation of how *dhikrullāh* strengthens one against evil influences, and some observations on Abah Anom's works. Finally, I offer a conclusion which constitutes a retrospective of the earlier discussions as a whole.

4. Notes on Sources

This study will be the first to investigate the history and background of the establishment of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*. It will provide biographical information on Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, and explore the intellectual tradition that he adopted, as well as his spiritual and intellectual relationship with the *'ulamā'* and Sufis of his era. His Malay work, *Fatḥ al-'Arifīn,* which I have examined in both manuscript and printed form, provides the essential material for this discussion. This is especially important, as information on this key figure in the history of the TQN is difficult to obtain. The same may be said for many in the TQN *silsila,* for which reason we were forced to turn to secondary sources in order to elucidate the TQN's history prior to Shaykh Sambas.

Nor are there many more primary sources for the TQN's history after the time of its foundation, although once again a fair amount of information is available on the order's doctrinal development. The primary sources in this category consist of

works written by TQN *shaykh*s themselves, either in manuscript form or in printed texts. Chief among these is the Arabic work *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, by the order's current head, Abah Anom. I have also examined this work in manuscript and printed form, and supplemented this with an interview with Abah Anom, which took place in Suryalaya during my field research there from February to March 1999. For other branches of the TQN I have drawn upon a variety of sources, including published and unpublished works by the *shaykh*s of various *pesantren*s, interviews with the some and personal observation. In studying the out reach activities of TQN Suryalaya, furthermore, I have benefited from interviews with Abah Anom's *talqīn* agents, as well as with the committee of the foundation (yayasan) of Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. Many publications from Suryalaya, such as magazines, *maklumat*, speeches or other writings on the TQN, have also served as important source materials for my research.

Chapter I

The Sufi Orders in Indonesia: A brief overview of the main *ṭarīqas.*

Islam is the religion of about two hundred million people in Southeast Asia, concentrated in a "Muslim archipelago" stretching from southern Thailand through Malaysia and Indonesia, and north to Brunei Darussalam and the southern Philippines. There are various theories offered by scholars to account for the appearance of Islam, and thus of Sufism, in the archipelago, with much of the debate focusing on which part of the region was first Islamized.[1] Conclusions are few, but three main stages have been detected: first, that the earliest contact dates from the year 674, and that it occurred in Malaysia; second, that Islam obtained a foothold in the coastal towns of the Malay Peninsula from the year 878; and third, that Islam began to achieve political power and effect large scale conversions in the area beginning in the year 1204.[2] S.Q. Fatimi concludes that Islam arrived with Muslim traders, noting that Arab traders had passed through Malaysian ports on their way to Cathay since pre-Islamic times. When larger scale conversion took place in the

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[1] Thomas Walker Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith (Lahore: Ashraf Printing Press, 1979), 364. Chinese sources mention the establishment of Arab and perhaps other Muslim settlements on the west coast of Sumatra as early as 54 A.H./674 A.D. See also S.Q. Fatimi, Islam Comes to Malaysia (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 38. The oldest evidence of the presence of Islam in Java is dated 1082 A.D., the year found on the gravestone of Fāṭima at Leran, east Java.

[2] S.Q. Fatimi, Islam Comes to Malaysia, 69.

thirteenth century, Sufis appeared on the scene with their missionary zeal and an eclectic interpretation of Islam that proved readily acceptable to the Malaysians.[3]

Historically, the presence of Islam in Thailand can be traced to the Sukhotai era (13th Century). During the subsequent Ayuthayan period, however, Muslims enjoyed a dominant position. Therefore "the tendency to portray Thailand as being overwhelmingly Buddhist in character and composition has tended to overshadow the role of its non-Buddhist minorities."[4] The Thai kingdom of Ayutthaya coincided with the period of the dominance of Muslim trade in Southeast Asia and the phenomenon of Islamization in the region, particularly in the Malay archipelago. This coincidence, no doubt, helped account for the presence and influence of the Muslims in the Kingdom of Ayutthaya. In addition, the *'ulamā'* networks operating between Indonesia and Thailand during that time, especially from the province of Pattani, show evidence of numerous intellectual linkages, especially in the domain of Sufism. This is not surprising since, as in Indonesia, the majority of Muslims in Thailand and Malaysia are Sunnis following the Shāfi'ite school, with a small number of Ḥanafi followers among the Haw Chinese and the Indian population.[5]

While Islam slowly made progress in mainland Southeast Asia, a parallel development saw the introduction of the faith into the Indonesian archipelago. This was mainly effected by Muslim traders following the trade routes that linked the

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[3] S.Q. Fatimi, Islam Comes to Malaysia, 99-100.

[4] Omar Farouk Bajunid,"The Muslims in Thailand: A Review," Southeast Asian Studies 37, no. 2 (1999): 210, 217.

[5] Omar Farouk Bajunid, "The Muslims in Thailand: A Review," 224. One of Shaykh Sambas's teachers was from Pattani, the famous Shaykh Daud al-Fatanī (d.1847).

Indian Ocean to the China Sea. Some scholars would date the first such contacts to as far back as early as the first/seventh century) while others place the first stable Islamic presence much later, to about 601/1204, when Djohan Shah became the first sultan in north Sumatra.[6]

Marco Polo tells us that when he spent five months on the north coast of Sumatra in 1292, he discovered that Islam was already established there.[7] In addition, Ibn Baṭṭūta found an Islamic kingdom in Samudra (Acheh) when he arrived there in 1346.[8] He informs us that the prince, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, allowed foreign Muslims to attend court, and that he found "the sultan enjoying lively discussions on points of Islamic law with a small cadre of legal scholars ..."[9]

Another aspect of the Islamic penetration of the whole region that scholars like to stress is the early presence of Sufis – whether as traders or missionaries. In the case of Indonesia especially, Lombard cites the *Hikayat Hasanuddin* as mentioning that the *Naqshbandiyya*, the *Shaṭṭāriyya*, and the *Shādhiliyya*, orders[10]

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[6] S.M.N. Al-Attas, "Indonesia iv. History: (a) Islamic Period," in EI 2, vol. 3, 1218.

[7] Denys Lombard, " Les tarékat en Insulinde," 140. See also Nugroho Notosusanto and Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro, Departemen Pendidikan & Kebudayaan R.I. Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III Zaman Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Indonesia, ed. Uka Candra Sasmita (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1990), 3.

[8] Shams al-Dīn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Lawāṭī al-Ṭanjī, Riḥla ibn Baṭṭūta al-Musammā Tuḥfat al-Nazzār fī Gharā'ib al-Amsār wa 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār, ed. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, vol. 4 (Rabat: Academia al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya, 1997), 114. See also Ross E. Dunn, The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveller of the 14th Century, (California: California University Press, 1989), 257.

[9] Ibid., 257.

[10] The central Asian *Naqshbandiyya*, a mystical school, first called the Khwājagān, owes its initial inspiration to Yūsuf al-Hamadāni (d.1140) and 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujdawānī (d.1179), but was eventually associated with the name of Muḥammad Bahā'al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī (d.1389). The *Shaṭṭāriyya* was founded by 'Abd Allah al-Shaṭṭār (d. 1428). The *Shādhiliyya* was derived from Abū Madyan Shu'ayb (d.1197) but was attributed to Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī (d.1258). See Denys

first arrived in west Java in the sixteenth century, while the *Qādiriyya* entered Acheh and the *Khalwatiyya* Sulawesi in the seventeenth century.

But the earliest historical account of organized Sufism in Indonesia in indigenous sources is found in the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals), where mention is made of the existence of a *ṭarīqa* there during the time of Sultan Mansur Shah (1456-1477). According to this report, the Sultan of Malaka sent a delegation to Pasai to meet a Sufi master (*makhdūm*).[11]

After the decline of Pasai in 1400, Malaka gradually became the new Islamic center.[12] Winstedt notes that the Muslim students at Malaka, especially those from Java, began to study the Islamic religious sciences, especially *'ilm al-ḥadīth, ilm al-kalām, taṣawwuf* and *sharī'a,* basing themselves on such textbooks as the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd fī Bayān al-Tawḥīd wa Hidāya li-kull Mustarshid wa Rashīd* by Abū Shukūr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-

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Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde" in Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam. ed. by A. Popovic & G. Veinstein (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 140. See also Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two, 261-262. The *Khalwatiyya* was established by Muḥammad al-Khalwatī al-Khwārizmī (d.751/1350?); and the *Qādiriyya* is attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.1166). For more details on the founders of these *ṭarīqas*, see J.C. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 14, 64, 91.

[11] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde" in Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam. ed. by A. Popovic & G. Veinstein, 140. Schrieke also mentions that, on the authority of Ibn Baṭṭūta, we know that as early as 1346 the sultan of Pasai found pleasure in discussing religious and mystical questions with the Persian Muslim scholars at the court. Schrieke, Indonesian Sosiological Studies; part two (The Hague and Bandung: M. van Hoeve, 1957), 261. See also A.C. Milner. "Islam and Malay Kingship", in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, compiled by Aḥmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique and Yasmin Hussain (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 28-29. See also G.W.J. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia", in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 11, where Drewes also mentions that the Shāfi'ī school of law had been followed by the Muslims in these areas.

[12] R.O. Winstedt, A History of Classical Malay Literature (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1972), 84.

Sayyid ibn Shu'ayb al-Kashshī (Kashshānī) al-Ḥanafī al-Sālimī,[13] and *Talkhīs al-Minhāj* by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d.676/1278),[14] etc.

From the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries Indonesian Islam, especially in Java, flourished thanks to the islamization carried out by the Nine Saints (Wali Songo, Jav.), and in Acheh by the emergence of certain great Sufis, i.e., Hamza Fansuri, Shams al-Din Sumatrānī and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel.[15]

The *Hikayat Hasanuddin* explains that certain Sufi orders, among them the *Naqshbandiyya, Shaṭṭāriyya* and *Shādhiliyya,* arrived in west Java in the sixteenth century. It is significant that Sunan Gunung Jati (one of the Nine Saints), who founded Banten and Islamized the Sundanese, was originally from Pasai. In that period many Javanese obtained their religious education in Pasai and in Malaka, which were centers of Sufi teachings.[16]

According to Trimingham, the nineteenth century in particular was a watershed for the *Naqshbandiyya*, which, having established a branch in Mecca, began to spread to other countries (including Indonesia) through the movements of

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[13] C. Brockelmann, GAL I, 419. G.W,J. Drewes notes that al-Sālimī died in the second half of the 15th century. See his article "Further Data Concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbani," in BKITLV 132 (1976): 276.

[14] Talkhīs al-Minhāj cannot be identified in GAL and Brockelmann does not attribute this work to al-Nawawī. C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement I, 680.

[15] A.H. Johns, "Sufism as Category in Indonesian Literature and History." JSAH 2, no.2 (1961): 23. See Osman bin Bakar, "Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian-World," in Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (New York: The Cross road Publishing Company, 1991), 262. A.H. Johns, "Sufism as Category in Indonesian Literature and History," 14. See also A.H. Johns, "The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam to Malaya and Indonesia," JPHS 9, part 1 (1961): 146.

pilgrims;[17] indeed, a Naqshbandī *shaykh* from Minangkabau (West Sumatra) was initiated there in 1845. [18] Prior to this, the *Sammāniyya* had been established in Sumatra (Palembang and Acheh) through the efforts of 'Abd al-Ṣamad (d.1800), better known as al-Palimbānī, a Sumatran pupil of al-Sammānī who lived in Mecca and initiated pilgrims from his own country. These and other Sufi orders spread into all parts of Indonesia after they had acquired their definitive form.[19] Like the *Naqshbandiyya*, the *Shaṭṭāriyya* and the *Sammāniyya* orders were disseminated in Indonesia, not from India as might have been expected, but from Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje recognized at the time that "Mekka is the center of the world.... Like the University so mysticism gains in Mekka its disciples chiefly from without, Malays, Turks and Indians supply the chief contingent. The pilgrims who stay only a few months are also in large numbers recruited for the *ṭarīqa*s."[20] In addition to Mecca, later contact with Ḥaḍramawt led to the settlement in certain areas of Arabs who introduced their own orders.[21]

In addition to pilgrims, the Sufi penetration of Indonesia had another avenue: scholars who had studied or taught in Mecca and, after receiving initiation

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[16] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 140. See also Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two, 261-262. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 159-160.

[17] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren; Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 141.

[18] Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 130; 122.

[19] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 144. See also Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 130.

[20] Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, 208-209.

there, returned to disseminate the *ṭarīqa* in their home country. We may mention here, for example, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel (d.1693), 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbani (d.1800), and Yūsuf al-Khalwatī (1626-1699). Other scholars who spent the rest of their lives in Mecca, e.g., Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, or Nawawī al-Bantenī (d.1897), sent home students who in turn spread their teachings in Indonesia.

'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel was a Malay mystic active in seventeenth-century Acheh. He was also a prolific writer of treatises, books and translations from well-known Arabic mystical works. Like Hamzah Fanṣūrī, he travelled widely in the Middle East in his quest for knowledge.[22] Al-Attas points out that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was a disciple of Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d.1660, a *shaykh* of the *Shaṭṭāriyya* order), the author of *Al-Simṭ al-Majīd,* when the former studied in Medina. His name appears in the *silsila* (spiritual genealogy of the Sufi order) and he became the first to introduce the *Shaṭṭāriyya* to the archipelago.[23] He is credited with the first complete Malay translation of and commentary on the Qur'ān, based on the famous work of Abū Sa'd (Sa'īd) 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Abū'l Khayr Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī (d.1286 or 1292/3) entitled *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl,* and first published in Istanbul in 1884.[24]

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[21] Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 130. See also Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 141.

[22] Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays, edited by Shirley Gordon (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 28.

[23] Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays, 29.

[24] Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdurrauf bin Ali al-Fansuri," in Tokoh-Tokoh Sastera Melayu Klasik, ed. Mohd.D. Moh. (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1987), 64. For further information, see also Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 141. See also A.H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions" Indonesia 19 (April 1975), 47. See also D.A.

The principal disciples of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel were Burhān al-Dīn and 'Abd al-Muḥyī. The first is said to have been responsible for the Islamization of west Sumatra (at least the coastal areas). He became the head of the *Shaṭṭāriyya* there and died in 1699. The latter is said to have been responsible for the Islamization of west Java in the seventeenth century, especially in the mountainous area to the south of Tasikmalaya. 'Abd al-Muḥyī's tomb is located in the village of Pamijahan in the district of Karangnunggal (west Java), not far from a cave where tradition says that he lived with his companions and held mystical communication with Mecca.[25] When he was 19 years old, 'Abd al-Muḥyī went to Acheh and studied under 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel for eight years (1669-1677).[26] While pursuing my field research for this dissertation, I had the opportunity to visit his tomb in Pamijahan (see picture below).

Despite the introduction of several discrete orders during this period, it was common practice[27] for adepts to receive initiation from several Sufi masters, in order to acquire their blessings. It was expected, however, that one later had to concentrate on a particular *ṭarīqa*. One example is the case of Yusuf al-Khalwati of

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Rinkes, Abdoerraoef van Singkel, (Heerenven, 1909), 31. For information on al-Bayḍāwī see Brockelmann, GAL Supplement I, 738, whereas for the date of his death (scholars give various dates), see J. Robson, "Al-Bayḍāwī," in EI 2 vol. 1, 1129.

[25] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 141, 144. See also Sartono Kartodirjo. "The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: The Religious Revival" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 106. 'Abd al-Muhyi's career will be discussed in greater detail in chapter two of this dissertation.

[26] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan (Pamijahan, 1997), 11-12.

[27] One example may be seen in the case of al-Sanūsī (d.1859), who believed that it was wrong to limit oneself to one school of thought in the field of Islamic law and science, as well as to one way (*ṭarīqa*) in the field of mysticism. See Knut S.Vikor, Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge: Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī and his Brotherhood (London: Hurst & Company, 1995), 96.

Goa (Makassar, south Sulawesi). According to Lombard's research, the *Khalwatiyya* order, which was established in Khurasan by Zahīr al-Dīn 'Umar al-Khalwatī at the end of the fourteenth century, was introduced into south Sulawesi (Makassar) by Shaykh Yūsuf (b. 1626). Following a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1644,[28] Shaykh Yūsuf went to Acheh through Banten in 1645. He was received into the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīri[29] in Acheh (another source says that Yūsuf was inducted by an immigrant from Gujarat who taught in Acheh, Muḥammad Jilānī ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāmid, the paternal uncle of Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī). Yūsuf then joined the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya* by way of Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Bāqī Billāh, and the *ṭarīqa al-Sa'āda al-Bā'alawiyya* through Sayyid 'Alī when he was in Yemen. While in Medina, he was furthermore received into the *ṭarīqa Shaṭṭāriyya* by Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and finally into the *ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya* by 'Abd al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurashī in Damascus.[30] He subsequently promoted this order in particular. He returned to Sulawesi to work against Dutch colonialism there. When Makassar was occupied by the Dutch in

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[28] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde,"144.

[29] Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ḥasanaji ibn Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Ranīrī (d.1666). It is known that apart from being a thinker of considerable depth, al-Ranīrī was also a prolific writer of books and treatises. See Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays, 26. See also Tudjimah, "Asrar al-Insān fī Ma'rifa al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān" (thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 1961), 9-22. The author lists twenty-three works of al-Ranīrī with details on the manuscripts. See also Aḥmad Daudy, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978), 18-26, who lists twenty-nine of Ranīrī works.

[30] Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 62, 65-66. See also Tudjimah, Asrār al-Insān, 15.

1667, Shaykh Yūsuf returned to Banten[31] and continued fighting against the invaders. He was captured in 1683, deported to Ceylon and then to Capstad (south Africa) in 1693, where he later died in 1699. He left Karaeng Abd al-Jalīl to continue the *Khalwatiyya* in Makassar.[32]

The *Sammāniyya* Sufi order was introduced to Sumatra (Palembang) and Acheh through the efforts of 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Abd Allāh (d.1800), better known as al-Palimbānī, a Sumatran pupil of the founder of the order, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1719-1775). Al-Palimbānī lived in Mecca and initiated pilgrims from his own country. He also composed the "*rātib Sammān,*" a text recited as part of their *dhikr,* which became popular in Acheh. The Palembang region was to be associated with an important circle of scholars and writers during the eighteenth century.[33]

Although chronologically speaking among the last to arrive in Indonesia, the *Tījāniyya*, the *Shādhiliyya* and the *Shaṭṭāriyya* orders rapidly became popular: the *Tījāniyya* [34] order was introduced to Cirebon (west Java) in 1928,[35] and quickly

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[31] According to Kartodirjo: "Communication with Mecca had already been established by Bantenese Muslims in the first half of the seventeenth century by repeatedly sending missions to Mecca to attempt to gain information on religious matters. During the latter part of that century, Banten was reputed as a center of Islamic orthodoxy, where religious scholarship and a religious way of life were highly esteemed." Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī is also said to have visited Banten. See also Sartono Kartodirjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: The Religious Revival, 106-107.

[32] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 144. See also Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Tasawwuf, 75. See also Abubakar Aceh, Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat (Solo: Ramadhani, 1990), 416.

[33] G.W.J. Drewes, Directions for Travelers on the Mystic Path: Zakariyya al-Ansari's Kitāb al-Raḥmān and its Indonesian Adaptations (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977). See also G.W.J. Drewes "Further Data Concerning 'Abd al-Samad Al-Palimbani," BKI 132, 267-292.

[34] This Sufi order was founded by Abu'l 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mukhtār al-Tījānī (b. 1150/1737).

developed a following there and in Tasikmalaya, Brebes and Banyumas (central Java). At first this Sufi order was under the direction of Kiyai Buntet and Kiyai Madrais, but later, after the Second World War, when it came under the latter's influence, it was renamed Agama Sunda, and was no longer considered a *ṭarīqa.* At that point, it qualified as *Kebatinan* or *Kejawen.*[36] The real *Tījāniyya,* however, had by then spread to Madura island, where it operated alongside the *Naqshbandiyya* and the TQN.[37] In addition to the *Tījāniyya,* the *Shaṭṭāriyya* was established in Pesantren Buntet, and was disseminated by Kiyai 'Abbas, a brother of Kiyai Anas. They both agreed that the two *ṭarīqas* should form part of the traditional elements of Pondok Pesantren Buntet, Cirebon.[38]

It is not known exactly when the *Shādhiliyya* Sufi order[39] arrived in Indonesia, but it is today well established in central Java, especially in Kudus, and its followers seem to be many. They are particularly active in developing the economy through trading among themselves. I myself visited a *pesantren* whose

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[35] Lombard dates this event to the appearance of the *Kitāb Munājat al-Murīd,* published by an Arab in Tasikmalaya. See his "Les tarékat en Insunlinde," 147-148. According to Moeslim Abdurrahman, The *Tījāniyya* was brought into Indonesia by Kiyai Anas Buntet, specifically to Cirebon in 1921, after he was initiated by Shaykh Alfa Hashim and Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Abdillah al-Tayyib in Medina. See his article,"Tijaniyyah, Tarekat yang Dipersoalkan?" in Pesantren P3M No.4/vol.V/1998: 82. N. Kaptein even mentions that the Tījāniyya and the Idrīsiyya were introduced into the Archipelago around 1930. See his "Ṭarīḳa. 8. In Indonesia." In EI 2, vol. 10, 257.

[36] Denys Lombard,"Les tarékat en Insunlinde," 147-148.

[37] Martin van Bruinessen, "Tarekat and Tarekat Teachers in Madurese Society," in Across Madura Strait The Dynamics of an Insular Society. ed by Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma (Leiden: KITLV press, 1995), 91-117. It is interesting that female Naqshbandi teachers are active in Madurese society, with the most famous having been Fathimah and Thobibah. See the same article page 102.

[38] Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Tijaniyyah, Tarekat yang Dipersoalkan," 82.

[39] This Sufi order was derived from Abū Madyan Shu'ayb (d.1197), but attributed to Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī (d.1258). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 14, 49.

kiyai practiced and disseminated the *Shādhiliyya* in Magelang, central Java.[40] *Al-Ḥikam*, a work by the Shādhilī *shaykh*, Tāj al-Dīn ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh 'Abbās al-Iskandarī (d.709/1309), continues to be popular in Indonesia.

The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* was originally founded by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.561/1166), while the *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya* was founded by Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī al-Bukhārī (d.791/1389).[41] According to Trimingham, the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* is still one of the largest *ṭarīqas* in the Muslim world, with millions of adherents in Yemen, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, India and Africa.[42]

It is not known exactly how the *Qādiriyya* came to Indonesia, but what we do know is that Hamzah Fanṣūrī of Barus in North Sumatra belonged to it, and being a man of repute, he must have gathered about him a large circle of disciples.[43] The

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[40] Field research into the economic activities of the followers of the *Shādhiliyya* in Kudus was performed by Radjasa Mu'tasim and Abdur Munir Mulkhan, Bisnis Kaum Sufi Studi Tarekat dalam Masyarakat Industri (Yogyakarata: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998).

[41] The first link in the Naqshbandī *silsila* after the Prophet is Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq; it then passes through Salmān al-Fārisī, Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq to Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (until this time, the path is named *ṭarīqat-i Bakriyya* or *ṭarīqat-i Ṣiddīqiyya*, then after it is named *Ṭayfūriyya*, a sobriquet of Bāyazīd). At this point it continues through Abū'l Ḥasan Kharaqānī, Abū'l Qasim Jurjānī and Abū 'Alī Farmadī to Khwāja Yūsuf Hamadānī (d.536/1141), in whose time the path came also to be named *ṭarīqat-i khwājagān*, the path of the masters. Two out of the latter successors were Aḥmad Yasavī (d.562/1167 the founder of Yasavī order), and 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī (d.617/1220, the founder of *kalimāt-i qudsiyya*, the eight fold set of principles). The *silsila* continues with five figures prior to Bahā'al-Dīn (who was later associated with the last two *shaykhs*): 'Arif Rivgarī, Maḥmūd Anjir Faghnavī, 'Alī Ramītanī, Bābā Muḥammad Samāsī, and Sayyid Amīr Kulāl. Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshbandī added three principles and formulated basic teachings shared by all branches of the Naqshbandī order. Hamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order," in Naqshbandīs: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman (Istanbul-Paris: ISIS, 1990), 4-9. One of the earliest work on Naqshbandī history and doctrine was written by Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī Kāshifī, entitled Rashaḥāt 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt (finished written in 1504), and appears to be the most important source for the early history of the Khwājagān, including the life and times of Bahā' al-Dīn.

[42] Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 43-44.

[43] Syed Naquib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays, 51. His reference to the name of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlāni may or may not be an indication that Fanṣūrī was

earliest reference to 'Abd al-Qādir in an Indonesian work, and indirectly perhaps to the *Qādiriyya*, is found in the poems of Fanṣūrī himself, who lived in Acheh in the second half of the 16th century.

Hamza nin asalnya Fansuri	This Hamza originates of Fansur
Mendapat wujud ditanah Syahr Nawi	Found Existence in the land of Syahr Naw
Beroleh khilafat yang 'ali	Received trusteeship of the exalted knowledge
Daripada 'Abdul Qadir Sayyid Jilani	From 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilani

In another passage Fansuri indicates that the initiation took place in Baghdad:

Syaikh al-Fansuri terlalu 'ali	Shaykh al-Fansuri, most exalted
Beroleh khilafat di benua Baghdadi	Received the trusteeship in the land of Baghdad

And in a third passage he again indicates the name of the founder:

Hamza nin ilmunya zahir	This Hamza's knowledge is manifest
Ustadhnya Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir.[44]	His teacher was Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir

In his prose works, however, where he expounds his mystical metaphysics more systematically, he never mentions 'Abd al-Qādir or the *Qādiriyya*, although he does refer to Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī, Junayd al-Baghdādī, al-Ḥallāj, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Ibn al-'Arabī, Jāmī, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, and several others. His successor, Shams al-Dīn Pasai, never refers to 'Abd al-Qādir either.

Lombard notes the same discrepancy. He states that out of a collection of Javanese manuscripts catalogued by Th. Pigeaud, 39 discuss the doctrine of the *Shaṭṭāriyya*, while only three outline the *Qādiriyya's* teaching and two the

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initiated into the *Qādiriyya*; it may only be a sign of his desire to seek Islamic knowledge. We are, however, unable to find other sources at the moment on this matter.

Naqshbandiyya's. He goes on to state that in Minangkabau (west Sumatra) the *Shaṭṭāriyya* continued growing and then spread to Ulakan, while the *Qādiriyya* developed mainly in Java, as is evident from the growing number of those who transmitted the biography of 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (*manakiban*), especially in the coastal areas of Pekalongan, Semarang and Juwana.[45]

An indication of the adaptability of the *Qādiriyya* may be seen in Trimingham's work, where a list is given of some 29 different *ṭarīqas* active in Muslim countries associated with the order:[46] seven in India,[47] six in Turkey,[48] six in Yemen,[49] five in North Africa,[50] two in Syria,[51] two in Egypt[52] and one in Albania.[53]

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[44] Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, The Mysticism of Hamza Fansuri (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970), 11. These selections are also quoted by Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 140-141.

[45] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 145-146.

[46] Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 271-273.

[47] (1) *Ṭarīqa* Banawa, active in the Dekkan in the 19th century; (2) *Ṭarīqa Ghawthiyya*, founded by Muhammad Ghawth, i.e., Muhammad ibn Shah Mir ibn 'Ali (d. 1517), who claimed descent from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī through his son 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1196); (3) *Ṭarīqa Junaydiyya*, founded by Bahā' al-Dīn al-Junaydī (d. 1515) in India, who was initiated into the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, who in turn claimed descent from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī; (4) *Ṭarīqa Kamāliyya*, founded by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Khitali (d. 1563-4); (5) *Ṭarīqa* Miyan Khel, founded by Mir Muhammad, who was called Miyan Mir (b. Sind 1550, d. Lahore 1635), the subject of a biography by Dāra Shikōh entitled *Sakīnat al-Awliyā'*; (6) *Ṭarīqa Qumayṣiyya*, founded by Abū al-Ḥayāt ibn Maḥmūd (named after his son, Shāh Qumaiṣ of Bengal) (d. 1584), who claimed descent from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir's son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1226); (7) *Ṭarīqa Ḥayat al-Mir*, named after its founder.

[48] (1) *Ṭarīqa Hindiyya*, founded by Muḥammad Gharīb Allāh al-Hindi; (2) *Ṭarīqa Khuluṣiyya*; (3) *Ṭarīqa Nawshāhī*, derived spiritually from Ma'rūf Chistī Qādiri, but whose name (derived from *nawshāh*, 'bridegroom') was given it by Ḥājjī Muḥammad (d. 1604-5) a disciple of Shāh Ma'rūf's *khalīfa*, Sulaymān Shāh; (4) *Ṭarīqa Rūmiyya*, founded by Isma'il al-Rūmī, Pīr Thānī 'the second master' (d. Istanbul in 1631), is said to have founded more than forty Qādirī *khānqahs* in Turkey, and to have introduced a standing *dhikr* in which the participants, with their arms extended over each other's shoulders, recite the formulae, swaying from right to left; (5) *Ṭarīqa Nabulsiyya*; and (6) *Ṭarīqa Waṣlatiyya*

[49] (1) *Ṭarīqa Ahdaliyya*, founded by Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Umar al-Ahdal, buried in Yemen; (2) *Ṭarīqa Asadiyya*, founded by Afīf al-Din 'Abd Allah ibn 'Ali al-Asadī, buried also in Yemen; (3) *Tarīqa Mushāri'iyya* founded in Yemen in the sixteenth century; (4) *Ṭarīqa 'Urābiyya* founded by

It is odd however, that Trimingham is silent on the branches of the *Qādiriyya* that developed elsewhere, especially in Indonesia.

The branch of the *Qādiriyya* most active in Indonesia is that which amalgamated with the *Naqshbandiyya.* In Indonesia and surrounding countries this combined order is known as the TQN, founded in the nineteenth century by a Qādiri *shaykh*, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, in Mecca.[54] The Qādirī elements appear together with the Naqshbandī ones in TQN practices: for example, in addition to *dhikr jahrī* (the typically Qādirī spoken invocation of God's names), the names of the figures in the *silsila* of the TQN are mostly from the *Qādiriyya* line. The *Naqshbandiyya* influence, on the other hand, may be seen in the practice of silent *dhikr* (*dhikr khafī)* and its constant repetition throughout the day. Other elements of the *Qādiriyya* in

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'Umar ibn Muhammad al-'Urabī in the sixteenth century; (5) *Ṭarīqa Yāfi'iyya* founded by 'Afif al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'i (718-768 A.H./1318-1367 A.D.); and (6) *Ṭarīqa Zayla'iyya* founded by Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Zayla'ī.

[50] (1) *Ṭarīqa 'Ammāriyya*, founded by a Moroccan scholar named al-Ḥājj Mubārak al-Bukhārī (the *nisba* referring to a connection with the sultan's black guard) who attached himself in 1815 to the tomb at Bū Ḥammām in Algeria of 'Ammār Bū Sena (d.1780), manifested wonder-working powers, attracted to himself a following, and installed *khalīfas* in many centers in Algeria and Tunisia; (2) *Ṭarīqa Bakkā'iyya*, founded by Ahmad al-Bakka'ī al-Kunti (d. 1504 A.D.), and which spread in the western Sahara and Sudan, as well as in west sub-Saharan Africa; (3) *Ṭarīqa Bū 'Aliyya*, which centered in Nefta (where Bu 'Ali, the founder, was buried), was active in Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt; (4) *Ṭarīqa Manzaliyya*, whose name was taken from 'Ali ibn 'Ammār al-Manzalī al-Shu'ayb -- founded in the eighteenth century, it spread in Algeria and Tunisia; and (5) *Ṭarīqa Jilāliyya,* which entered Morocco from Spain, purportedly after descendents of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir moved from Granada before its fall to the Christians in 1492 A.D.

[51] (1) The Dawūdiyya founded by Abū Bakr ibn Dawūd (d. 806 A.H. /1403 A.D.) in Damascus; (2) the *Ṣamādiyya*, founded by Muhammad al-Ṣamādī (d. 997 A.H./1589 A.D.).

[52] (1)The *Fāriḍiyya;* and (2) the *Qāsimiyya.* The *Fāridiyya,* inspired by the poet 'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1234 A.D.), was founded in the sixteenth century, while the *Qāsimiyya* was founded in the nineteenth.

[53] In Albania, the *ṭarīqa Zinjiriyya*, founded by 'Alī Bābā of Crete, also belongs to the *Qādiriyya.*

[54] Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, 259, 262. On p. 276 he mentions that 'Abd al-Karim Banten too was a *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyya* order.

the TQN may be seen in the preservation of its initiation and ritual ceremony, i.e., the *khataman* and *manakiban*. These, however, are practiced along with other elements from the *Naqshbandiyya*.

In addition to what we know of the Naqshbandī connection between Mecca and Indonesia,[55] we have information provided by Lombard on the *Naqshbandiyya* order in the Indonesian archipelago, based in turn on L.W.C. van den Berg's (d.1927) statement that he had come across *Naqshbandiyya* activity in Acheh and in Bogor (West Java), where he witnessed the Naqshbandi *dhikr* being performed. Lombard then goes on to describe the coming of the *Naqshbandiyya* to the region of Medan, where a community was founded at Langkat.[56]

Lombard further states that Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Rokan al-Khālidī al-Naqshbandī introduced the *Naqshbandiyya* to Riau. After spending two years in the Malay Archipelago engaged in trade, he went to Mecca and studied under Shaykh Sulaymān al-Zuhdī. In 1854 he received his certificate and returned to Riau where he finally built a Naqshbandi village called The Door of Peace (*Bāb al-Salām*).[57] We also know, however, that Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d.1699) had been initiated into

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[55] Martin van Bruinessen mentions that there were three lines of the *Naqshbandiyya* in Mecca in the 17th and 18th centuries. He also indicates that Shaykh Isma'il Minangkabawi returned from Mecca in the early 1850s and introduced the *Naqshbandiyya* [*Khālidiyya*] to west Sumatra. See his article, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," 153-154, 161. See also Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of its History and Significance," Studia Islamica 44 (1976): 149, 151. See also H.W. Muhd.Shaghir Abdullah, Syekh Ismail al-Minangkabawi Penyiar Thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985), 107.

[56] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde, " 146.

[57] Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," 146-147. See also D. Lombard, "Tarékat et entreprise à Sumatra: l'exemple de Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan (c.1830-1926)," in M. Garborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone eds. Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman (Istanbul: Isis, 1990), 707-715.

the *Naqshbandiyya* as far back as the late 1640s. The time gap between these two events was quite long (almost two centuries). This is perhaps because the latter's initiation may not have had anything to do with the introduction of the *ṭarīqa* into the country, but was rather a personal matter. That this was not uncommon may be seen in the case of Shaykh Yūsuf's Naqshbandī teacher, Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, who was known as a Shaṭṭārī *shaykh* in Indonesia, but as a Naqshbandī *shaykh* in Medina.

While Trimingham passes over in silence the various branches of the *Naqshbandiyya*, later scholars have identified three distinct branches of the order as being active in Indonesia: the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*, the *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya* and the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* (TQN).[58]

The question of hybrid *ṭarīqa*s has been discussed by the historian Hamid Algar, particularly in the case of the *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya*. By way of explanation, Algar discusses the case of Yūsuf Hamadānī (440-536/1048-1141), who began his career as a scholar of *fiqh*, studying in Baghdad under Abū Isḥāq Shīrāzī (a celebrated Shāfi'ī master), although he himself was a Ḥanafite. While in Baghdād, he made the acquaintance of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, whom he is said to have encouraged in his evolution from preacher and *faqīh* into a Sufi. The relationship between these two figures is likewise reflected in the relationship between the two great universal orders, the Naqshbandī and Qādirī. In some cases, Naqshbandī and Qādirī lines intertwined, giving rise to distinct sub-orders. One line was established

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[58] Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 150-151. On pp. 153-154 Bruinessen states that there were three lines of Naqshbandiyya in Mecca in the 17th and 18th centuries. See also Hamid Algar in Studia Islamica 44 (1976): 123-152.

by Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣādiq Arzinjānī (d.1210/1795) and his followers in Turkey; the other that he cites is that of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas (d.1875) in Indonesia and Malaysia.[59] It is, of course, the latter movement that concerns us here.

The present-day Sufi orders in Indonesia are in fact, united in an organization called the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh (An-Nahdliyyah)* or JATMN (Ara. *Jam'iyya Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara al-Nahḍiyya*). Founded in 1957, in east Java, this body functions as a forum of consultation and as a means of protecting the legitimate Islamic Sufi orders from outside elements, thus ensuring their survival. It is an autonomous body that has no connection to the government.

The existence of a body such as this might give one the impression that traditional Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java, is static and limited by the thought of the *'ulamā'* of the Arab middle ages.[60] As a matter of fact, this assumption is not true. Traditional Indonesian Islam has its own social, cultural and religious character. Very gradual changes take place in stages that are not easily observed. The changes in this case were fundamental, but may have been invisible to those not familiar with the pattern of Islamic thought. To the careful observer, they are more obvious.[61] The study of Islam in Indonesia, and especially on Java, has tended to emphasize modern Islam and to neglect or even look down on the contributions of

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[59] Hamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order," 7.

[60] A similar impression is given by V.S. Naipaul in his Beyond Belief Islamic Excursions Among the Converted Peoples (New York: Random House, Inc., 1998), xi and his stories about Indonesia, 3-129.

[61] Snouck Hurgronje, as quoted by Clifford Geertz, "Modernization in a Moslem Society: The Indonesian Case" in QUEST, vol. 39 (Bombay: 1963), 16. See Zamakhsyari Dhofier in Tradisi Pesantren, 2. Even since the late 1910s, the *kiyais* in Java (especially in Jombang) have opened special *pesantrens* for female students.

traditional Islam. H.A.R. Gibb has in fact stated that traditional Islam, wherever it exists (including in Indonesia), is still more dominant than modern Islam.[62]

Clifford Geertz, in his *Islam Observed,* discusses Islam in somewhat disparaging terms, although only in reference to the kingdom (*kraton)* environment, which during colonial times was cut off from its sources without possessing the educational institutions that Geertz himself acknowledges as being essential to its development.[63] Furthermore, he ignores the Islam of the *pesantrens* completely. Geertz even goes so far as to claim that Islam in Indonesia is weak, rootless, temporary, syncretic and pluralist.[64] Like Geertz, Deliar Noor and other intellectuals seem to be in some ways very subjective in their opinions about traditional Islam.[65] Noor especially does not seem to have a clear understanding of who falls under this heading. If he believes that the *kiyais* should be awarded the label, then Anthony Johns shows a better understanding on the function of an *'ālim* than Noor, when he writes: " for those who concentrate on giving guidance, the role of an *'ālim* is to explain the hidden secrets behind the true revelation of religious practice; and

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[62] H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam (Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1947) 1-2. Gibb sees 'Abduh as the exemplar of the modernist Islamic trend, which can be summed up under four main headings: the purification of Islam from corrupting influences and practices; the reformation of Muslim higher education; the re-formulation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought and the defense of Islam against European influences and Christian attacks. See the same source p.33.

[63] Indeed Clifford Geertz in his book,The Religion of Java (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), discusses traditional Islam in Mojokuto.

[64] Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), 11-12.

[65] Deliar Noor, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942 (Oxford University Press, 1973), 300. Noor does not even clarify who the traditionalist Muslims are. Are they *abangan* (ordinary Javanese Muslims who may sometimes still be influenced by native beliefs) who mostly do not understand Islam at all, or the *kiyais* who lead the *pesantrens* ?.

explaining various teachings and indicating the social environment and showing which opinion should be chosen." [66]

As a matter of fact, not only do some scholars know very little about traditional Islam in Java, but even that knowledge is sometimes misleading. This is because they do not refer directly to primary sources, but only to sources written by modern Muslims who themselves have often misunderstood the sources. However, even in today's Indonesian context, the conventional approach to Islam in Java as a dichotomy of traditionalism vs. modernism has failed to produce a fresher or more accurate understanding of the issues. Scholars should realize the fact that the *pesantren* tradition and traditional Islam, especially in Java, are rich and complicated subjects, and that they have changed rather dramatically over time.

And while it is true that the *pesantren* is an agent of change in society, it should be noted that its impact has been gradual. These changes, moreover, have happened without affecting its own cultural identity or its central characteristics.[67]In order to develop -- in conjunction with the demands of society -- the *pesantren* must depend not only on its physical infrastructure or its geographical environment, but also and perhaps more on its ability to answer the challenges and changes in the field of education, the formation of social values and national political development.

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[66] A. Johns," From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City: Islamization in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java," in J. Fox (ed), Indonesia: The Making of a Culture (Canberra: R.S.P.S., Australian National University 1980), 176-177. See also Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 7.

[67] The main characteristics of a *pesantren* are its *pondok* (dormitory), mosque, *santris* (students), the teachings of certain Islamic classical works and *kiyai* (the head of the *pesantren*). See Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 44-70.

Some *pesantrens* in Java try to achieve this as well by serving as centers for the dissemination of certain Sufi orders.[68]

In Islamic terms, education is essentially *tarbiya*. The term *tarbiya* can mean spiritual education (*tarbiyat al-rūḥ*), mental/soul education (*tarbiyat al-nafs),* intellectual exercise (*tarbiyat al-'aql)* and physical education (*tarbiyat al-jism).* As a matter of fact, within the practice of the *ṭarīqa* itself, the element of *tarbiyat al-rūḥ* is central. This is especially the case in the practical life of the Pondok Pesantren of Suryalaya in west Java.

The idea behind *tarbiya* is that education should guide and develop the potential of human beings. This development should include the elements of cognitive, affective and psychomotoric ability by which education can be measured. However, the *tarbiyat al-nafs* in this context might possess a second, scarcely less important goal: practical instruction.

In the Indonesian context, Islamic education may take place in mosques, the *muṣalla* or *surau,* the *pondok pesantren* (Islamic traditional boarding school), *madrasah, sekolah, perguruan Islam,* and the *majlis ta'līm* (religious circle).[69] People studying in these institutions, will participate either in formal classes in a school or in community gatherings that take place in the mosque or *majlis ta'līm.* The teaching of *taṣawwuf* can form part of the moral / *akhlāq* lessons, but it is usually

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[68] In addition to the *pesantrens* that are discussed in this dissertation as the branches of the TQN, among others there are also a *pesantren* in Pekalongan (central Java) as a branch of the *Naqshbandiyya* , a small *Idrīsiyya* branch in Pagendingan, a *Shaṭṭāriyya* branch in Cirebon, west Java, and a *Shādhiliyya* branch in a *pesantren* in Magelang, central Java.

[69] Tim Penyusun, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: Proyek Pembinaan Prasarana dan Sarana Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN di Jakarta Direktorat Jenderal Pembinaan Kelembagaan Agama Islam Departemen Agama RI, 1986), 44-106.

introduced in high school. Since the community teaching groups function as a means of education in society, *taṣawwuf* lessons, or to be more precise, *ṭarīqa* teachings, may be learned by the general public. The Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya serves the community through the channels mentioned here.

Indonesian Islam may be said, therefore, to have been deeply influenced by the Sufi orders, which have tended to dominate in the area of religious practices.[70] This is not to say, of course, that there are not other mystical influences at work in Indonesia. In the case of Java especially, the numerous non-Islamic mystical sects (*aliran kebatinan* or *aliran kepercayaan*), which nevertheless show a strong Islamic influence in terminology, beliefs and practices, have attracted a great following.[71] The *aliran kebatinan* come in many varieties, ranging from the broadly orthodox to the plainly heretical, and while it is not the object to discuss them to any extent in this thesis, they do have this much in common that they provide a relative contrast to the Sufi orders and inspire vigilance on the part of the JATMN.

From the above historical accounts we may summarize that Sufi orders, and especially the *Qādiriyya*, the *Khalwatiyya*, the *Shaṭṭāriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya,*

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[70] One may also find people study the teachings or practices of a certain *ṭarīqa* without necessarily joining an order, for example a widespread use of Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī's Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb is studied in *madrasa*s as a text book of *fīqh* and *taṣawwuf* and even used by the followers of other Sufi orders. See Martin van Bruinessen, "The Orgins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia, " 178.

[71] For example, the founder of Subud was in his youth vaguely associated with a Naqshbandi teacher. See J.G. Bennett, Concerning Subud (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), 51-53. Another example of an indication of a strong Islamic elements in Javanese mystical literature can be seen in Serat Centini. Soebardi, The Book of Cabolek: a critical edition with introduction, translation and notes. A contribution to the study of the Javanese mystical tradition (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975). These facts show that the Sufi orders have taken root and have been part of the progressive islamization of Indonesian culture and society. However, Th. Pigeaud and Sumahatmaka, in the former's Dutch summary and in the latter's Indonesian summary of Serat Centini, do not touch upon the mystical

started to spread into Southeast Asia generally, and into Indonesia specifically, in the thirteenth century. Then from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, the orders continued to flourish with the development and the establishment of additional branches, such as the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*, the *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya* and the *Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*. The other orders, such as the *Sammāniyya* and the *Tījāniyya* orders, came along with their fellows to flourish in certain places of the country in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Although the development was not always on the same scale, the facts show that certain Sufi orders have a stronger influence in certain areas than others. In addition, the followers of certain Sufi orders sometimes also study the literature of others. The influence of the Sufi orders in Indonesia not only had an impact on the Muslim community but also sometimes beyond, e.g., on the non-Islamic mystical sects, *aliran kebatinan* or *aliran kepercayaan*.

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ideas. The entire Javanese text was recently published in the latinised script by Kamajaya (12 volumes, Yogyakarta: Yayasan Centhini).

Chapter II

The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*

The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*: its historical background and development.

1. The founder of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya.*

Among the largest and best-known Sufi orders in Indonesia are the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* and the *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya.* Each boasts a sizeable and widespread membership. In the case of the *Naqshbandiyya* especially, the brotherhood exists in various combinations with other traditions, such as the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*, the *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya*, the *Naqshbandiyya Sammāniyya,* and the one that forms the object of this study: the *Qādiriyya [wa] Naqshbandiyya (TQN).* [1]

Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, the founder of the TQN, was born in Sambas in 1217 A.H./1802 A.D., west Kalimantan (Borneo). After his first basic religious education in his home town, he left for Mecca at the age of nineteen to pursue further studies and settled there during the second quarter of the nineteenth century,

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[1] Werner Kraus, "Some Notes on the Introduction of the *Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya* into Indonesia," in Naqshbandis Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman, ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic and Thierry Zarcone (Istanbul: Isis, 1990), 691. In my opinion, the TQN may be also considered as part of the *Qādiriyya,* because, as we shall see below, the elements of the *Qādiriyya* take part as equal to the *Naqshbandiyya.* Although in his notes Sartono Kartodirdjo refers to sources that describe the TQN as an amalgamated *ṭarīqa* nevertheless in his own analysis he regularly refers to the order as part of the *Qādiriyya.* See his The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 164. Martin van Bruinessen for his part does not mention the *Naqshbandiyya Sammāniyya.* See his "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandiyya Order in Indonesia," in Der Islam 67, Heft 1 (1990): 150. But he examines the *Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya* in a great length in his Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 54-59, 61, 64-66.

remaining there until his death in 1289 A.H./1872.[2] His studies there embraced various Islamic sciences, including Sufism, and he achieved a highly respected position amongst his contemporaries, becoming as a result, extremely influential throughout Indonesia. Among his teachers were Shaykh Daud ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Faṭānī (d. c.1843),[3] a great *'ālim* who had also lived in Mecca, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn,[4] Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjarī (d.1812)[5] and even, according to one source, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d.1800).[6] Of all the disciples of

[2] 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, Siyar wa Tarājim ba'd 'Ulamā'inā fī al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashar li 'l Hijra (Jeddah: Tihāma, 1982), 7. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Ahmad Khatib Sambas," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau et al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 14. 'Abd al-Jabbār only mentions the *hijra* year, while Bruinessen notes that the *shaykh*'s death was probably in 1875.

[3] This Shaykh was born in the village of Keresik in Patani (present southern Thailand). Hawash Abdullah provides considerable information concerning this figure. See his Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: al-Ikhlas, 1930), 122-158. Martin van Bruinessen, "Daud Patani," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau, et al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 19.

[4] Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara, 179. Hawash Abdullah neither mentions Shaykh Shams al-Dīn's nationality nor his *ṭarīqa*, but only describes the latter as Shaykh Sambas's teacher.

[5] He was a moderate Sufi of Banjarmasin, south Kalimantan, who is supposed to have introduced the *Sammāniyya* Sufi order to Banjar. He was a colleague of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, and learned *taṣawwuf* from Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī, the founder of the *Sammāniyya* Sufi order. He studied in Mecca and taught there. See my unpublished MA thesis, "Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawī al-Bantenī's Salālim al-Fuḍalā' (Montreal, McGill University, 1992), 22-23. See also H.W.Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah, Syeikh Muhd. Arsyad al-Banjari (Al-Fathanah, 1983).

[6] Concerning this figure see Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara, 85-107. See also H.W. Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah, Syeikh Abdush Shamad Al-Falimbani (Al-Fathanah, 1983). See also Michael Feener, "Yemeni Sources for the History of Islam in Indonesia: ''Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani in the Nafas al-Yamani," in La Transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman Périphérique (Paris: EHESS, December, 1999), 128-144. It should however be noted, Abdullah's information notwithstanding, that it would not have been possible for Sambas to have studied with al-Palimbani, for he was born in 1802, while Palimbani died in 1800.

Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas attained the highest degree of competence, and was appointed as Shaykh *Murshid Kāmil Mukammil.* [7]

His other teachers included Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Rays, the Shāfi'ite mufti, Shaykh 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn 'Abd al-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār, another Shāfi'ite muftī (d. 1249/1833/4), and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Ajamī (d.1235/1819/20). He also attended the lessons given by Shaykh Bishrī al-Jabartī, the Mālikite muftī Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī, the Ḥanafite muftī Sayyid 'Abd Allāh [ibn Muḥammad] al-Mirghanī[8] (d.1273/1856/7) and 'Uthmān ibn Ḥasan al-Dimyaṭī (d.1849).[9] From this information one can see that Shaykh Sambas made a thorough study of *fiqh,* learning it from representatives of three out of the four major schools. Coincidentally, al-'Attār, al-'Ajamī and al-Rays are also listed as Meccan teachers of Sambas' contemporary Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī (d.1859), the founder of the

[7] Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara, 181. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas is mentioned twice as a teacher and a famous *murshid* of the TQN in H.W. Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah's Syeikh Ismail Minangkabawi Penyiar Tharikat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985), 59, 76.

[8] Martin van Bruinessen tells us that this man's brother, Muḥammad 'Uthmān [ibn Muḥammad] al-Mirghanī was the founder of *al-Khatmiyya* , while his grandfather, 'Abdullāh al-Maḥjūb al-Mirghanī was the founder of the *Mirghaniyya.* See Martin van Bruinessen, "Ahmad Khatib Sambas," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau, et al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 14. Al-Kattānī mentions a grandson of Muḥammad 'Uthmān, namely Shams al-Dīn [ibn Muḥammad (?)]. Was this Shams al-Dīn Shaykh Sambas's teacher? We are not sure. However, there is little doubt that Shaykh Sambas was making contacts with a large number of Mirghanī's family. See 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn 'Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, Fihris al-Fahāris wa al-Ithbāt wa al-Mu'jam wa al-Ma'ājim wa al-Mashaykhāt wa al-Musalsalāt (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982-1986), vol.2, 556.

[9] 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, Siyar wa Tarājim ba'd 'Ulama'unā fi al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashr li'l Hijra, 71. See also al-Kattānī, Fihris al-Fahāris, vol.2, 776, 796. Martin van Bruinessen, "Ahmad Khatib Sambas," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau, et al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 14.

Sanūsiyya sufi order.[10] Muhammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghāni (the founder of the *Khatmiyya* order and a brother of Shaykh 'Abd Allah al-Mirghanī) and Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas were both initiated as well in a number of different *ṭarīqas* whose teachings they selectively incorporated when forming their own. In the case of the *Khatmiyya*, it had components from the *Naqshbandiyya, Qādiriyya, Chishtiyya, Kubrawiyya* and *Suhrawardiyya ṭarīqa*s.[11] Meanwhile, in the margins of his *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* it is stated that the elements of the author's *ṭarīqa* are the *Naqshbandiyya*, the *Qādiriyya*, the *ṭarīqat al-Anfās*, the *ṭarīqat al-Junayd* and the *ṭarīqat al-Muwāfaqa*, and it is even once mentioned that "the *ṭarīqa Sammān* has united all the above *ṭarīqas.*" [12]

According to Naquib al-Attas, Sambas was a *shaykh* of two *ṭarīqas*, the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya.*[13] Because, however, he did not teach the two *ṭarīqas* separately but rather in combined fashion, his combined order may be seen as a new *ṭarīqa*, different from each of the two *ṭarīqas* on which it is based.

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[10] Knut S. Vikor, Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge: Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī and his Brotherhood (London: Hurst & Company, 1995), 94. Vikor mentions the first two figures as Sanūsī's teachers.

[11] 'Abd al-Hayy ibn 'Abd al-Kabīr Al-Kattānī, Fihris al-Fahāris wa al-Athbāt wa Mu'jam al-Ma'ājim wa al-Mashaykhāt wa al-Musalsalāt, vol. 2, 556. Martin van Bruinessen identifies the elements of the *al-Khatmiyya* as the *Naqshbandiyya, Qādiriyya, Shādhiliyya, Junaydiyya* and *al-Mirghaniyya.*

[12] Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, margin of 2-3. Martin van Bruinessen in "Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas" states that 'Abd Allāh al-Maḥjūb al-Mirghanī was allegedly in contact with the circle around Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d.1775 in Madina) whose *Sammāniyya* was also an eclectic blend of elements of the *Khalwatiyya,* the *Naqshbandiyya*, the *Qādiriyya*, and the *Shādhiliyya.* See Martin van Bruinessen, "Ahmad Khatib Sambas," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau, et al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 14. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "L'Asie du Sud-est," in Les Voies d'Allah: Les ordres mystiques dans le monde musulman des origines à aujourd'hui, ed. A. Popovic and G. Veinstein (Paris: Fayard, 1996), 279.

[13] Syed Naquib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays, edited by Shirley Gordon (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 33.

Hurgronje also acknowledges that Sambas was a learned scholar, excelling in every branch of Islamic knowledge; [14] even though he was best known in Indonesia as the founder of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya.* This *ṭarīqa* was instrumental in the dissemination of Islam throughout Indonesia and the Malay world in the second half of the nineteenth century. Key to this effort was Shaykh Sambas's work *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* (Victory of the Gnostics), which became one of the most important and popular works on Sufi practice in the Malay world.[15] *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* explains such basic elements of Sufi doctrine as the vow of allegiance (*bay'a*), recollection of God (*dhikr*), contemplative vigilance (*murāqaba*) and the chain of spiritual descent (*silsila*) of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya.* As a combined *ṭarīqa*, it derives its main spiritual techniques from both the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* orders.

Shaykh Sambas followed the procedure of the *dhikr* of negation and affirmation i.e. no god except God (*dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt*), as it is practiced by the *Qādiriyya* order. In addition, he introduced slight changes from normal *Qādiriyya* practice, in that he adopted the *Naqshbandiyya* concept of five subtle centers (*laṭā'if*).

The other influence from the *Naqshbandiyya* is the practice of visualization of the guide (*rābiṭa*), both before and while the *dhikr* is performed. Moreover, the

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[14] C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, 262. Dhofier shows in a figure the significant role played by Shaykh Sambas in the intellectual genealogy of Java's leading *kiyai.* See Dhofier, The Pesantren, 124.

[15] Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism, 59.

Naqshbandiyya dhikr is usually practiced in silence, whereas the *Qādiriyya dhikr* is usually spoken aloud, and Shaykh Sambas taught both types of *dhikr.* [16]

The sources also credit him with having been a much sought-after teacher:

> [I]n addition to training the most influential Sufi-*'Ulamā'*, he also trained leading *'Ulamā'* on *Fiqh* and *Tafsīr* such as Nawawī al-Bantenī[17] and Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten who was his disciple and his successor as leader of the combined *ṭarīqa.* Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm was famous as Kiyai Agung, who encouraged *jihād* (holy war against the Dutch) in 1888 and then left Banten for Mecca to succeed Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas.[18]

The importance of Shaykh Sambas as a scholar is stressed here because, as Hurgronje has pointed out, most European writers are radically mistaken in asserting that the *'ulamā'* were, in general, hostile to the *ṭarīqa* orders.[19] As examples of leading disciples of Shaykh Sambas, one can point to scholars such as Kiyai Tolhah

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[16]Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3. He also said that the *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* can be performed out loud or silently. From historical accounts regarding *dhikr*, we find that *Qādiriyya dhikr* is always recited out loud, whereas the *dhikr* performed by the Naqshbandis is usually silent. However, it is said there was a time when the vocal *dhikr* was practiced as well. The history of the *dhikr* performance of the Naqshbandis can be found in Hamid Algar, "Silent and Vocal *Dhikr* in the Naqshbandi order," in Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft Göttingen, ed. Albert Dietrich (Göttingen, 1976), 44. See also Jürgen Paul, Doctrine and Organization:The Khwajagan/Naqshbandiya in the First Generation after Baha'uddin (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1998), 18-30. Detailed information on Shaykh Sambas's teachings will be provided in chapter three of this thesis.

[17] C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 268-269. Dhofier makes the same observation, though surprisingly I have not yet found any reference to this fact in Nawawī's own works. See Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of Kyai in the maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java" (Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1980), and its Indonesian translation Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984), 87-88.

[18] Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 89-90. See also Sartono Kartodirdjo, The Peasant's Revolt of Banten in 1888 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1966). See also Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Naqshbandī Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 171, 169. Other sources insist that it was 'Abd al-Karim's disciple, Marjuki, who encouraged the war.

[19] Hurgronje, Mekka, 206.

[Ṭalḥah] from Cirebon (west Java) and Kiyai Aḥmad Hasbullah [Ḥasabullāh] ibn Muḥammad from Madura (east Java), both of whom had lived in Mecca.

The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*, together with the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*,[20] was among the most progressive *ṭarīqa*s in Indonesia at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Both *ṭarīqa*s expanded rapidly, with many of their *khalīfas* involving themselves in local political issues.[21] In fact, the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* and its members have spread throughout the countries of Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam.[22] The *ṭarīqa* is not, however, recognized anywhere yet except in Indonesia proper. The *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya,* however, seems to be more widespread, with members not only in Indonesia but also in central Asia, some Middle Eastern countries such as Lebanon and Syria, parts of North and West Africa, and even Europe and North America. The Indonesian followers of the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya* based themselves on works written in the central Islamic lands and brought home by pilgrims, most especially *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā'wa Anwā'ihim wa Awṣāfihim wa Uṣūl Kulli Ṭarīq wa Muhimmāt al-Murīd wa Shurūṭ*

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[20] The *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya* was founded by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Khālid al-Baghdādī (Mawlana Khālid d. 1242/1826/7 in Damascus); certain sources refer to it simply as *Ṭarīqa Khālidiyya*. See Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," in Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam, ed. Popovic and G.Veinstein (Paris, 1986), 147. See also Abu Bakar Aceh, Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat (Solo: Ramadhani, 1990), 345. The first *shaykh* to introduce the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya* into the Malay world was Shaykh Ismail Minangkabau of Simabur, west Sumatra (d.1275A.H./1857 A.D. in Mecca). See Werner Kraus, "Some Notes on the Introduction of the *Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya* into Indonesia," 693.

[21] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 67. For example, many Indonesian religious figures were against Dutch colonialism, a phenomenon that is discussed in the section on the political role of TQN in Indonesia in a different sub-chapter, below.

[22] Unang Sunardjo, Pesantren Suryalaya dalam Perjalanan Sejarahnya (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bhakti PP. Suryalaya, 1985).

al-Shaykh wa Kalimāt al-Ṣūfiyya Waṣṭilāḥihim wa Anwā' al-Taṣawwuf wa Alf Maqām, written by the Turkish *shaykh* Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Gumushānī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī (d.1311/1893).[23] Some of the explanations in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas can also be traced to this work. In addition to the *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā'*, other works by Naqshbandī figures that became (and still are) popular in Indonesia include[24] the *Bahjat al-Saniyya fi Ādāb al-Ṭarīqa* of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullah al-Khānī, the *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Muā'amalat 'Allām al-Ghuyūb* of Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdi al-Irbilī (d.1322/1914), the *Majmū'at al-Rasā'il 'alā Uṣūl al-Khālidiyya* of Sulayman al-Zuhdī, the *Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār* of Muhammad Haqqī al-Nāzilī (d.1301/1884 in Mekka), and the *Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr 'alā al-Ṭarīqa al-Naqshbandiyya* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawawī.

The *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya,* on the other hand, was disseminated in Indonesia by two *khalīfas* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawawī, who was himself a *khalīfa* of Muḥammad Maẓhar al-Aḥmadī (d.1301/1884 in Madina): 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-Manduri of Madura island, east Java, and Ismā'īl Jabal of Pontianak, west Kalimantan.

Shaykh Sambas's educational background was extremely broad: he mastered the Islamic sciences and was an expert in the legal doctrines of nearly all of the schools of jurisprudence. This wide expertise may have contributed to his comprehensive approach to the *ṭarīqas*, and especially to his decision to found the

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[23] C. Brockelmann, GAL II, 489, Supplement II, 745-746.

[24] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, 74-75.

TQN. In his *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* we see the influence of both the constituent *ṭarīqas*, although their respective influence is not always to the same degree.

2. The disciples of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas.

The disciples of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas came mostly from Java and Madura, and it was they who passed on the teachings of the *ṭarīqa* upon their return to Indonesia from Mecca. The flexibility of the teachings of the *Qādiriyya*, which makes it possible for a *shaykh* to modify or supplement its teachings, was probably what motivated Khaṭīb Sambas, already a Qādirī figure, to establish the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya.* It is, of course, not uncommon in the Sufi tradition to modify a *ṭarīqa* : there are for instance, 29 *ṭarīqas* already in existence which are offshoots of the parent order, the *Qādiriyya.*[25] Khaṭīb Sambas might well have chosen to name his order the *Ṭarīqa al-Sambasiyya* or *al-Khaṭībiyya* but he chose to call it as he did in order to show its true origins.

Among the most influential of his disciples was 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, who was appointed by Shaykh Sambas as his successor. Born in 1840, he was raised in the village of Lampuyang in the district of Tanara, west Java, the same region that produced the great Indonesian *'ālim*, Nawawī al-Bantenī. He left for Mecca when he was very young and had the opportunity to study there and serve in the household of Shaykh Sambas. After several years, he received an *ijāza* recognizing his full membership in his master's *ṭarīqa.* 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, from his early youth, had been steeped in he teachings of Shaykh Sambas, but was to achieve a great

[25] Trimingham, Sufi Orders in Islam, 271-273.

reputation as a scholar in his own right. His first assignment was to serve as a teacher of the *ṭarīqa* in Singapore, a position which he held for a few years.[26] In 1872, he left for his home village, Lampuyang, and stayed there for about three years. Finally, in 1876, he left for Mecca to take up his duties as Shaykh Sambas's successor. Five branches of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Java trace their *silsilas* back to him.[27]

Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Karīm's sermons exerted a strong influence on the population of Banten. He declared that there was a need for the intensive purification of religious beliefs and practices. For him, *dhikr* became the focus of a revitalized faith. In many places *dhikr* began to be performed both in mosques and in *langgars* (chapels), while on special occasions, *dhikr*-evening celebrations were held. It was generally believed that he was a *walī Allāh* who had been granted certain blessings (*barakāt)* and had the power to transmit miracles *(karāmāt*). Later on he became better known as Kiyai Agung, the Great Kiyai.[28] Among his most prominent disciples were H. Sangadeli of Kaloran, H. Asnawi of Bendung Lampuyang, H. Abubakar of Pontang, H. Tubagus Ismail of Gulatjir, and H. Mardjuki of Tanara. Of these the most influential was the last-named, Ḥājjī Mardjuki (Marzuki). Born in Tanara, east Banten, west Java in 1820, he went to Mecca for the first time in 1858,

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[26] C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, Leiden, 1931, 277. See also C. Guillot, "Abdul Karim Banten," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle ã nos jours, ed., Marc Gaborieau et al. (Paris: EHESS,1992-), fasc. 1, 25.

[27] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 90.

[28] Two events are referred to as indications of his miraculous deeds, namely: first, he was saved when the whole region was flooded by the river Cidurian; and second, after 'Abd al-Karīm had been fined, the resident was replaced and the regent retired. For another example of his miracles (*karāma*), see Hurgronje, Mekka, 277-278.

and learned from the same teachers as Nawawī al-Bantenī had done. He became a Qādirī there, through 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. He taught *naḥw* and *ṣarf* (Arabic grammar and syntax) as well as *fiqh* in Mekka. In his home town of Tanara, he established an Islamic traditional school (*pesantren*). He traveled extensively in southeast Asia, Malaysia, and Sumatra where he was well received by the Sultan of Deli, in Siam as well as in Bali. From February 1877 to June 1888, he taught in Tanara. He visited ulamas and members of the *Qādiriyya* there. Two important *ulamas* of Banten, Wasid and Tubagus Ismā'īl, often consulted with him on religious issues and problems arising from colonialism.[29]

Another disciple of Shaykh Sambas was Kiyai Aḥmad Hasbullah ibn Muḥammad of Madura. It was through him [30] that the line of Rejoso developed later. The actual founder of Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum in Rejoso, Jombang, East Java, was Kiyai Tamim, who also was of Maduran origin. His son-in-law, Khalil,[31] received an *ijāza* from Kiyai Aḥmad Hasbullah ibn Muḥammad, who was based there at the time. Khalil then turned over the leadership to his brother-in-law, Romly ibn Tamīm, who was later succeeded by his son Musta'in ibn Romly.[32] For quite some time, Kiyai Musta'īn ibn Romly enjoyed considerable popularity among the leadership of the Nahdlatul Ulama, although some of this was lost when he changed

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[29] C. Guillot, "Mardjuki ou Marzuki," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau et al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 1, 32.

[30] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 92.

[31] This *kiyai* is also from Madura, and is not to be confused with Kiyai Kholil of Bangkalan, Madura, as his original name was Muhammad Juremi.

[32] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 95.

his political affiliation from the NU-backed PPP (United Development Party to Golongan Karya (Functional Group or government party) in the 1970s.

Another distinguished disciple of Shaykh Sambas was Shaykh Tolha of Cirebon, whose most important *khalīfa* was in turn Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak (Abah Sepuh), founder in 1905, of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, in Tasikmalaya, west Java. It has been said that the latter also was initiated into the *ṭarīqa* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten in Mecca.[33]

Yet another disciple of Shaykh Sambas was Muḥammad Isma'il ibn 'Abdurrahim, who was originally from Bali. He was also the copyist (*khaṭṭāṭ*) of the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas, as is indicated in the work itself.[34] The work has appeared in several editions, the first of which was published in Mecca in 1323/1905/6. Muḥammad Ismā'īl was also active as a teacher in Mecca for quite some time.[35]

One disciple who was originally from the same island as Shaykh Sambas was 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Sarawaki (a contemporary of Shaykh Sambas). He had been appointed as *khalīfa* of Shaykh Sambas for the region of west Kalimantan. His influence in the area was maintained until recently by K.H. 'Abdul Rani Maḥmūd. He received the *ijāza* from his grandfather, who had himself been initiated by al-Sarawakī. 'Abdul Rani also learned the *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya*

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[33] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 94.

[34] Muḥammad Isma'il ibn 'Abdurrahim is referred to in the colophon as "*khuṣūṣan li kātibihā*." See Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Arifin (Surabaya: Shirka Bungkul Indah, n.d.), 11.

[35] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 90, 92.

from Ismā'īl Jabal and was initiated by him. It is said, however, that by that time he had already joined the TQN of Suryalaya and visited Abah Anom in 1976; in fact, the latter bestowed on him an *ijāza* some years later and appointed him as his representative in west Kalimantan.[36]

On the island of Sumatra, especially in the Lampung area, the foremost disciple of Shaykh Sambas was Haji Ahmad Lampung, who founded the other line of the TQN. When I visited this region, I had the opportunity to visit Shaykh Kiyai Haji Ahmad Shobier (born July 17, 1916), whose title is Ibn Islām. [37] According to the *silsila* of the TQN that he provided me, his father's name was Muhammad Ṣālih Lampung, who was initiated by Kiyai Haji Muhammad Arsyad Banten, who was in turn initiated by Kiyai Nawawī Banten,[38] who was initiated by Aḥmad Hasbullah (of Madura?), who was initiated by 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Bukhārī Banten, who was the successor of Ahmad Khatib Sambas.[39] It is possible that the Ḥājjī Aḥmad of Lampung identified by Martin van Bruinessen as Shaykh Sambas's disciple may have been the Muḥammad (Ṣāliḥ) of Lampung listed in Shobier's *silsila*. On the other hand, Bruinessen indicates that Aḥmad Ḥasbullah was a *khalīfa* of Shaykh

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[36] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 122-123.

[37] Ahmad Shobier Lampung, "Daftar Riwayat Hidup", Bandar Lampung, January 12, 1991, 3. Mr. Solahuddin is the one who helped me to visit Kiyai Haji Ahmad Shobier when he was in hospital and where he gave me a brief interview. Then the former, together with Mr. Yusa'ari, sent the written information after I left, to my husband in Jakarta, who then forwarded it to me in Montreal.

[38] Ahmad Shobier Lampung, "Silsilah Guru Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshbandiyya Riwayat Kiyai Haji Ahmad Sabir Lampung, Pendiri Yayasan Pendidikan Agama Islam 'Al-Salihin' Provinsi Lampung," 1. The famous Nawawī Banten (ibn 'Umar or *sayyid 'ulamā' al-ḥijaz*, d.1897 A.D.). This information is surprising, for I have not found Shaykh Nawawi Banten's name appearing in the *silsila* of the TQN. Dhofier only mentions him in the intellectual genealogy of Javanese Kiyai scheme. See Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 86.

[39] See the *silsila* of the TQN of Lampung's lineage.

Sambas,[40] and thus would not have been initiated into the *ṭarīqa* by 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. Indeed, in the *silsila* of the TQN (Lampung version), starting from Shaykh Sambas and going backwards, one finds two names not given in Bruinessen's list: Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn (in between Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ and Shaykh 'Uthmān), and Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn (in between Nūr al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn);[41] otherwise the names included are the same. This region is also currently served by a branch of the TQN of Suryalaya, whose local representative is Yusa'ari SE. I met with him personally and interviewed him; it was through his kindness that I was given the opportunity to witness a *khataman* of the TQN in a mosque beside his house in Bandar Lampung.[42] A native of Palembang in southern Sumatra, Muhammad Ma'rūf ibn 'Abd Allāh Khatib was Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas' *khalīfa* or chosen disciple in that region.[43] At present, the TQN of Suryalaya also has a branch in Palembang.

Another important disciple of Shaykh Sambas was Shaykh Yasin who originally from Kedah (Malaysia), later resided at Mempawah, west Kalimantan and

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[40] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 92.

[41] Ahmad Shobier Lampung, "Silsilah Guru Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshbandiyya Riwayat Kiyai Haji Ahmad Sabir Lampung, Pendiri Yayasan Pendidikan Agama Islam 'Al-Salihin' Provinsi Lampung," 1. See also Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 90-91.

[42] I am very grateful to certain people who helped me while I was doing my research in Lampung, among others Abah Anom, who gave me permission and moral support to go to Lampung; Mr. Yusuf Hamzah, the personal secretary of Abah Anom, who provided me a letter; Maj. Gen. (retired) Sukriya Atmaja, his wife and his daughter, Nuryati in Jakarta who facilitated all the arrangements that made my trip to Lampung possible; and in Lampung, Mr. Yusa'ari and Mr. Solahuddin.

[43] He wrote a *risāla* entitled Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyah dan Naqsyabandiyah. The only copy of this *risāla* is preserved in the National Museum of Jakarta (Ml 149). We shall describe and discuss this source when we explain the Fath al-'Ārifīn in chapter three of this dissertation. Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 90. I am grateful to my daughter, Ms. Laily Hafidzah, for sending me a photocopy of this manuscript.

disseminated the *ṭarīqa* there. At present the TQN of Suryalaya also has a branch in Kedah. Abah Anom's representative there is Ustādh Haji Mohamad Zuki ibn Shafie, whom I met personally and interviewed while he was visiting Abah Anom in Suryalaya.

The other disciples of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas were Shaykh Nuruddin, who was active in the Philippines earlier in this century and Muḥammad Sa'd of Sambas. The former must, however, have returned home late in his career, for his grave is located in the village of Tekarang, sub-district Tebas, Sambas, whereas Muḥammad Sa'd's grave is located in sub-district Selakau, Sambas.[44]

The spread of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas's disciples throughout the country (i.e., in Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumatra and Kalimantan) is a reflection not only of his wide popularity but also of the attraction that Sufi doctrines exercised on Indonesian Muslims. His foremost successor, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten (b.1840), likewise played a significant role, although he was in turn followed by a number of disciples who branched out on their own, splitting the TQN in the process. Yet despite the fact that the order lacks a single, unifying leadership, the teachings espoused by the various branches remain similar.

[44] Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara, 177 see also Kharisudin Aqib, Al-Hikmah Memahami Teosofi Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah (Surabaya: Dunia Ilmu, 1998), 54, 121. It is a mistake on page 121, when Aqib says Nuruddin is from Sambas. At the same time, he does not mention Ahmad Hasbullah of Madura as a *khalīfa* of Shaykh Sambas. Most of those of Shaykh Sambas's disciples mentioned above are explained in Martin van Bruinessen's work, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 90-91, 122-123.

3. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* after Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas.

By the 1970s, there were four important centers of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* in Java; Rejoso (Jombang), under Kiyai Romly Tamim; Mranggen (close to Semarang), under Kiyai Muslikh (Muṣliḥ); Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya), with Abah Anom as its head; and Pagentongan (Bogor), under Kiyai Thohir (Ṭāhir) Falak. Rejoso represented the line of Aḥmad Hasbullah [Ḥasabullāh], Suryalaya the line of Kiyai Tolhah [Ṭalḥah] and the others that of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten and his *khalīfas*.[45]

In subsequent decades, the TQN has also made progress in other regions, partly through appointing representatives to different areas. The Suryalaya branch has been particularly active in this regard. It is a practice that might be expected to create rivalries, or even lead to resentment between branches. And yet, the appointing of representatives, far from causing conflict, is welcomed everywhere as a complementary effort, a means of attracting new members even if these are perhaps shared between branches. It is a phenomenon that shows how the *ṭarīqa* in the Sufi tradition is not merely a social institution (as some scholars perceive it to be), but rather a mystical transmission confirming the the Qur'ānic verse, "*fastabiq al-khayrāt*."

[45] Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 216-218. Bruinessen mentions Musta'in Romly. See also Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 90. Dhofier includes one more branch in East Java, Pesantren Tebuireng (Jombang).

a. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* in Banten, Cirebon and Bogor (West Java)

The main *khalīfa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten in his own home town was Kiyai Asnawī of Caringin. His descendant Kāẓim continued teaching TQN doctrine in Menes, where Kāẓim was in turn succeeded by his son, Aḥmad. Kiyai Asnawī, however, had also appointed another of his *khalīfas* in Cilegon, 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn 'Alī (of Pesantren Cibeber). The current *murshid* in Cibeber is Kiyai Muhaimi, while the most recent TQN *shaykh* in Banten was Ki Armin of Cibuntu (a village close to the city of Pandeglang), who died in 1988. Ki Armin was the nephew of Kiyai Asnawi of Caringin, through whom he learned the *ṭarīqa* for the first time, though he claimed to have studied under four *shaykh*s in Mecca and Baghdad.[46]

It is said that the TQN in Banten played an important role as a communication and coordination network throughout the nineteenth century, reaching its peak with the peasant revolt of Banten in 1888. The Banten line has played, moreover, a key role in the development of the TQN as a whole, especially in central Java where Kiyai Muslih of Mranggen received the *ijāza* from Kiyai 'Abd al-Laṭīf Banten, who had in turn, received his *ijāza* from Kiyai Asnawi Banten. It was through Kiyai Muslih as well that Kiyai Adlan Ali later taught the TQN in south Jombang.

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[46] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, 94. They were Shaykh 'Umar Hamdan and Shaykh 'Ali Nahari, both from Mecca, whereas the other two were from Baghdad: Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Baghdādī and Shaykh Al-Bāqi al-Baghdādī.

The most important *khalīfa* of Shaykh Tholha of Cirebon was Abdullah Mubarok (Abah Sepuh), who was also initiated by Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten in Mecca. It was Abah Sepuh who in 1905, established the Pesantren Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya, west Java. We have hardly any information concerning the descendants of Shaykh Tholha, although, a brief account of his career will be offered in the first part of chapter four.

According to Pijper, Kiyai Muhammad Ismail of Kracak, Cipeujeuh, Sindanglaut, introduced the *ṭarīqa* to the Cirebon region at the beginning of the 20th century. He had been initiated into the order after studying for ten years in Mecca and then for another few years in Baghdad. In the 1930s, he acquired a number of disciples from Banten, Priangan, Brebes, Tegal, Pekalongan, Purwakarta and Madura. Three times a year he met with thousands of people in his *pesantren* and performed *dhikr* with them. People came not only to learn *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* doctrine from him but also to be cured of illness and to be blessed.[47]

The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* spread to Bogor largely through the efforts of Kiyai Falak, one of 'Abd al-Karīm Banten's *khalīfas*. Kiyai Falak was in fact from Banten. It was through his charisma that he was so successful in establishing Pesantren Pagentongan, which during his lifetime became one out of the five main centers of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*. Kiyai Falak passed away in around 1973, at the age of 134 according to the lunar calendar (130 years

[47] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 94-95. G.F. Pijper, Fragmenta Islamica (Leiden: Brill, 1934), 99.

according to the solar calendar).[48] It is said that Abah Sepuh of Suryalaya visited Pesantren Pagentongan during the lifetime of Kiyai Falak.[49] The latter's successor was Kiyai Thohir (Ṭāhir) Falak, who said that he continued the litany (*wird*) based on his father's *waṣiyya*, which consisted in reciting the *manāqib* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī on the eleventh of every month in the *hijri* calendar and performing the *khataman* of the TQN every Friday, after the *'aṣr* (afternoon) or *maghrib* (sunset) prayers. In addition, he inherited the text of *Manāqib Badr* (referring to the 313 soldiers who died at Badr, the most important battle led by the Prophet Muḥammad), and a recitation based on seven *sūras* of the Qur'ān.[50] Kiyai Thohir, among others, helped to found the Madrasa Dār al-'Ulūm in Mecca in the 1920s. At that time, many Indonesian settlers were studying in the Madrasa Shaulatiyya, an educational institution founded as a *waqf* by an Indian Muslim, Shaulat. Indonesian students (Jawa or Jawi students – the attribute given by Meccans to people from southeast Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines) were, however, dissatisfied with the system in the Shaulatiyya school, which was too universalist, i.e., Arab- oriented, and neglectful of the traditions of the nations from where the students themselves came. Understandably, therefore, they gave wholehearted support to the Madrasa Dār al-'Ulūm, where the instructional method was similar to

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[48] Sudjoko Prasodjo, et al., Profil Pesantren Laporan Hasil Penelitian Pesantren Al-Falak dan Delapan Pesantren lain di Bogor (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974), 34.

[49] Juhaya S. Praja and Zaenal Abidin Anwar, "Pengaruh TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya di dalam dan di luar Negeri," in Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyyah ed., Harun Nasution, 209. In this article, the name of the *kiyai* of Pagentongan is given as Kiyai Falah. Since its establishment, the Pesantren Pagentongan seems to be loyal to the Nahdlatul Ulama. See Sudjoko Prasodjo et al., Profil Pesantren Laporan Hasil Penelitian Pesantren Al-Falak dan Delapan Pesantren lain di Bogor, 81-82.

[50] Sudjoko Prasodjo et.al., Profil Pesantren Laporan Hasil Penelitian Pesantren Al-Falak dan Delapan Pesantren lain di Bogor, 41, 45. There is no detailed information available concerning this *waṣiyya*.

that of a *pesantren.* Dār al-'Ulūm, to some extent, therefore, became a miniature Indonesian institution in the Holy Land.[51]

The TQN of Suryalaya is presently active in Cirebon as well. Abah Anom has his *talqīn* agent, Ustādh H. Aḥmad A. Rohim, stationed in the village of Trusmi, a sub-district of Plered, Cirebon, where he has served since his appointment in 1988. Indramayu, a district bordering on Cirebon, is supervised by Kiyai Haji Kurdi Mustafa, appointed in 1984, while in Bogor, Abah Anom's representative is Kiyai Haji Husni ibn H. Abdul Khoer ('Abd al-Khayr), who was appointed in 1996. *Talqīn* agents in fact, also reside in other cities in west Java such as Ciawi, Cianjur, Ciamis, Sukabumi, and Bandung.[52] The activities of the TQN of Suryalaya in various areas was preceded by the *da'wa* and social efforts of the foundation known as Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya (established in 1961). Afterwards, its development and educational, social and spiritual progress persuaded Abah Anom to appoint *talqīn* agents in the area. These functionaries tend to follow in the wake of the foundation's spread; thus, the Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya presently has 46

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[51] Sudjoko notes that Sukarno – the first Indonesian president – once visited this *pesantren.* Sudjoko Prasodjo et al., Profil Pesantren Laporan Hasil Penelitian Pesantren Al-Falak dan Delapan Pesantren lain di Bogor, 50. Martin van Bruinessen informs us that the Indonesian students preferred to speak Bahasa with their instructors, but then one day an instructor (an Arab?) tore up the Indonesian newspaper when one of the Indonesian students was reading it. This event bothered the students' nationality, so they started to dislike the institution. As a result, they built *Dār al-.Ulūm.* Muḥsin al-Musawwa, a sayyid of Palembang was the first rector. However, afterwards, both *madrasahs, Shaulatiyya* and *Dār al-'Ulūm,* influenced the development of Islamic traditional education in Indonesia. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Pesantren dan Kitab Kuning Pemeliharaan dan Kesinambungan Tradisi Pesantren," Ulumul Qur'an 4 (1992): 82.

[52] Daftar Wakil Talqin Thorekat Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya-Tasikmalaya, 1-2.

branches throughout the country,[53] whereas the *talqīn* agents for west Java (excluding the Cirebon and Bogor areas) are only thirteen in number, scattered in various districts or sub-districts. For example there is one in Ciawi, K.H.R. Abdullah Syarif, who was appointed in 1974, though he is almost always available in the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, where he often performs the *talqīn* ceremony for guests who wish to be initiated.[54] The *talqīn* agent for Cianjur is K.H.Aang Muhaeminul Aziz, appointed in 1974, while in the district of Ciamis, the *talqīn* agent is K.H.Drs. Otong Sidiq, appointed in 1990. In Cisaruni, the *talqīn* agent is K.H. M. Ali Saefuddin Paruq, appointed in 1994. K.H. Abdul Gaos Saefullah in Ciomas was appointed in 1994. His wife Rosliyana Gaos, by the way, acts as the chairperson of Pondok Inabah II, which is located in Ciomas. In the sub-district Nagrog, district of Sukabumi, the *talqīn* agent is K.H.M. Zezen Zaenal Abidin Bazul Asyhab, appointed in 1994.[55] In the same district but in a different sub-district, Cibadak, Sukabumi, the *talqīn* agent is Ustadh Muksin Sanusi, appointed in 1994, while in sub district Sukaraja, K.H. Yusuf Thobari occupies the same post, having been appointed in 1994 as well. For the Bandung area the *talqīn* agents are Dr. Juhaya S. Praja,

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[53] Daftar Alamat Pengurus Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1-3. In west Java, The Yayasan was established in such cities as Bandung, Bekasi, Bogor, Ciamis, Cirebon, Cianjur, Cilegon, Garut, Indramayu, Kuningan, Karawang, Majalengka, Purwakarta, Pandeglang, Subang, Serang, Sukabumi, Sumedang, Tasikmalaya and Tangerang.

[54] In addition to Kiyai Abdullah Syarif, two other *wakil talqins* with the same task are K.H. Zaenal Abidin Anwar (a nephew of Abah Anom), appointed in 1990 and K.H. Abdul Salam Nasution S.H., appointed in 1994. K.H. Noor Anom Mubarok B.A, in Bandung, appointed in 1987, the latter being Abah Anom's younger brother. K.H.Noor Anom Mubarok BA, K.H. Zaenal Abidin Anwar and H.Dudun Noor Saiduddin [the oldest son of Abah Anom] have been appointed by Abah Anom with a letter of decree on October 2, 1998/Jumad al-Akhir 11, 1419 A.H. function as Abah Anom's assistants to solve immediate problems within the *pesantren*, however this does not eliminate the task and the role of Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya. See appendix 11 of this thesis

[55] I visited the last two places during my research visit in 1999 and held the interviews with them.

appointed in 1994 (he is also the present rector of the Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah), and Drs. H. Arief Ichwanie As, likewise appointed in 1994.

The TQN of Suryalaya is also active in Jakarta and its surrounding region, where it has experienced considerable growth. This activity began with the *da'wa* of a nephew of Abah Anom, Ahmad Sastra, who spread the doctrine from house to house until it reached middle-class Jakartans, such as engineers, university lecturers, military officers and artists. The *talqīn* agents for the Jakarta area are currently K.H. Abdul Rasyid Efendi BA, appointed in 1994, and Drs. H. Wahfiuddin, MBA, appointed in 1998.

b. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Mranggen (Central Java)

The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in central Java is based on the Pesantren Futūḥiyya in Mranggen. The latter institution was founded by Kiyai 'Abd al-Raḥmān in 1905. He was then succeeded by his son, Kiyai Muslih, who was a disciple of *murshids* from two different lines: first, Kiyai Asnawi Banten and Kiyai 'Abd al-Laṭīf Banten -- both of them initiated by Kiyai 'Abd al-Karīm Banten; and second, Mbah 'Abd al-Raḥmān from Menur (north of Mranggen) who was initiated by Ibrāhīm al-Barumbuni or Brumbung, who was also the *khalīfa* of 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. Kiyai Muslih wrote several books that have been studied in many *pesantren*s in central and east Java. Our discussion of his works will take place in the following sub-chapter. Kiyai Muslih passed away in 1981, and was succeeded by his two sons,

Kiyai Muḥammad Ṣādiq Luṭfil-Ḥakīm[56] and Kiyai Muḥammad Ḥanīf. Kiyai Muslih's brother and his sons-in-law, are, however, involved in the activities of Pesantren Futuhiyya including those of the TQN, according to the oral *waṣiyya* of Kiyai Muslih. Kiyai Hakim is the chairperson of the Yayasan Futuhiyyah, and the head of Madrasa 'Āliya Futuhiyyah I Mranggen, whereas in the TQN structure itself, he has been appointed as *murshid.* His brother, Muhammad Hanif, serves as the vice chairperson of the Yayasan and the headmaster of Madrasa 'Āliya Futuhiyyah II, which is located in the Suburan village, to the south of Pondok Pesantren Futuhiyyah, Mranggen. Kiyai Hakim is also active as the chairperson of the JATMN in Central Java. [57]

One of Shaykh Muslih's disciples, K.H. Abu Nur Djazuli, has disseminated and developed the TQN in Brebes, central Java. One of Kiyai Ibrohim Brumbung's disciples, Kiyai Hasan Anwar Gubuk, passed it on to Kiyai Madhan, who transmitted it to his own son, Kiyai Komaruddin of Purwodadi.[58] In the meantime, in Kajen, another disciple of Kiyai Muslih, K.H. Durri Nawawi, taught the TQN to adherents there.[59]

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[56]I am grateful to Kiyai Lutfil Hakim whom I met in person when I visited him in Mranggen and who provided me with important information. He also gave me a chance to speak to an assembly of his female students in the dormitory of Pesantren Futuhiyyah.

[57] Qowa'id, "Tarekat dan Politik Kasus Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Desa Mranggen Demak Jawa Tengah" (MA Thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 1993), 120, 156.

[58] Two undergraduates of IAIN Yogyakarta completed research on the TQN in these areas. The first, by Istikomah, may be translated as "The TQN in the village of Krajan, sub-district Bumiayu, Brebes," completed in 1989 and the second, written by Ikhwanuddin, as "The TQN in Piyungan, Bantul, Yogyakarta," completed in 1986.

[59] Ahmad Syafii," Tarekat Qadiriyah Naqsabandiyah Kebangkitan Kembali Agama di Kajen" (MA Thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 1990), 80, 280.

In central Java, the TQN of Suryalaya is represented in Pemalang by a *talqīn* agent of Abah Anom by the name of K.H. Qomarudin, appointed in 1986, in Kebumen by K.H. Mahfud Ali, who was also appointed in 1986, and in Pekalongan by K.H. Ahmad Jahrie Anwar, appointed in 1994. In Yogyakarta, the *talqīn* agent is Drs. K.H. Toha Abdurrachman, appointed in 1994.

c. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Madura and Rejoso (East Java)

In Madura, there are three *ṭarīqas* at present that appear to be active among the Madurese: the *Naqshbandiyya*, the TQN and the *Tijāniyya*. The first two *ṭarīqas* came to the island around the turn of the century, while the *Tijāniyya* came a few decades later.[60] By around 1920, the TQN was the most widespread *ṭarīqa* in the island, although some of the most prominent *'ulamā'* already adhered to the *Naqshbandiyya*. However, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Sambas, Ahmad Hasbullah of Madura, seemed to be more successful in disseminating and developing the TQN among Madurese descendents outside the island, e.g., in Rejoso. At present in Madura, the *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya* is the most influential. Martin van Bruinessen, however, has found that the Madurese tend to prefer in particular the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya,* the TQN, or the *Tijaniyya*. Two characteristics distinguish the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya* circles in Madura from those found elsewhere: the mention of the name of the *badal* (an older, spiritual brother) after the name of the *khalīfa*, and the existence of female *murshids*.[61] The *badal* are authorized to give

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[60] Martin van Bruinessen, "Tarekat and Tarekat Teachers in Madurese Society," in Across Madura Strait The Dynamics of an Insular Society, ed. Kees van Dijk (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995), 92.

[61] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 177, 185. The system of collective leadership was first applied in Madura quite some time ago, The *shaykh*s of

basic instruction to *ṭarīqa* followers and to lead regular *dhikr* meetings, although, unlike the *khalīfa*, they are not allowed to initiate new disciples.[62]

The TQN in Madura appears to have declined in influence over the last several decades. One indication of this is given by a descendant of Kiyai Cholil (Khalīl) of Bangkalan (1819-1925), i.e., Kiyai Abdullah Schal, whom I met personally during my visit to Bangkalan. He told me that many different *ṭarīqa* leaders (from the *Naqshbandiyya* or the TQN) have visited and asked for blessing or an *ijāza* from Kiyai Cholil, but he was oddly silent over the latter's actual *ṭarīqa* allegiance.[63] What little information we possess on Kiyai Cholil's life in the Ḥijāz indicates that he enjoyed the scholarly atmosphere in Mecca and was more interested in studying Sufism, Arabic grammar and *fiqh*, under the direction of his teachers Nawawī al-Bantenī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm and Shaykh Maḥfūdh al-Tarmisi [of Termas d.1918].[64] Without mentioning his source Unang Sunarjo says also that Shaykh Cholil of Bangkalan was one of the *khalīfa*s of Shaykh 'Abd al-

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similar *ṭarīqa* served the communities of different *ṭarīqa*s. In fact some *khalīfas* tried to obtain the *ijāza* from more than one *murshid*, and three or four *shaykh*s from Madura took turns visiting their community who resided in various places. They taught and stayed there for one or two months; for example, they visited west Kalimantan. Concerning the female *murshid*, Martin van Bruinessen tells of Nyai Thobibah, who received full *ijāza* from Kiyai Ali Wafa and Sharifah Fatimah bint Habib Muhammad of Sumenep, who took *bay'a* from Kiyai Sirajuddin, who had received the *ijāza* from Kiyai Syamsuddin of Umpul. Sharifah Fatimah had many female followers, not only from Sumenep, but also from west Kalimantan and southern Malang, east Java. This phenomenon shows the tolerant attitude of Madurese to women's leadership, although it is still limited to their own community. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Tarekat and Tarekat Teachers in Madurese Society," 102. The term *badal* here is understood in a more Indonesian context; i.e., the representative of the *shaykh* (or the *kiyai* in the *pesantren*), or an older spiritual brother. In classical Islamic literature however, it means more than that; see the following note.

[62] Martin van Bruinessen, "Tarekat and Tarekat Teachers in Madurese Society," 98-99.

[63] Personal conversation with K.H. Abdullah Schal, Bangkalan, April, 1999.

[64] Concerning Shaykh Maḥfūdh ibn 'Abd Allah al-Tarmisi and fourteen of his works, see 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, Siyar wa Tarājim ba'd 'Ulamā'inā fī al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashr li al-Hijra, 286-287.

Karīm Banten.[65] Regardless of whether he was ever directly involved in a *ṭarīqa* or not, however, it is a fact that Kiyai Cholil's name appears in almost every discussion of the saints, miracles and Sufi orders in Indonesia. Also, his spiritual achievements were transmitted to the many great *shaykh*s of Java who became his students, such as, Ḥaḍrat al-Shaykh K.H.M. Hasyim Asy'ari (d.1947) of Tebu Ireng (Jombang), Kiyai Manaf 'Abd al-Karīm of Lirboyo (Kediri), Kiyai Muḥammad Ṣiddīq of Jember, Kiyai Munawir (d.1942) of Krapyak (Yogyakarta), Kiyai Maksum (Ma'ṣūm, 1870-1972) of Lasem (Rembang), Kiyai Abdullah Mubarak (d.1956) of Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya), Kiyai Wahab Hasbullah (1888-1971) of Tambak Beras (Jombang),[66] Kiyai Bisri Syamsuri (1886-1980) of Denanyar (Jombang), and Kiyai Bisri Mustofa (1915-1977).[67]

The Pesantren Darul Ulum (Dār al-'Ulūm) in Rejoso, Jombang, is a prestigious *pesantren* and an influential center of the *tarīqa* in east Java. The *pesantren* itself was built by Kiyai Tamim of Madura,[68] while the *tarīqa* was introduced into the region by his son-in-law Khalīl, who had been initiated by Ahmad Hasbullah in Mecca. Khalil in turn initiated the founder's son, Kiyai Romly

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[65] R.H. Unang Sunardjo, SH., Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah Abad kedua Puluh (Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1995), 14.

[66] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai, 90-92.

[67] All of these *kiyai*s are the founders of the *pesantren* in their own home towns. In addition, Kiyai Hasyim, Kiyai Bisri and Kiyai Wahab are the founders of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

[68] For further information on Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum, see Nurcholish Madjid, Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum di Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang Jawa Timur. A discussion on Pondok Pesantren, February 27, 1977, 53-66. See also Imam Bawani, Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Jombang, Jawa Timur. (Jakarta: Departemen Agama R.I.Proyek Penelitian Keagamaan Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama, 1981/1982), 1-35.

Tamim, who was in turn succeeded by his son Kiyai Musta'in Romly. Another source mentions that Kiyai Romly received initiation into the *ṭarīqa* from Kiyai Usman ('Uthmān) al-Isḥāqī al-Nādi.[69] The latter, on moving to Sawahpulo, Surabaya, taught the *tarīqa* there. At present, his son, Kiyai Asrori, has succeeded him as leader of TQN there. I visited him in his *pesantren* in Surabaya, but did not have a chance to meet him personally.

Both Musta'in Romly and Usman al-Ishaqi had devoted followers and *badal*s among the Madurese (both were of Madurese descent themselves but also spoke Javanese). The latter had his *badal* on the island of Bawean (close to Madura), where the people of four villages practiced the TQN path, and visited him in Surabaya on the occasion of the monthly readings of the *manāqib* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlāni. Kiyai Musta'in Romly for his part, was a charismatic and influential spiritual leader in east Java during the 1970's, before he allied himself with Golkar and became politically active. The present leader of the *tarīqa* in Rejoso is Kiyai Dimyati Romly, whom I visited in 1999.

In Rejoso, the TQN developed rapidly. I witnessed on one occasion in 1999 thousands of people, men and women, though mostly middle-aged and elderly, receiving the initiation from Kiyai Dimyati Romly in his *pesantren* complex, Darul Ulum. Kiyai Dimyati Romly had at the time only recently succeeded his brother, Kiyai Rifa'i Romly (d.1994), as leader. The latter had received the *ijāza irshād* from

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[69] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 96.

his brother, Kiyai Musta'in, through an *ishāra* (a sign).[70] Kiyai Dimyati Romly on the other hand, the current *murshid,* received his *ijāza irshād* from Kiyai Ma'shum (Ma'ṣūm) who had received his *ijāza irshād* from Kiyai Romly Tamim and Kiyai Musta'in Romly.[71] Besides being a *murshid* of the TQN in 1975, Kiyai Musta'in was also a leader of the organization known as *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh,* which had been established by the NU in 1957. Because of the change of political affiliation by Kiyai Musta'in Romly to Golkar in advance of the 1977 general election, the organization was re-established as the JATMN, and proclaimed at the NU Congress held in Semarang in 1979. In Rejoso, the organization goes by the name *Jam'iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia* (JATMI); it currently has its office at Darul Ulum University, one of the constituent institutions of Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum. Thus TQN members in Jombang are split between the two groups, JATMI, favored by TQN members belonging to the Rejoso line, and JATMN, whose murshid is K.H. Adlan Ali, of Cukir (a village to the south of Jombang). The latter was promoted to the post of head *murshid* in recognition of the fact that when he joined the *ṭarīqa,* he was a *khalīfa* of Kiyai Musta'in Romly (one source even mentions that he received *ijāza irshād* from the latter) and because he also received the *ijāza irshād* from Kiyai Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Rahman of Mranggen, who had received the *ijāza irshād* from Kiyai 'Abd al-Laṭīf Banten, who in turn had received the *ijāza* from Kiyai Asnawi Banten, who initially received the *ijāza irshād*

[70] *Ishāra* literally means sign, indication, mark. *Ijāza irshād* means license or diploma of authority to give guidance, or in this context, to initiate members.

[71] Endang Turmudi, "Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java" (unpublished doctoral thesis of Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, the Australian National University, February, 1996), 84-85.

from Kiyai 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, the main *khalīfa* of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas.[72]

As for the TQN of Suryalaya in east Java, its branches are located in Surabaya, Nganjuk, Jember and Sidoarjo and on Madura Island (specifically, in the villages of Sumenep and Sampang). In the Surabaya region, Abah Anom has two representatives (*wakil talqīn/talqīn* agents) in place: K.H.M. Helmy Ahmad Basyaeban in Surabaya proper, appointed in 1994; and K.H. Mastur Somad, in Sidoarjo, appointed in 1997. The coordinator of the area is Muḥammad Ali Hanafiah, who also functions as an instructor in the Pondok Inabah, the only one serving east Java at the present time. I had the good fortune to meet him personally and interview him.

d. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Bali and Lombok

The establishment of the TQN in Bali -- where, as in other regions in Indonesia, members were drawn largely from the ordinary people -- [73] is associated with the name of H. Muḥammad Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, who was a *khalīfa* of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas as well as his secretary. The only information about him is that he copied out the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of his *shaykh* and that he also studied

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[72] Endang Turmudi, "Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java," 89-90. See also the Silsila of TQN limurshidihā almarḥūm al-kiyai al-Shaykh Muslih 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Mranggen, Demak, 1. In this *silsila*, it is mentioned that Kiyai Muslikh received two *ijāza*s. In addition to the one from Kiyai 'Abd al-Latif Banten, he also received an *ijāza* from Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Menur. I am grateful to Kiyai Lutfil Hakim, the son of Kiyai Muslikh for providing me with this *silsila* when I visited him in Mranggen in March 1999.

[73] Bruinessen observes that this may explain why the members of the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya* and *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya* did not get involved in the revolt of 1891, discussed in the pages that follow. See Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 93.

and taught in Mekka. In Lombok, the *khalīfas* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten who were most active were H. Muḥammad Amīn of Ampenan (grandfather of the current TQN leader, Tuan Guru Mustafa Faisal) and Moḥammad Ṣiddīq of Mataram.[74] Muḥammad Amin was a son of Sultan Ṣāliḥ of Bone, who had successfully cured a king of Bali, in Lombok. He resided in Mecca, and studied under Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. After his death in Lombok, his oldest son, Ḥājjī Abd al-Malīk al-Makkī (born in Mekka), succeeded him as *ṭarīqa* leader. He was, in turn, followed in this post by his son, Tuan Guru Mustafa Faisal, who is presently in charge there.

In 1891, the Muslim Sasak tribe rebelled against the Bali kingdom. According to one source, one of its leaders, Guru Bangkol (or Mamik Ismail), was a disciple of Mohammad (Muḥammad) Ali, a Naqshbandī teacher at Sakra, east Lombok. The same source suggests, however, that Guru Bangkol was the local representative for the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya.* The Dutch in fact, suspected at the time that the TQN was the main element behind this revolt. Guru Bangkol had been initiated by his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān and his cousin Thayib, both of whom learned the teachings of the *ṭarīqa* in Mecca. Guru Bangkol was, as it happens, of noble birth; thus in this case especially, the assumption that only ordinary people ever chose to join the TQN is not exactly accurate.[75] Ḥājī Mohammad 'Alī (better known in his own village as Ḥājjī 'Alī Batu) on the other hand, rose from ordinary circumstances; however he has highly respected among the local dignitaries. In the present day, the activities of the TQN of Suryalaya in

[74] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 205-206.

[75]Ibid., 93, 28, 202-211.

Lombok are overseen by Ustadh Lukman Kamil, a *talqīn* agent of Abah Anom based in Mataram, west Lombok, west Nusatenggara.

e. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Pontianak (West Kalimantan)

Shaykh Yasin was one of the disciples of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas; originally from Kedah (Malaysia), he later on moved to Mempawah (west Kalimantan), where he lived and disseminated the *ṭarīqa*. Active in Sambas itself was Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn. His grave is located in the village of Tekarang, Tebas, district of Sambas. Different sources mention that he was originally from the Philippines. Another disciple was Shaykh Muhammad Sa'ad of Sambas. His grave is located in Selakau, Sambas. It seems that neither of his disciples were really successful in disseminating the *ṭarīqa* in Sambas.[76] One of the *khalīfas* initiated by Shaykh Sambas for Pontianak was 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Sarawaki. The latter gave the *tawajjuh*[77] (the spiritual assistance rendered by the saint to his devotee, or by the *murshid* to his *murīd*) of the *ṭarīqa* to Haji Muḥammad Arsyad [Arshad] ibn 'Abdurrahman Pontianak, then to Abdul Rani Mahmud.[78] Later on, another figure emerged by the name of Sayyid Muhammad Ridha [Riḍā'] ibn Yahya, a *khalīfa* of Shaykh Sambas and 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. Among the foremost teachers in the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in west Kalimantan was K.H.

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[76] Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara, 181.

[77] This term should be understood in its own context. The term *tawajjuh*, formed from *wajh* (face), means facing, confrontation, a technique of contemplation, concentration of one's being upon someone (i.e. a *murīd* to his *shaykh*, or towards the Prophet), or turning the face towards Lord (Qur'ān 6:79). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 58, 148, 157, 211, 213-214, 248.

[78] Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara, 182.

Abdul Rani Mahmud (born 1914), who first learned the *ṭarīqa* from his grandfather, who had received it from Shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sarawaki. In early 1977, Abdul Rani started to teach the *dhikr* of the *ṭarīqa*. At present, however, he is affiliated with the TQN of Suryalaya led by Abah Anom, whom he visited in 1976.[79]

The *talqīn* agents of Abah Anom for the TQN Suryalaya for this area are K.H. Sholeh Thalib, in Tanjungpura, Pontianak, west Kalimantan, appointed in 1994, and Ustādh H. Muhammad Nur A Fatah, at Durian III, Pontianak, appointed in 1994, while in Banjarmasin, south Kalimantan, Abah Anom's *talqīn* agent is Prof. Dr. H. Zurkani Yahya, appointed in 1998.[80]

f. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Lampung and Palembang (Sumatra)

Among the disciples of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas was H. Aḥmad Lampung. As I mentioned earlier, he may perhaps be identified as Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Lampung (?), based on the *silsila* given by his successor as head of the TQN in Lampung, Kiyai Ahmad Shobier of Lampung, whom I met personally and interviewed during his stay in the hospital in Lampung.[81]

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[79] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 92, 122.

[80] I had been to Banjarmasin (south Kalimantan) and to Pontianak (west Kalimantan) a few years prior to my undertaking this study, but due to security reasons, I was not able to go to Sambas during my research visit, for there was an ethnic riot going on at the time.

[81] I am very grateful to him, for he generously provided me with some useful written information afterwards. The written materials consist of the *silsila* of TQN in Lampung, his own biography, dated January 1991, the complete *kayfiyya* of *wird* of TQN after five obligatory prayers, the photocopy of two works of 'Alām al-Dīn Muhammad Yasin ibn 'Isa al-Fadani al-Makkī, the teacher of *ḥadīth* and *isnād* in Dār al-'Ulum al-Diniyya Mekka, entitled Asānīd al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthiyya al-Sahīhayn wa al-Sunan al-Arba'a wa Muwaṭṭa' al-Imām Mālik. The second work is Tanwīr al-Basīra fī Turūq al-Isnād al-Shahīra. The other material is a photocopy of his *ijāza* (*al-Shahāda al-Nihā'iyya*) from *Madrasa Dar al-'Ulūm al-Dīniyya* of Mecca, dated May 14, 1937/16 Shawwāl 1353 A.H.

From this interview and the written biography that he supplied, we see the wide range of activities of this TQN *shaykh*. Shobier studied in Mekka for several years, where he received an *ijāza* from the Madrasa al-Falāḥ in 1931 (*Ibtidā'iyya* level), an *ijāza* from the Madrasa al-Shaulatiyya in 1934/5 (*Thanawiyya* level), and another *ijāza* from the Madrasa Dār al-'Ulūm, in 1937. He performed voluntary work for an organization known as *al-I'tisom* [*al-I'tiṣām*] in Mecca as a secretary from 1935 to 1937, and as a chair person of the Association of Darul Ulum Shāfi'iyya Indonesia from 1937 to 1945. His socio-religious activities included acting as a chairperson of Ma'arif Nahdlatul Ulama (the educational autonomous body of NU) and serving as a consultant to Mabarrot NU (social autonomous body of NU) for the Province of Lampung. His political career included his serving as chairperson of the DPRD (regional parliament) for district south of Lampung 1951-1958, vice-chairperson of the DPRD South Sumatra 1958-1960, and member of the DPRD Province of Lampung 1982-1987 (from Partai Persatuan Pembangunan). Shaykh Shobier (Ṣābir) also sent me a photocopy of the manuscript of his work, *Pancasila the Ideology of State Republic of Indonesia,* an indication of how deeply he was involved in questions of national as well as spiritual development.

As for the branch of the TQN Suryalaya in Lampung, the office of the Yayasan Serba Bakti is located in Bandar Lampung. The *talqīn* agents from Suryalaya sometimes deliver Islamic lectures in Lampung during *manakiban*; however, the daily activities of the TQN are performed after daily obligatory prayers and *khataman* are held in the mosque as usual.

The *khalīfa* of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas for Palembang (south Sumatra) was Muhammad Ma'ruf ibn Abdullah Khatib. Bruinessen mentions that in addition to al-Bālī, Ma'rūf also wrote on the teachings of Shaykh Sambas.[82] As for the TQN of Suryalaya in Palembang, there are two *talqīn* agents of Abah Anom active there: Drs. H. Golib Siregar, appointed in 1994, and Dr. H. Shaykh Abdul Jabbar Malik, appointed in 1998. The Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya's office is located in Kartini street no. 6, Palembang, south Sumatra. The TQN of Suryalaya also has a representative in Medan, north Sumatra, where the *talqīn* agent is Shaykh 'Abd l-Latif Deli, appointed in 1994.

g. The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Malaysia and Singapore

The disciple of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas for Kedah was Shaykh Yasin; he did not teach, however, the TQN path there, since he had chosen to reside in Mempawah, west Kalimantan. At present, the Suryalaya branch in Kedah is led by a *talqīn* agent of Abah Anom, Ustādh Ḥājjī Mohamad Zuki ibn Shafie, appointed in 1986. In the rest of Malaysia, we find branches of the TQN of Suryalaya located in major centers. In Sabah, for instance, there is Ustādh H. Mansur ibn Salleh, appointed as *talqīn* agent, in 1996. In Kuching, Sarawak, the *talqīn* agent is Ustādh H. Moh. Trang Isa, appointed in 1978, while in Trengganu, the *talqīn* agent is Ustādh H.M. Otsman ibn H. Abdul Latif, appointed in 1981. Therefore, altogether four *talqīn* agents representing Abah Anom reside in Malaysia, with one other *talqīn*

[82] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 90. With the help of my daughter, Laily Hafidzah, I was able to obtain access to the manuscript of Sambas's work preserved in the National Museum of Jakarta and entitled *Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyah dan Naqsyabandiyah.*

agent in Singapore, Ustādh H. 'Alī ibn H. Mohamed, who was appointed in 1975. I myself had the opportunity to meet and interview three of the above *talqīn* agents in Suryalaya: Ustādh Zuki and Ustādh Mansur of Malaysia and Ustādh 'Alī of Singapore.

The dissemination of the TQN and its development after Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas seems to have been very successful, although over time each branch has developed its own leadership. These in turn, have established their own branches in many other areas, as may be seen in the widespread activity of the *talqīn* agents of TQN Suryalaya.

4. The Political Role of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*

The Sufi order (*ṭarīqa*) constitutes the applied form of *taṣawwuf*. *Taṣawwuf* is one aspect of esoteric Islamic teachings which emphasizes the importance of purity in one's heart with respect to God. Normatively, the *ṭarīqa* belongs to the sphere of religious activities; however, historically and empirically, it has also played a significant and strategic political role in Indonesia as well as in other parts of the Islamic world. The latter phenomenon may be seen as the outcome of the interaction between religion and politics in terms of the relation between religion and state and state and society as well as between religion and society.

Scholars have argued extensively over the relationship between Islam and the state. Some understand that Islamic teachings include regulations pertaining to government or politics, as was shown by the fact that the Prophet and the four rightly-guided caliphs observed these rules in practice. Some argue that Islam is a

religion and that it has nothing to do with politics, and so, therefore, the only task of the Prophet was to bring human beings to lead a more noble life. Others reject both of these opinions, saying that although in Islam there is no specific set of rules explaining how to govern a country, there is a set of moral values for creating a state.[83]

Indonesian Muslim society, especially in rural areas, appears to be more interested in the spiritual than in the civic aspect of Islam. This phenomenon is also very noticeable in some urban areas. In addition to the fact that Islam was brought to Indonesia by merchants who were also Sufis, the land itself has long provided a fertile soil for such spiritual beliefs. Indeed, most Islamic leaders in rural areas (*kiyais*) often serve as the heads of *ṭarīqas*. They often direct Islamic traditional boarding schools (*pesantrens*) where they disseminate *taṣawwuf* teachings in addition to lessons in *sharī'a* and *'aqīda*. The student-teacher relationship that is formed in these *pesantrens* is a close one and often leads to the formation of charismatic figures, with their respective loyal followers. These phenomena, which occur naturally, often attract the attention of formal leaders or government officials. The latter often seek to strengthen their own power by co-opting religious leaders into the political sphere though their considerable influence. At the same time,

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[83] Mahmud Suyuthi, Summary of his dissertation "Hubungan Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Jombang dengan Pemerintah Orde Baru" (Surabaya: Universitas Airlangga, 1998), 17. I am grateful to *almarḥūm* Drs. K.H. Wahid Zaini S.H. the head of the Pondok Pesantren Nurul Jadid, Paiton, Probolinggo, east Java who provided me with this information, when I visited him in his *pesantren* in 1999.

different *ṭarīqa*s are playing a more active and aggressive role in opposing the ruling party, as they no longer simply stand by and observe the irregularities in society.

*Kiyai*s themselves play a variety of leadership roles within society. The *pesantren kiyai*, for example, is one who improves society through education, while the *ṭarīqa kiyai* focuses on the implementation of the internal aspect of Islamic teachings. The political *kiyai,* on the other hand, is more interested in political affairs. The *kiyai panggung* (stage *kiyai* - the *kiyai* who often preaches on stage) seeks renown as a preacher. Often, *kiyai*s fulfil one or more of these roles and no distinction is made between them. Nevertheless, it seems that with the democratic renewal in the country, there will be even more pressure on *kiyai*s to become involved in the political arena.

The involvement of *ṭarīqa*s in politics has become a relatively common phenomenon, not only in Indonesia but also throughout the Islamic world.[84] Although only certain *ṭarīqa*s in certain countries are involved in this activity, their involvement sometimes extends from internal political affairs to the larger political domain (i.e. against foreign colonialism). In this sub-chapter, however, we will

[84] For a brief discussion of the ongoing political role of the *ṭarīqa*s from the tenth to the twentieth centuries in various countries, see Fritz Meier's "The Mystic Path" in The World of Islam Faith, People Culture ed. Bernard Lewis (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 125-126. This role, perhaps, is due to the fact that the Sufi saints are believed to be the true maintainers of the 'friendship of God' rather than just another elite. Especially since after the fall of Baghdad in 1258 A.D., the Sufi *shaykh*s have been more active in the religious, social and political affairs of the community; i.e., the *Kubrawiyya* in the thirteenth and fourteenth century Iran, and somewhat later, the *Naqshbandiyya* in Central Asia. See Hermann Landolt's introduction to "The Role of Sufism in the World of Islam" in An Anthology of Islamic Studies vol. 2 (Montreal: Indonesia-Canada Islamic Higher Education Project, 1996), 110. To mention one example of the political role of a certain *ṭarīqa* in different parts of the world, see Hamid Algar, "Political Aspects of Naqshbandī History," in Naqshbandis Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman, ed. Marc Gaorieau et al. (Istanbul-Paris: ISIS Yayimcilik, 1990), 123-152.

discuss briefly the varied political involvement of the different *ṭarīqas* in Indonesian society in general and the role of the TQN in particular, manifested for the most part in their struggle against colonial power before independence and in nationalist activism afterwards.

a. Before Independence

The role of the various Sufi orders in the struggle against Dutch colonialism in Indonesia was a significant one. As a matter of fact, to some extent the Dutch authorities felt most threatened by the *ṭarīqa*. Some believed that the institution was an excellent means of organizing the Islamic religious resistance, in spite of the fact that by the end of the 19th century only certain *ṭarīqas* such as the *Qādiriyya*, the *Naqshbandiyya* and the *Shattāriya* were sufficiently organized to do so. Why then was there such suspicion of the *ṭarīqa*?

One of the most important elements in the *ṭarīqa* is the establishment of a solid alliance between *murshid* and *murīd*. The bond between them is officially inaugurated by the *bay'a* (initiation/vow), according to which the disciple promises faithfulness and absolute obedience to the *murshid* as the deputy of God. The alliance among the members is then extended to include love for one's parents and solidarity and brotherhood. A common acceptance of certain rituals and special duties is intended to uphold religious life as the basic principle that binds the members to each other.

The organization of a *ṭarīqa* is rather loose; no statutes normally exist. The intimacy, however, between *murshid* and *murīd* is essential for transference of the

essence of devotion in general and esoteric knowledge in particular, as well as to obtain blessing. Of special importance is the *murīd's* designation as the representative (*khalīfa)* of the *shaykh.* This appointment is based on the inner sight of the *shaykh.* The close *murshid-murīd* relationship forms part of a chain of spiritual genealogy called a *silsila.*

Taṣawwuf, as an implementation of the inner aspect of Islamic teaching, is in many ways an internal, personal experience. And while mystical obedience does not prevent one from engaging in political militancy, neither does participation in political activities by *ṭarīqa* followers mean leaving behind the unworldly life; rather, they are complementary pursuits. Their social relationship with the community is very strong, since from the perspective of the relationship between religion and society the esoteric life represents an essential element in an existence that lacks spiritual and transcendental dimensions.

Was the *ṭarīqa* in essence anti-colonial? One should bear in mind that there were certain distinctions of social background within the various Sufi *ṭarīqas* as well as in various Sufi practices. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the *Naqshbandiyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya* had followers from among the sultans, princes and heads of districts (middle class), whereas the TQN had followers principally among the common classes of society. In addition, Indonesian teachers in Mecca in the 1880s were well aware of the ongoing *jihāds* in India and in the northern Caucasus, as well as the Mahdi's revolt in Sudan and the revolt of Naqshbandī Kurds. It is true that sometimes the *ṭarīqa* helped to formulate the idea

of independence and provided the organizational networks for anti-colonialism. As a result, in some parts and regions of Islamic world, certain Sufi orders were very much feared by colonial administrations.

Thus while the *ṭarīqa* itself was not anti-colonial, it nevertheless attracted people who were not satisfied politically and provided a significant communication network and a charismatic *shaykh* who could garner considerable support from the people. Why did the *ṭarīqa* have such a poor reputation with the Dutch at that time? It may have been that colonial sources or Indonesian informants were not well-informed about it and passed on their personal negative opinions concerning the *ṭarīqa* to the authorities.

Certain orders obviously tended to acquire political power, and inevitably came into conflict with the socio-political order, as established by the colonial rulers. The Dutch believed that the *ṭarīqa* leaders might utilize their movement to foment revolt. These worries were realized in west Java with the Cianjur Sukabumi incident in 1885, the Cilegon Banten revolt in 1888, and disturbances in other regions of the archipelago. These events provide useful examples of the political role of the *ṭarīqa* in the nineteenth century.

The Cianjur incident did not develop into a full revolt; however, a heated situation arose sparked by anti-*Naqshbandī* sentiments in that area. The issue came to a head when the Dutch journalist Brunner wrote an alarmist article in the *Javabode* of September 22, 1885, entitled *Prang Sabil* (holy war). This gave the Dutch authorities some concern. In addition K.F. Holle, the Dutch honorary advisor

on native matters, said that the *Naqshbandiyya* could pose an indirect threat to the government, for several members of the *ṭarīqa* held important positions therein. On the other hand, a resident of Priangan, Peltzer, remarked that the news in *Javabode* was only sensational, and argued that the *Naqshbandī*yya had existed for thirty-six years in Cianjur and had never stirred up discontent towards the government. He eventually discovered that the *Naqshbandiyya* were being made into scapegoats to serve the political ambitions of R.H. Muḥammad Musa, who was anti-*ṭarīqa,* and who wanted one of his sons to be the district head of Cianjur and the other to be head *naib* of Cianjur as well. These ambitions seemed to be supported by K.F. Holle.[85]

In subsequent years, there were many Indonesian uprisings that involved the followers of the TQN, as can be seen by the involvement of many of the order's *kiyai*s and *ḥājjī*s in the Banten revolt of July 1888. At that time, according to Bruinessen, the *shaykh* of the TQN, 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, was not very interested in political activities, whereas his *khalīfa*, Ḥājjī Marzuki [Marzūqī], who had been sent from Mecca to Banten, seems to have been much more radical and more anti-Dutch. Although the *ṭarīqa* was not a leading player in the revolt, the Dutch were worried about its influence, and many of them believed that the Sufi orders in

[85] H.Aqib Suminto, Politik Islam Hindia Belanda (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 64-66. Sartono mentions that this particular campaign was joined by Sayid Usman of Batavia who distributed a circular which made the *ṭarīqa* appear suspicious to the public, Sartono Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, 161. See also Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 26. The word *naib* means mosque official, or deputy of local religious affairs, in certain places in Java, it also means *penghulu*, an official religious leader who supervises the Islamic marriage process.

general, but especially the TQN, were secret organizations whose objective was the overthrow of colonial power.

The last part of the nineteenth century was a period of religious revivalism and it is naturally interesting to inquire to what extent this stimulated such revolts. For various reasons, Banten was fertile soil for the rise of religious revivalism. It must be pointed out that, generally speaking, no distinction is made in Islam between a religious and a political community; thus any religious protest movement can easily turn into a political one.[86] During the nineteenth century especially, religious fraternities in many parts of the Muslim world were, because of their closeness to the people, easily caught up in this kind of religio-political fervor; for example, the movement of the dervish Manṣūr in Dāghistān, the Tījānī Tokolor, Ḥājjī 'Umar, in west Sudan, the Sammānī Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Mahdi of Nilotic Sudan, the end-of-the-century Sanūsī in Libya, the Ṣāliḥī Idrīsī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Ḥasan in Somalia and the Fāḍilī-Bakkā'ī Qādirī Mā' al-'Aynayn and his son, Aḥmad al-Hiba, in Morocco.[87]

These currents were felt in Indonesia, where at about the same time, the Hijaz pilgrimage functioned as a means of revitalizing religious life. The ensuing popularity of this institution, however, and the activities of certain *ḥājjī*s on their return, awakened the suspicions of the colonial government, who began to see former pilgrims as potential sources of unrest. What the Dutch only learned later on

[86] Sartono Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, 140.

[87] Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 240-241.

was that potentially the most dangerous *ḥājjī*s (in political terms) were not so much those who visited the holy places for only a short period of time, but rather those who settled in Mecca for a lengthy period. These latter became semi-settlers or permanent residents in the holy city. They had the opportunity to deepen their knowledge of the faith and make contacts with other Muslims, whereas the *ḥājjī*s had only a limited time to exchange ideas with their fellow believers. Thus it was an exaggeration to regard every pilgrim as a fanatic or a rebel.[88] Among the many regions that sent students there was Banten, which had already established contact with Mecca in the first half of the seventeenth century, and which repeatedly sent students to learn more about their faith and currents of thought in the wider Muslim world. Banten was furthermore well-known as a pre-eminently Islamic region with the highest percentage of *ḥājjī*s among its population (compared with other cities of Indonesia).

Sartono mentions that the *Qādiriyya [wa Naqshbandiyya] ṭarīqa* in the Banten region gathered momentum with the arrival of Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Karīm Banten at the beginning of the 1870s. Under his influence, the *ṭarīqa* gained more and more ground within *kiyai* circles and established links between them. Born in 1840, 'Abd al-Karīm Banten was the most distinguished disciple of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas

[88] Sartono Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, 148. In practice, the Dutch always kept an eye on Indonesian pilgrims and settlers in Mecca through their native Muslim consul as well as in Indonesia itself through Teacher's Organization. They observed and controlled their activities in the *pesantren* and *ṭarīqa*. Nevertheless Geertz argues that the more they were attacked the stronger they developed. See Clifford Geertz,"The Javanese Kijaji: the Changing Role of Cultural Broker," in Comparative Studies in Society and History (The Hague, 1959-1960), vol. 2, 239.

(d.1875), the great scholar who founded the *Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* order.[89] In its initial efforts 'Abd al-Karīm's revival movement showed a religious rigor and had a strong puritanical tone. He was not a radical revolutionary; his activities were limited to demanding a strict observance of Qur'ānic rules, with special reference to daily prayers, fasting and giving alms *(zakāt al-māl)* and *zakāt al-fiṭra.*[90] The performance of the *dhikr* was considered particularly essential after Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Karīm left Banten. In the end, however, rebellious *ḥājjī*s completely subordinated mystic discipline to political goals. Before leaving for Mecca, Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Karīm told people that he would return to Banten at about the time that the Mahdi was expected. He told some of his most prominent disciples, however, that he might not return to Banten as long as it suffered under the yoke of foreign domination. He would only ever set foot again on pure Islamic soil.[91]

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[89] Naguib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practiced among Malays (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 33. The TQN followers could be found in Bogor, Tangerang, Solok, Sambas, Bali, Madura and Banten, in which latter city they were strengthened by the arrival of Ḥājjī Mardjuki, the disciple of 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. See C. Guillot, "Mardjuki ou Marzuki," in Dictionnaire Biographique des Savants et Grandes Figures du Monde Musulman Périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau et. al. Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc.1, 32. See also C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, 273, and See also Sartono, Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, 164.

[90] *Zakāt al-fitra* is an obligation for every individual Muslim, man and woman, adult and child, free or slave, who is alive and possesses wealth over his daily need, by the end of *ramaḍān* every year. The payment consists of the amount of one *ṣā'* (about three and a half liters) from the food that they eat in the country. This obligation is based on the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet (pbuh), narrated by Bukhārī and Muslim from Ibn 'Umar. The *zakāt* should be paid to eight groups of people mentioned in the Qur'ān (*sūrat* al-Tawba 60).

[91] Sartono, Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, 181. The popular belief in the Mahdi's imminent arrival by the end of time has always been strong. It constitutes an inspiring force in times of stress, and was capable of mobilizing the masses. When people were full of frustration and suppressed resistance, Mahdist belief was the appropriate device to stir them up against the domination of foreigners or those whom the people thought to defeat by mystic-magical means. The strength of this belief is acknowledged by Ibn Khaldūn. See his The Muqaddimah, transl. F. Rosenthal (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), vol.. 2, 196.

The background to the Cilegon / Banten revolt in 1888 lies in the Islamic eschatological imperative to oppose infidel governments or foreign oppressors and to attempt to establish an Islamic state through religious revivalism by performing the *jihād* (holy war). The militant movement for the revitalization of Islam in Indonesia was strengthened and accelerated by the influence of wandering dervishes, *sayyids* or *shaykh*s of Sufi orders. Hamza Fanṣūrī also mentions having visited various places, including Banten, as a wandering dervish. In addition, religious books brought back from overseas that were used as references for sermons were also influential. Two other significant elements of the militant effort may be mentioned here: the organizational structure of the religious fraternities and the political role of the religious leadership. As far as the *ṭarīqa*s were concerned, the rigid formation of the in-group based on the original principles of the *ṭarīqa,* and its involvement in so many details of life -- for example, social attitudes, clothing, hostility towards infidels, etc. -- were of particular relevance. One must also bear in mind that in times of physical, psychological, economic or political stress, charismatic leadership comes to the fore.

Religious leaders possess a special position and authority (their traditional role) as privileged mediators and advisors to others. They have extraordinary qualities. Their talents lie in communicating with people and influencing large numbers of them to embrace a new life, through their performance of *karāmāt* (miraculous acts), for the purpose of healing the sick, and in their ability to foretell

the future. All of these contribute to making them charismatic leaders.[92] In Banten's case, the *kiyai*s seemed to be the natural leaders of society. There were also the factors behind increasing pilgrimage to Mecca from the area, the "mushrooming" growth of both religious schools and Sufi orders, and the extensive circulation of eschatological prophecies.

A third revolt was fomented by the Muslim Sasak tribe in Lombok and was directed at the Balinese who had taken over Lombok Island. This lasted from 1891 until 1894 (in which year the Dutch evicted them). The king of Bali at that time was Anak Agung Ngurah Ketut Karangasem. The center of their revolt was the town of Praya, and the leader was Mamik Ismail, better known as Guru Bangkol, a *shaykh* of the TQN.[93] Guru Bangkol had been a disciple of Ḥājjī Mohammad Ali, a prominent Naqshbandī teacher in Sakra (eastern Lombok). Many of the Sasak were apparently Guru Bangkol's disciples, and it seemed to the Dutch that the *ṭarīqa* was an important factor in the entire rebellion. Ḥājjī Mohammad Ali was killed in 1891, but Guru Bangkol escaped and stood firm in Praya until 1894. Engelenberg, one of the Dutch officials responsible for colonial affairs in the region, was also becoming more sensitized to the political potential of the *ṭarīqas,* of which this was but the latest example.

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[92] The well-known supernatural powers of the *walī* include the ability to traverse long distance in moments, to walk on the surface of water, to fly in the air and to predict future events, etc..

[93] All Dutch sources refer to his *Naqshbandiyya* connection but Guru Bangkol's family said that his *ṭarīqa* was *Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya.* Their primary informant was a merchant of Arab descent from Ampenan, by the name of Shaykh Abdat, a Dutch spy, who claimed that the one who fomented the revolt was a certain *Ḥājjī* 'Alī, Guru Bangkol's teacher. See Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, 28, 202.

Engelenberg noticed that the Sasak leaders had close links with *ṭarīqas,* and subsequently informed his superiors of the danger posed by the Sufi orders. He said that the *karāmāt* of the *shaykh*s and their influence -- the belief that they possessed unseen knowledge and their reputation for piety among their followers -- all won for them the unlimited loyalty of their followers. The dream of an Islamic state, furthermore, of an *umma* blessed by God, created resentment against the unbelievers. This situation was seen to constitute a threat to the colonial state, although, according to Engelenberg, it was not the *ṭarīqa* itself which was dangerous but its influence on the people. When the Sufi-masters preached revolt, their disciples would follow them as sheep followed the shepherd.[94]

Another example of TQN "militancy" was the Sidoarjo uprising, which was led by Kiyai Ḥasan Mukmin [Mu'min], the *khalifah* of Kasan Tapsir [Ḥasan Tafsīr] from Krapyak Lor. Well known as a shaykh of the TQN, [95] Hasan Mukmin appears to have been the instigator of the revolt, although van Bruinessen does not see the *ṭarīqa* itself as having played any role in this event. The Dutch once again blamed the Sufi orders, but they were unable to distinguish among the different branches of the *Naqshbandīyya*, for in fact, it was only the TQN that was involved and not the other two varieties; i.e., the *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya* and the *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya Maẓhariyya*, both of which were composed of members of the

[94] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, 28-29. Engelenberg's complete name was Arie Nicolaas Jacob Engelenberg (1864-1934); see Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, ed. D.G. Stibbe et el., ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1935), 146.

[95] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, 29. The Dutch were successful in killing 40 people, including Hasan Mu'min and caught the rest, 83 people. Krapyak Lor to be distinguished from Krapyak Bantul, southern Yogyakarta, where there was a famous Pesantren Krapyak led by Kiyai Ali Maksum.

middle and upper classes, including sultans, princes, etc. Although the Dutch advisor Snouck Hurgronje counseled that it was an exaggeration to believe that the *ṭarīqa*s were a political threat to the Dutch, his opinion was not heard until *Sarekat Islam*, a real political organization, appeared on the scene in 1911. With the advent of this and other modern Islamic organizations, the Dutch stopped paying attention to the *ṭarīqa*s and focused on political groups instead. The people at the same time began to see modern organizations as being more suitable vehicles for political aspirations.

The Sidoarjo incident seems to have been a messianistic revolt because Hasan Mukmin declared himself Mahdī and proclaimed that his task was to establish a new kingdom in Java. He asked his followers to undertake *jihad* against the Dutch. Dutch reports maintained there was a connection to the *Naqshbandiyya*; however, the descendants of Kiyai Hasan Tafsir explain that he was a teacher in the TQN.[96] Again it would seem that the Dutch failed to distinguish among the different *ṭarīqa*s which sometimes resulted in innocent victims.

"Militancy" was shown by certain other Sufi orders as well. Martin van Bruinessen notes that the *Ṭarīqa Shaṭṭāriyya* was involved in a revolt protesting the taxation policies in Minangkabau, in 1908. The *Shaṭṭāriyya* was perhaps the oldest and the most influential Sufi brotherhood in the area (west Sumatra). This *ṭarīqa* had been established there by Shaykh Burhanuddin whose grave at Ulakan (Pariaman

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[96] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, 29.

district) [97] has remained a site of veneration until the present day. History tells us that the *Shaṭṭāriyya* order was originally propagated in Acheh by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel, then expanded, beginning in the seventeenth century, from Acheh to west Java, then to central and east Java. It was Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī of Karang, a disciple of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, who established the *Shaṭṭāriyya* in west Java.

In the late eighteenth century the *Shaṭṭāriyya* in Minangkabau had many complex relationships with local leaders, sometimes opposed, sometimes allied with the Padris--the Islamic reformers whose efforts to remake Minangkabau society led to decades of civil strife in the early nineteenth century. The beginnings of the Padri movement in the late eighteenth century were associated with religious revival and social reforms promoted by a *shaykh* of the *Shaṭṭāriyya* order based in Kota Tua (Agam), Tuanku Nan Tua. It seems that Tuanku Nan Tua's methods were based mainly on moral persuasion rather than on violence. For example, he voiced objections to social abuses such as the use of stimulants, cock-fighting, gambling, etc. The movement also paid attention to regulations relating to inheritance, divorce and family relations and strove to make these conform to Islamic law. Tuanku Nan Tua was also known as "the patron saint of traders,"[98] for he was active in proposing

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[97] Ken Young, Islamic Peasants and the State: The 1908 Anti-Tax Rebellion in West Sumatra (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1994), 89. See also Hamka, Ajahku. Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abd Karim Amrullah dan Perdjuangan Kaum Beragama di Sumatra edisi ketiga (Jakarta: Djayamurni, 1967), 24. See also Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia, 108.

[98] Ken Young, Islamic Peasants and the State: The 1908 Anti-Tax rebellion in West Sumatra, 90. Young mentions the Sufi *'ulamā'* as free *'ulamā.'* Their independence is in the sphere of politics as well as economics, unlike the *nagari* religious officials, who were subject to state authority, although indirectly, through the *adat* / custom hierarchy (which is matrilineal). The Dutch saw custom as the great bulwark against the influence of Islam in Indonesian communities. However, in Minangkabau culture, there is no clear or permanent line between *adat* and Islam. They have always been in a process of dynamic, mutual adaptation. See Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in

the regulation of buying and selling in accordance with *sharī'a* and the protection of merchants from robbery and other abuses.

In 1908, the Netherlands Indies government passed laws introducing a taxation system for the territory of west Sumatra. The villagers in Kamang, Batipuh and Pariaman refused to listen to the official explanation of the tax or to pay it. The people felt that the government's attitude in introducing it was provocative. The decrees were received in Padang on February, 1908. They were written in Dutch without the usual Malay translation and were intended to be put into effect by the first of March. Not only were the villagers, some of the traditional elite and certain *penghulus* against the tax, but the independent *'ulamā'* as well refused to cooperate with the state. Angku Haji Saidi Mangkuto of the *nagari* (settlement) of Pahambatan (Old Agam) was among the first to organize popular resistance to the measure. According to him, the state only had the right to supervise coffee shipments, build major roads and enforce compliance with commands made in the interests of the people, but not to raise taxes.[99] In Kamang, the revolt was led locally by Ḥājjī Abdul Manan. The *murīd*s of the *Shaṭṭāriyya* moreover, who had consecrated themselves for death, mobilized in the process popular support against the state. According to Dutch sources, they were able to build on the disaffection caused by taxation. In the initial engagement, which occurred in Kamang, nine soldiers were killed and thirteen

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Indonesia 1900-1942 (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973), 219. Taufik Abdullah, "Adat dan Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau," Indonesia 2 (1966): 17-18 and Taufik Abdullah, Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra, 1927-1933 (New York: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph Series, 1971), 15. See also Ken Young, Islamic Peasants and the State: The 1908 Anti-Tax rebellion in West Sumatra, 104-105.

wounded while ninety of the Minangkabau fell in action. In Batipuh, the leaders of the people were an Islamic scriptural scholar, Tuanku Limapuluh, and the *Shaṭṭāriyya* teacher, Labai Ibadat. In Pariaman, Labai Ibadat mobilized villagers for guerrilla action during June and July 1908. This was later called the Perang Manggopo (Manggopo War). The remaining incidents occurred in different places in west Sumatra, sparked by similar issues.[100] When in 1911 the Sarekat Islam was established, the new organization, relying on mass political participation, grew strong enough by 1922 to oblige the government to abandon the land tax plan.

Sumatrans, like other Indonesians, had begun to perform the *ḥajj* in increasing numbers after the Suez Canal was opened in 1869 –an event that led to increased sea traffic and therefore, greater opportunity to travel to the Hijaz. These contacts were most important in the late nineteenth century, and coincided with the rise of modernism in the Middle East. This gave birth to a reformist or modernist trend in Minangkabau which was increasingly opposed to Sufism and its related practices. Even in the former strongholds of the *Shaṭṭārīyya* order during the 1908 rebellion, the authority of the old, rural traditionalist *'ulamā'* began to be questioned because of the growing influence of the modernists.

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[99] Ken Young, Islamic Peasants and the State: The 1908 Anti-Tax rebellion in West Sumatra, 61-63, 67.

[100] Ken Young, Islamic Peasants and the State: The 1908 Anti-Tax rebellion in West Sumatra, 71-82.

The *ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* was for its part involved in early revolts against the Dutch in Palembang.[101] Preliminary research on the *Sammāniyya* scholar 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbani (d.1800), and especially on his Arabic work entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn fi Faḍā'il al-Jihād fi Sabīl Allāh wa Karāmat al-Mujāhidīn fi Sabīl Allāh,* indicates that he preached the nobility of *jihād* against western colonialism. In addition, he sent two letters in 1772, one to Sultan Mataram (Hamengku Buwono I) and another to Susuhunan Prabu Jaka (Pangeran Singasari, the son of Amangkurat IV), in which he politely suggested that those sultans continue the struggle of Sultan Mataram against the Dutch.[102] Al-Palimbani first studied Islamic sciences in Mecca, and then studied *ṭarīqa* practices in Madina from Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d.1771), the founder of the *Sammāniyya.*

The turn of the century saw increased opposition on the part of modernist groups to the *ṭarīqa*s. Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Khatib of Minangkabau (1276/1852-1334/1915)[103] wrote three Malay language *risāla*s for this purpose: *Iẓhār Zaghl al-Kādhibīn fi Tashabbubihim (bi al-Ṣādiqīn); Al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt fī raf' al-*

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[101] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 108. Bruinessen does not clarify further concerning this issue. However, he suggests, for further information, see his article "De tarekat in Indonesie: Tussen rebellie en aanpassing," in C. van Dijk (editor), Islam en politiek in Indonesie (Muiderberg: Countinho, 1988), 69-84.

[102] M. Chatib Quzwain, "Syeikh 'Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani Suatu Studi Mengenai Perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke 18 Masehi," in Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Selatan (ed.) K.H.O. Gadjahnata and Sri Edi Swasono (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1986), 187-188. See also M. Chatib Quzwain, Mengenal Allah: Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh 'Abdus-Samad al-Palimbani (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 16-17 and 22-23. See also Ricklefs, Yogyakarta Under Sultan Mangkubumi (London, 1974), 74.

[103] 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, Siyar wa Tarājim, 38, 42. This author mentions 45 of Ahmad Khatib's works.

khurafāt (lil Munsifin fī Izālat Khurafāt ba'd al-Muta'assibīn); and *Al-Sayf al-Batār fī Muḥiqq Kalimāt ba'ḍ al-Aghrār (Ahl al-Ightirar).* The three works were written in Malay and were all published in Cairo in 1326/1908, and have been reprinted several times since.[104]

Aḥmad Khaṭīb of Minangkabau's attack on the *ṭarīqa* was answered by the Naqshbandi Shaykhs of Minang, as well as by, for example, Muhammad Sa'd ibn Tanta of Mungka (b.1277/1857) and Aḥmad Khatib's own student, Khatib 'Alī (Muḥammad 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib).[105] Sa'd ibn Tanta's works written in response are *Irghām Unūf al-Muta'annitīn fī Inkārihim Rābiṭa al-Wāṣilīn* and *Risala al-Tanbīh al-'Awamm 'alā Taqrīrat ba'd al-Anām* (Padang 1326/1908), while Khatib 'Alī chose to translate into Malay an apologetic *risāla* of Sayyid Muhammad ibn Mahdi al-Kurdi, entitled *Risāla Naqshiyya fī Asās Isṭilāḥ al-Naqshbandiyya min al-Dhikr al-Khafī wa al-Rābiṭa wa al-Murāqaba wa daf' al-I'tiraḍ bidhālik* (Padang 1326/1908), and wrote a commentary on the *Miftāḥ al-Ma'iyya of* 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulusī, entitled *Kitāb Miftāḥ al-Ṣādiqiyya fī Isṭilāḥ al-Naqshbandiyya* (published in Padang). Another of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau's students at Mecca opposed his stance, i.e. Zayn al-'Ābidin of Kwanyar, Madura, although at least one other student, Ḥajjī Rasul or 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad Amrullah, supported him by writing two *risāla*s in Malay against the *ṭarīqa: Iẓhar Asātīr al-Muḍāllīn fī*

[104] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 109-110. Concerning these works, Bruinessen tells us that Schrieke has discussed them in his "Bijdrage tot de bibliografie van de huidige godsdienstige beweeging ter Sumatra's Westkust," in TBG 59 (1921): 268-270 and Ḥājjī Rasul's work on page 313. See also William G. Shellabear,"An Exposure of Counterfeiters," MW 20 (1930): 359-370. The first work was published in modern Indonesian in 1978, in A. Mm. Arief (ed.) Fatwa tentang Tariqat Naqsyabandiyyah (Medan: Islamiyah).

Tashabbubihim bi al-Muhtadīn and *Al-Suyūf al-Qāṭi' fi al-Da'āwi al-Kadhib.*[106] It is interesting to note here that Ḥājjī Rasul's more famous son Hamka, although he represents himself as belonging to the modernist known as the Muhammadiyah, nevertheless seems to be even more moderate than his father ever was. He is the author of *Tasawwuf Modern, Tasawwuf dari Masa ke Masa.* Hamka writes that in the era of the military struggle for independence (1945-1948), he was active in the Indonesian *Shaṭṭarīyya* Muslim Association (Persatuan Muslimin Syattariyyah Indonesia/ PEMSYI) and that he was initiated into the TQN by Abah Anom.[107]

The influence of al-Azhar reformism spread throughout Indonesia, but it was particularly strong in west Sumatra, where the *ṭarīqa* was rejected, its doctrines denounced and the *wasīla* condemned. In Java, the Muhammadiyyah (founded in 1912), and al-Irshad (in 1913) established organizations were at best, ambivalent towards Sufi orders. In consequence, the *tarīqa* teachers gravitated towards the Muslim traditionalist groups, for example, the Nahdlatul Ulama (established in 1926 in Java), and the Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (PERTI) (founded in 1928 in Minangkabau, west Sumatra).

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[105] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 111.

[106] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 111. Some of these works are also mentioned in H.W. Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah, Syeikh Ismail al-Minangkabawi Penyiar Thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah, 62. Another work was published in 1981 to answer the challenge of Aḥmad Khaṭīb, written by Haji Yahya bin Laksemana. It was entitled Lisan Naqsyabandiyah (untuk membanteras risalah bagi Syekh Ahmad Khatib) and appeared in Kajang, Selangor, Malaysia.

[107] PEMSYI was a member of "Front Pertahanan Nasional"/National Defence Front). Hamka mentions that he was appointed by Minangkabau figures as the head of the office. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1930), 51. See also Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (Hamka), Antara Fakta dan Khayal Tuanku Rao. Concerning his *bay'a* to Abah Anom, information was provided to me by the private secretary of

B. After Independence

In Sumatra a strong defense of the *Naqshbandiyya* was offered by Ḥaji Jalaluddin, whose reply was so contentious that he was even ejected from the traditionalist PERTI. He founded instead his own organization, more political in nature, called Partai Politik Tarekat Islam (Islamic *Ṭarīqa* Political Party/ PPTI), later named the Persatuan Pengamal Tarekat Islam. The latter participated in the 1955 election and Jalaluddin was elected as a member of Parliament. He succeeded in building good relations with the first President, Soekarno; when the latter was removed from power, however, the PPTI was among the organizations that joined the joint secretariat of the functional group (Sekretariat bersama Golongan Karya). Jalaluddin passed away in 1976.[108]

In east Java, especially in Jombang, the political orientation of the TQN under the New Order can be seen in at least three centers: Rejoso (K.H. Musta'in Romly), Cukir (K.H. Adlan Ali) and Kedinding Lor (K.H. Usman al-Ishaki). Their orientation can be summarized in the following diagram, originally devised by Mahmud Suyuthi:[109]

Abah Anom, H. Yusuf Hamzah. See his picture with Abah Anom in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 189

[108] Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 132

[109] Mahmud Suyuthi, Summary of his dissertation "Hubungan Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Jombang dengan Pemerintah Orde Baru," 10.

No	Dimension	*Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya*		
		Rejoso	Cukir	Kedingding Lor
1.	Political behavior	Adaptable and Makes Compromises with Government political policies	Antagonist (Rejection of Government political policies)	Cooperative (ready to work together with Government
2.	The Pattern of thinking	Rationalistic, Realistic, Substantivistic	Scripturalistic, Idealistic and Formalistic	Rationalistic, Realistic, Substantivistic
3.	Category of responses	Substantivistic	Scripturalistic,	Substantivistic
4.	Political affiliation	Golkar	PPP	Neutral
5.	Ritual	No Difference		

Suyuthi's studies emphasize the socio-political aspect of the *ṭarīqa*. His investigation into the three sub-branches of the TQN in Jombang stresses their formal and informal political affiliations. The first affiliation is usually that of the *murshid*, while the second represents the overall political loyalities of the *ṭarīqas*.

The political behavior of the TQN in Rejoso can be described as adaptive and one which makes compromises, whereas that of the TQN in Cukir may be seen as antagonistic, and that of Kedinding Lor considered to be cooperative in general, as far as the government is concerned. The various centers also differ in their ways of formulating their responses and in their choice of political party. However, their rituals are the same. The neutrality of the TQN of Kedinding Lor may be said to derive from the *ṭarīqa's* objective of cleansing the heart in order to attain peace.

The affiliation and political choice of the followers of any *ṭarīqa* depend on individuals. Changes in attitude, on the part of *kiyai*s towards their *santri*s often result from political differences. Changes of attitude, however, on the part of *santri*s towards their *kiyai*s are perhaps caused by the emergence of a younger generation that applies modes of more open thinking and behavior, especially in the domain of politics. These days, *santri*s may question the *kiyai*'s role. This might be a result of modernization in the *pesantren* system of education. The increasing number of educated middle class Muslims in Javanese society, as well as the emergence of younger scholars, both secular and religious, among the NU membership, and the enlargement of the government's programs under the guise of enhancing the quality of Muslim life, are other factors in this process.

*Kiyai*s, on the other hand, need to adapt to the changing situation if they want to preserve their leadership status within the Muslim community. Why do so many people still follow them? First, they are traditionally an influential elite in the society, and second, they are also part of the political elite with a great influence on the political attitudes of Muslims, especially those of the general public. The relationship between the *kiyai* and society at large is governed by norms derived from their understanding of Islam. The changes in their relationship with the community are not only affected by changes at the wider social level, but also by the evolution of existing norms which are very much related to the process of Islamic

reinterpretation.[110] The following chart reflects a summary of the relationship between the TQN in Jombang and New Order politics.

The Relationship between the TQN of Jombang and New Order Politic.

No	Dimension	TQN of Rejoso	TQN of Cukir	TQN of Kedinding Lor
1	Relationship between religion & politics	Substantial	Formal	Substantial
2	Political behavior	Adaptive compromised	Antagonist	Cooperative
3	Strategy	- Active interaction - Struggle from within	- Keeping distance - Struggle from without	- Limited communication - To improve the situation for the sake of religion / *ṭarīqa*
4	Independence from government	Low	Very high	Relatively high
5	Relations between government and *ṭarīqa*	Very close	Less close	Close

In summarizing what we have seen so far, we may say that the continuing political role of the Sufi orders in Indonesia since colonial times has enriched not only the religious life of the Muslim community but its political role as well. The latter aspect seems, however, to have developed more after independence. However, the intervention of state political interests sometimes confuses the issue, even to the point of changing the political attitudes of the general population, the *shaykh* (*kiyai*) and his followers. Thus, whereas for decades the

[110] Endang Turmudi, "Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Australian National University, 1996), 6

Sufi orders were involved in social protest movements, they became less active in this domain when modern political organizations came on to the scene. The Sufi orders received public attention once again in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in Java, when Kiyai Musta'in Romly in east Java presided over a modern political association of Sufi orders. Abah Anom in west Java also found numerous followers among the Indonesian elite and educated members of society and made the *ṭarīqa* a modern urban phenomenon. Moreover, at almost the same time as Kiyai Musta'in Romly did, Abah Anom joined Golongan Karya, but his political affiliation did not lead to the dispute witnessed in east Java. This is perhaps because he is not really involved in Muslim mass organizations like the NU, although their respective religious practices remains similar. In central Java, Mranggen seems to have changed its political affiliation from the PPP to the PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) since its establishment in 1999. Nevertheless the Sufi orders' genuine role continues to be that of helping people who are more interested in obtaining spiritual satisfaction through performing Sufi practices.

5. The Establishment of the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh* (*An-Nahdliyyah*)

As we learned earlier in this chapter, the first evidence of *ṭarīqa* practices in Indonesia is attested in sources from approximately the fifteenth century. These activities seem to have been restricted to court circles, where certain mystical concepts, e.g., the concept of the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), were used by the

rulers to legitimize their powers. From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards, the influence of religious teachers in the central lands of Islam permeated the archipelago through the pilgrimage to Mecca and the subsequent return (sometimes after many years of study) of a great number of individuals, who then disseminated the *ṭarīqa*s in their home country. After this, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the *ṭarīqa*s beginning to acquire more adherents among the general public. But as this phenomenon proceeded, many such believers brought with them indigenous mystical beliefs, which sometimes involved non-Islamic practices, causing great suspicion among the *'ulamā'*. Their concerns with these issues led them to establish the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh* [Ara. *Jam'iyya Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara*],[111] an association uniting all brotherhoods in Indonesia through individual membership. This latter depends on one having a *silsila,* or chain of affiliation, which is regarded as sound and which can be traced back to the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), as well as one which does not advocate against *sharī'a* practices.

The *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh* (JATM) was established in Tegalrejo, Magelang, central Java, on October 10, 1957/Rajab 20, 1377, by the Nahdlatul Ulama. Its founding fathers included K.H. Abd Wahab Hasbulloh, K.H. Bisri Syansuri, K.H.Dr. Idham Chalid, K.H. Masykur and K.H. Muslih. The

[111] Although it was founded by the *'ulamā'* of NU, in the beginning this association did not associate with the latter (officially). Then, because of the dynamic, changing political situation in the country, this organization split into the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh al-Nahdliyyah* [Ara. *Jam'iyya Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara al-Nahḍiyya*] (JATMN, an autonomous body of the NU), and the *Jam'iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia (* JATMI) centered in Rejoso, Jombang. The reason I am using the former (although in brackets) as the title of this chapter is because at present, it is relatively more active than the latter.

objectives of the organization are: first, to strive for the implementation of Islamic *sharī'a,* reflecting both the outward (*ẓāhir*) and inward (*bāṭin*) message of the *ahl al-sunna wa al-jamā'a,* and to maintain loyalty to one of the four schools or *madhāhib* (sing. *madhhab*); second, to promote outward and inward good deeds (*'amal ṣāliḥ*) according to the teachings of the righteous religious scholars (*'ulamā' ṣāliḥīn),* and to follow the correct initiation (*bay'a ṣaḥīha*); and third, to organize special Islamic gatherings (*pengajian khususi/tawajjuhan*) and invocation groups (*mujālasāt al-dhikr*), and to acquire beneficial knowledge (*nashr al-'ulūm al-nāfi'a*).[112] At the national congress (*mu'tamar*) of the NU in Semarang 1979, the name was formalized as the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh al-Nahdliyyah,* and it became an autonomous body of the NU. It later received formal recognition from the central board of the NU, in its decision no.137/Syur PB/V/1980.[113]

The organisation of the *Jam'iyya* is tightly structured. It has a central board, provincial boards, district boards, sub-district boards, and village committee.[114] The

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[112] Hasil Muktamar VIII Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah at Pondok Pesantren At-Taqwa Cabean Kraton Pasuruan, Jawa Timur, August 27-31, 1995/ Rabi' al-Thānī 01-05, 1416 A.H., 97-98. In another source I found slightly different information. The JATMI was founded in 1957, the founding fathers are K.H.R. Asnawi (Kudus), K.H. Mandlur Temanggung), K.H.Juned (Yogya) and K.H. Abdurrahman (Kendal). See Zainal Abidin, "Tarekat sebagai Partai Politik Mursyid sebagai Juru Kampanye," in Ummat, bi-monthly magazine no.24, Mei 26, 1997/Muharram 19, 1418. p. 51. This study according to the editor, is based on the article of Yon Machmudi and was completed by Imam Bukhori of Jombang.

[113] Idaroh 'Aliyyah, Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyyah (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d), 40. The word *al-Nahdliyyah* was added to the organization's name at the Mu'tamar NU 1979 in Semarang to make everyone's awareness of its affiliation. Martin van Bruinessen, Naqsyabandiyyah in Indonesia, 171-172. See Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 143.

[114] Hasil Muktamar VIII Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah at Pondok Pesantren At-Taqwa Cabean Kraton Pasuruan, Jawa Timur, August 27-31, 1995/ Rabi' al-Thānī 01-05, 1416 A.H., 44. Among the results of the 1995 national meetings were decisions on programs, and among the programs were the consolidation of the organization, its development and the development of a program for the cadres. See the same source, pages 70-71. The Idaroh 'Aliyyah is the office that

objectives of the organization are to recognize all legitimate (*mu'tabara*) *ṭarīqa*s and to trace their respective *silsila*s backwards from the present-day *shaykh* to the original source, which is invariably the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him). The *Jam'iyya* appears also to devote itself to preserving *taṣawwuf* teachings in the face of influences from local mystical movements. Thus in the Indonesian context, Nurcholish Madjid acknowledges that the Nahdlatul 'Ulama (through the JATMN) has been successful in discouraging exaggerated esoterism and its attendant extremes of behavior by categorizing *ṭarīqa*s into *mu'tabara* (legitimate) and *ghayr mu'tabara* (illegitimate).[115] According to the association, there are 45 that fall into the first category.

It was at the fifth congress of the *Jam'iyya,* held in 1975, that Kiyai Musta'in Romly of Rejoso was appointed as chairperson, but he was later dismissed in 1977, after having become affiliated the previous year with the Golongan Karya (Functional Group / the ruling political party) instead of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Development United (Islamic) Party), to which the majority of NU *'ulama*s were affiliated. Although the *Jam'iyya* is not a political organization, most of its members are NU people; therefore in the general election of 1971 they supported the NU, when the latter was still a political party. Even later, after the NU fused with the PPP, they supported the PPP in the general election of 1977.

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issues the membership cards for JATMN. See appendices 2 and 3 (the translation of 1990 and 1996 issue and an example of the latter).

[115] Nurcholish Madjid, "Pesantren dan Tasauf," in Pesantren dan Pembaharuan ed. M. Dawam Rahardjo (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974), 112. One of the chief characteristics of a *mu'tabara ṭarīqa* is that its spiritual chain *(silisila)* is connected (*muttaṣil*) to the Prophet (pbuh) who received it from Jibril (a.s).

The three main branches of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* (i.e., Rejoso, Mranggen and Suryalaya) have their own individual policies in terms of political affiliation. In fact, in Jombang alone the same *ṭarīqa* has more than one political affiliation. Rejoso, at least since the time of Kiyai Musta'in Romly, has maintained a relatively strong relationship with Golongan Karya, while Mranggen was at one time closer to the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan. Like Rejoso, the Suryalaya branch also lends support to *Golongan Karya*. Kiyai Musta'in Romly's involvement in politics, however, ultimately caused him to lose most of his influence within the Nahdlatul 'Ulama. After taking part in the 1977 election campaign on behalf of Golkar and perhaps even earlier after he had established a private, secular oriented university in the mid-1960s, a significant number of his followers left as a result and joined the TQN in Cukir, under the leadership of Kiyai Adlan Ali. Regardless of whether or not it is allowed for a pupil to move to other *murshid*, this fact demonstrates the nature of his power. There are certain general principles which a *kiyai* must respect in order to legitimize his political position in the eyes of his followers and society in general. Despite his close relationship with his followers, a *kiyai* is relatively vulnerable to their evaluation. In this case, it was not a question of a split in the TQN itself but rather a change in the political affiliation of the *shaykh*. The main actor in the split represented a new perspective on Islamic politics in Indonesia. Despite being sharply criticized by his *kiyai* colleagues, however, Kiyai Musta'in's political stance was eventually imitated by other *kiyai*s ten years later, when NU introduced its policy of "back to the *khiṭṭah* of 1926." Unlike the Rejoso branch, however, Suryalaya does not face as many difficulties in terms of

maintaining its relations with various groups such as the *'ulama*, mass Muslim organizations and the people, for they are not directly involved in the Nahdlatul Ulama or other Muslim organizations. In terms of *'aqīda* and ritual practice, however, they have many similarities, and are therefore closer to the NU rather than to other Muslim organizations.

In Suryalaya, Abah Anom developed a number of official contacts as well, due in large part to his development of a successful treatment program for young drug abusers in the 1970s. In fact, many of the elite sent their children there, with most of the latter eventually becoming his disciples. Among those most indebted to him was Indonesia's powerful intelligence chief, Yoga Sugama. In 1993, Abah Anom was furthermore appointed as a member to the People's Consultative Assembly, a year after his decision to join Golkar. At present, the TQN of Rejoso and of Suryalaya still have similar political affiliations, whereas Mranggen (or at least the individual *kiyai*s based there) has shifted its allegiance to the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (The National Resurgence Party). Regardless of their individual *kiyai*s' affiliations, an official statement of JATMN indicates that it at least is neutral on the subject of political parties.[116] This policy is consistent with that of

[116] Idaroh Wustho JATMN, Pernyataan Sikap Ulama Thoriqoh Nahdliyyah Jateng, 14 February 1999. There are five items in this statement: First, the JATMN is an autonomous body of NU, a social religious organization that maintain its *khiṭṭah* and is neutral with respect to various political group, at the same time it is involved as to succeed the NU programs in addition to the JATMN activities. The implementation of the *khiṭṭah* of the members of the JATMN is based on the *khiṭṭah* of the NU, 1926. Thirdly, the rights of the individual member of Thoriqoh Nahdliyyah are his own personal rights. Fourthly, regardless of the various political choices of the members of Thoriqoh Nahdliyyah, one should preserve the Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwwa Islāmiyya*) and respect highly the unity and oneness of the *umma* for the sake of the integrity of state and nation as well as of Islam. Fifthly, every *murshid* of Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyyah shall hopefully keep his neutrality to maintain the unity of the membership of the NU as well as that of the Thoriqoh Nahdliyyah.

NU itself, which has returned to the original guiding principle (*khiṭṭah*) of the organization at its formation in 1926, whereby individual members were allowed to affiliate with any existing political party. This seemed to give a fresh impetus to Golkar and justified the position of Kiyai Musta'in indirectly.

This political maneuvering had the further effect of causing a split in JATM. The sudden popularity of Golkar in Rejoso upset many *kiyai*s in the organization, with the result that at the next congress of NU (1979 and 1984), when the organization avoided the issue of a formal alliance with any political party, this alienated some members affiliated with Golkar. These latter refused to have anything to do with the newly-renamed JATMN, and later (much later in fact, in 1991) took the step of founding another group which they named JATMI (*Jam'iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia).* For these reasons, there is much to be learned from the political affiliations of Sufi orders during the New Order period, and especially from that of the TQN in Jombang. In Jombang, the TQN political alignment is different depending on where it is active; the TQN in the eastern part of the district is recognized officially under JATMI and the TQN in the southern section is recognized by JATMN. There are similarly also many *kiyai*s in Jombang who have become involved in politics on an individual basis.[117] Despite their

[117] Endang Turmudi, "Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang East Java," MA thesis, The Australian National University, February, 1996), 12. Turmudi mentions the *Ṣiddīqiyya* is active in the northern part of Jombang.

activity in the early 1990s, however, the *Jam'iyya Ahl al-Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia* (JATMI) has been relatively less active than JATMN.[118]

At the time of its establishment, the steering committee of JATMN was formed of *kiyais* from large *pesantrens*, in central and east Java, among others: Kiyai Baidlawi,[119] Kiyai Ma'sum, and Kiyai Hafidh (all of them heads of pesantrens in Lasem, Rembang, central Java); Kiyai Muslih of Mranggen (Semarang), Kiyai Adlan Ali of Tebuireng (Jombang), and Kiyai Arwani of Kudus.[120] Currently the steering committee (now called the Advisory Board) is made up of a similar mix of *pesantren* heads from Java, and also has representation from the other parts of Indonesia as well.[121]

It wasn't until its sixth congress, in 1991, that JATMI was successfully consolidated through the efforts of Kiyai Ahmad Rifa'ī Romly. Nor was it an accident that the vice president of the Republic of Indonesia, Sudharmono, attended the congress, clearly part of the ruling party's campaign for the election to be held in 1992. Kiyai Dimyati Romly, moreover, later campaigned for Golkar in the run-up to the election of 1997. One might ask whether these undertakings represented a step backwards for the *ṭarīqa* movement as a whole, since it was in such stark contrast to

[118] I visited Universitas Darul Ulum in Jombang, east Java, the center of the Jam'iyya (JATMI) and met the committee there.

[119] According to his son, Kiyai Abdul Hamid Baidlawi of Lasem, the current head of Pondok Pesantren Wiḥdah al-Thullāb, there were only two *Ra'īs Akbar* in the history of NU organization: K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari as Ra'īs Akbar of the NU and K.H. Baidlawi of Lasem as *Ra'īs Akbar* of JATMN.

[120] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 144.

[121] See appendix 4 for the list of the current board.

its traditional support for oppressed people. It should once again be noted, however, that it was never the *ṭarīqa* that supported or opposed a particular institution but rather its individual adherents. This is justified within the *ṭarīqa* on the basis of the *uṣūl al-fiqh* principle that the regulation depends on its cause (*al-ḥukm ma'a qadr 'illatih*).

The JATMI Congress was also successful in deciding on a committee for the period 1991-1996, choosing as general chairperson of the central board K.H. Ahmad Rifa'ī Romly SH, and as legislative chairperson (Rā'is 'Āmm of *ifadiyah)* K.H. Tohir Wijaya. Appointed to the board of patrons were such powerful figures as H. Sudharmono (vice president R.I), H. Munawir Syadzali (minister of religious affairs) and H. Wahono (general chairperson of the central board of Golkar). Also given posts were two representatives from Suryalaya, west Java: K.H. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin (Abah Anom), appointed to the advisory board and K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar, chosen to serve on the board of assistants.[122]

The list of the *ṭarīqa*s given below is acknowledged by both the *Jam'iyya*s with few exceptions: nos. 44 and 45 appear only on JATMN's list, while the TQN is listed there as one *ṭarīqa*, meant to represent both the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya*. JATMI's list, on the other hand, mentions the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* as two separate *ṭarīqas*, but this is understood to mean the TQN

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[122] Jam'iyah Ahl Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia, Keputusan Kongres ke VI Jam'iyah Ahl Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia di Jombang, Jawa Timur 09-11 September 1991/1-2 Rabi al-Awwal 1412, 88-89.

implicitly. It should also be pointed out that the two lists are not arranged in exactly the same order.

The list of the *ṭarīqa mu'tabara* is the following:[123]

1. *Rūmiyya*[124]
2. *Rifā'iyya*[125]
3. *Sa'diyya*[126]
4. *Bakriyya*[127]
5. *Justiyya*

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[123] Idaroh 'Aliyyah, Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyyah (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), 38. See also Hasil Muktamar VIII Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah (JATMN) at Pondok Pesantren At-Taqwa Cabean Kraton Pasuruan, Jawa Timur, August 27-31, 1995/ Rabi' al-Thānī 01-05, 1416 A.H., 100. As for JATMI's Congress, it recognizes 44 *ṭarīqa mu'tabara,* with a slightly different arrangement. It mentions the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* separately, without *ṭarīqa* or *turuq* for number 40 and 42, and the *'Isāwiyya* without *gharbiyya* and does not include no. 45, on the JATMN list. See Jam'iyah Ahl Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia, Keputusan Kongres ke VI Jam'iyah Ahl Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia (JATMI) di Jombang, Jawa Timur 09-11 September 1991/1-2 Rabī' al-Awwal 1412, 96. Some of these Sufi orders (perhaps branches or sub-branches) cannot be identified, as we see in the following notes.

[124] The *Rūmiyya* order is a Turkish branch of *Qādiriyya*, and was founded by Ismā'īl al-Rūmī (d.1041/1631 or 1053/1643). He is called *Pīr Thānī* (second master), after 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. He was the first to introduce the order into Istanbul and founded 40 (or 48) *tekkes* (*zāwiya*) in the region. He introduced a standing *dhikr* in which the participants, with their arms extended over each other's shoulders, recite the formulae, swaying from right to left. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 44 and 273.

[125] The *Rifā'iyya* order was founded by Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (1106-1182). Concerning this order, see Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam,37-40, and on Rifā'ī's *tā'ifas* in the Arab World, see the same source, pages 280-281.

[126] The *Sa'diyya* is also called Jibawiyya, a branch of the *Rifā'iyya* order, founded by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Jibāwī ibn Yūsuf al-Shaybānī (d.736/1335). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 73, 40 and 280.

[127] There are two *Bakriyya* orders derived from different founders: one was a Syro-Egyptian *Shādhiliyya* order, founded by Abū Bakr al-Wafā'ī (d.902/1496 or 909/1503-4). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 278. And on page 77, Trimingham tells us of another *Bakriyya* that was founded by a Syrian *Khalwati* who was a frequent visitor to Egypt, named Muṣṭafā ibn Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (1099-1162/1688-1749). However, he is to be distinguished from another Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (d.1709), also a *Khalwati*, who founded the Bayt Ṣiddīqī or Bayt Bakrī, whose head functioned as Shaykh Mashā'ikh al-Ṣūfiyya until 1926.

6. 'Umariyya

7. 'Alawiyyah[128]

8. 'Abbāsiyya

9. *Zainiyya*[129]

10. Dasūqiyya[130]

11. Akbariyya[131]

12. *Bayyūmiyya*[132]

13. Malāmatiyya[133]

14. Ghaybiyya

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[128] The *'Alawiyya* originated as an early family-based *ṭarīqa* in the Hadramawt and has had great influence upon Islamic life there and still survives until the present day. It was founded by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī of the Bā 'Alawī tribe (574-653/1178-1255), who was initiated into the Way modeled on Abu Madyan Shu'ayb, but then he developed his own independent Way. Another derivative of the 'Alawī line is the *'Aidarūsiyya* which later spread in India, Indonesia, and the east African coast. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 16, 73, 121. See also Syed Farid Alatas, "the *Ṭarīqat Al-'Alawiyyah* and the Emergence of the Shi'i school in Indonesia and Malaysia," Oriente Moderno 18 (1999): 323-339.Trimingham also tells us on page 113 that the *'Alawiyya* order is also a name of .an Algerian branch of the *Darqawiyya* Sufi order, founded by Aḥmad al-'Alawī (d.1934).

[129] The *Zainiyya* order is a branch of *Rifā'iyya.* See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 280. On page 78, Trimingham mentions another *Zainiyya* order, and that is a Turkish Suhrawardī line.

[130] The *Dasūqiyya* order was founded by Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'Abd al-Majid al-Dasūqī (c.644-687/1246-1288). This *ṭarīqa* was known as the *Ibrāhimiyya* until the ninth century of *hijra,* when adherents began calling themselves Dasūqīs. It was also known as the *Burhāniyya,* from the founder's *laqab,* Burhān al-Dīn. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 45, 46, 275.

[131] Some scholars relate the *Akbariyya* to Ibn 'Arabī, although perhaps the influence is not confined to a specific order, but has numerous modes of diffusion. See Geoffroy, "Ṭarīḳa," in E I 2 vol. 10, 246.

[132] The *Bayyūmiyya* order was founded by 'Alī ibn al-Ḥijāzī ibn Muḥammad al-Bayyūmī (1696-1769), a pupil of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥalabī. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 274.

[133] There are certain figures regularly identified as Malāmatīs: Abū Yazid al-Bisṭāmī (d.260/874), Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d.412/1021), Sahl al-Tustarī and Yaḥyā ibn Ma'ādh al-Rāzī. Al-Sulamī regarded the Malāmatīs as the highest grade of God's servants, above the legalists and theosophists. See his Risāla Malāmatiyya, ed. Abu'l 'Alā' 'Afīfī in his Malāmatiyya wa al-Sūfiyya

15. Tijāniyya[134]

16. Uwaysiyya[135]

17. Idrīsiyya[136]

18. Sammāniyya[137]

19. Buhuriyya

20. 'Ushshāqiyya[138]

21. Kubrawiyya[139]

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wa Ahl al-Futuwwa (Cairo, 1364/1945), 108, 86-87. See also Hujwiri's Kashf al-Mahjub transl. R.A. Nicholson (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1911), 62-69.

[134] The *Tījāniyya* order was founded by Abu al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mukhtār al-Tījāni (1737- 1815). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 107, 109. The *Tījāniyya* and the *Idrīsiyya* orders were introduced into Indonesia around 1930. See N. Kaptein, "Ṭariḳa, 8. In Indonesia." EI 2, vol. 10, 257. For the founder's life, see Jamil Abū al-Naṣr, The *Tījāniyya* Sufi Order in the Modern World (London, 1965) 24-26.

[135] The *Uwaysiyya* order (in theory) was founded by Uways al-Qaranī (traditionally in 37 A.H.). Trimingham calls *Uwaysiyya* and *Bilāliyya* two extinct lines, suggesting that they do not meet the common understanding of a "Sufi order." An account of Uways is given in chapter V.2 of this dissertation.

[136] The *Idrīsiyya* order was founded by Aḥmad ibn Idrīs ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (1760-1837). After his death, the *Idrīsiyya* split up, and the most important orders are the *Sanūsiyya* (founded by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī 1787-1859), and the *Mirghaniyya* (by Muḥammad 'Uthman al-Mirghanī, 1794-1851) See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam,117 and see alos, R.S. O'Fahey, "Ṭarīḳa In northeastern and eastern Africa," in E I 2, vol. 10, 249.

[137] The *Sammāniyya* order was founded by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī (1130-1189 / 1718-1775). Prior to the establishment of his own order, Al-Sammānī was one of chief disciples of a Syrian Khalwati, Muṣṭafā ibn Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (the founder of the *Bakriyya* order). The *Sammāniyya* entered Sumatra through 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Abd Allāh (al-Palimbani (d.c. 1800)), a pupil of al-Sammānī. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 77, 130.

[138] The *'Ushshāqiyya* order was founded by Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Ushshāqī (d.1001/1592). This *ṭarīqa* is a branch of *Khalwatiyya*. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 78. See also Th. Zarcone, "Tarika In the Turkish lands, from Anatolia to Eastern Turkestan," in E I 2, vol. 10, 252.

[139] The *Kubrawiyya* order was founded by Najm al-Dīn Kubra (540-618/1145-1221). On Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, see F. Meier's edition of his Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl (Wiesbaden, 1957), which contains a valuable study of his life and thought. The main orders deriving from Najm al-Dīn were: *Firdawsiyya* (by Badr al-Dīn Firdawsī), *Nūriyya* (by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Isfarā'inī, d.717/1317), *Rukniyya* (by 'Alā al-Dawla al-Simnānī, d.736/1336), *Hamadāniyya* (by Sayyid 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Muhammad al-Hamadānī, d.786/1385), *Ightishāshiyya* (by Isḥāq al-Kuttalānī,

22. Mawlawiyya[140]

23. Jalwatiyya[141]

24. Bayrumiyya[142]

25. Ghazāliyya

26. Hamzawiyya[143]

27. Ḥaddādiyya[144]

28. Matbūliyya[145]

29. Sunbuliyya[146]

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d.826/1423), and *Nūrbakhshiyya* (by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh called Nūrbakhsh, d.869/1465). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 56-57.

[140] The *Mawlawiyya* order was founded by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207- 1273). The *Mawlawiyya*'s name is derived from his title, *mawlānā* (our master). Some also called it the *Jalāliyya*. This order is known to Europe through its whirling dervishes and the founder's famous mystical poem, the *Mathnawī*. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 60-61.

[141] The *Jilwatiyya* order was organized by 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hudā'ī (950-1038 / 1543-1628) but is attributed to Muḥammad Jilwatī 'Pīr ▯ftāde' (d.988/1580) and consequently is frequently called the *Hudā'iyya*. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 78-79. See also Nathalie Clayer-A.Popovic, "Ṭarīḳa 6. In the Balkans," in E I 2, vol. 10, 253-254.

[142] Trimingham mentions this as the *Bairāmiyya*, which was an Egyptian branch of the *Khalwatiyya*, founded by Ḥajjī Bairām al-Anṣārī (d.833/1430). See his The Sufi Orders in Islam, 78.

[143] The *Ḥamzawiyya* is a messianic revolutionary movement, which took its name from Ḥamza Bālī (d.981/1573). It developed clandestinely in Istanbul, where it continued until the beginning of the 20th century. The *Ḥamzawiyya* and *Melāmīlik* (established by Meḥmed Nūr al-'Arabī d.1305/1888) did not suffer banning under Attatürk in 1925. See Th. Zarcone, "Tarika In the Turkish lands, from Anatolia to Eastern Turkestan," in E I 2, vol. 10, 252.

[144] The *Ḥaddādiyya* order founded by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (d.1720).

[145] This order was likely founded by Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī. His complete name was Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Anṣārī al-Matbūlī al-Aḥmadī (d.877/1472). See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 151. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Sha'rānī wrote a book concerning his character, entitled Al-Akhlāq al-Matbūliyya al-Mufāda min al-Ḥadrat al-Muḥammadiyya 'alā Sayyidinā Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī. See MS Pococke 378 Bodleian Library, Oxford. See also Michael Winter, Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt. Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (New Jersey: Transaction, Inc., 1982), 312. Al-Akhlāq al-Matbūliyya was edited by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd (3 vols published in Cairo 1975). See J.Garcin, "Histoire et hagiographie de l'Egypte musulmane" in his Espaces, pouvoirs et idéologie de l'Egypte médiévale (London: Variorum, 1987), 304.

30. 'Idrūsiyya[147]

31. 'Uthmāniyya

32. Shādhiliyya[148]

33. Sha'bāniyya[149]

34. Kalshaniyya

35. Khadliriyya[150]

36. Shaṭṭāriyya[151]

37. *Khalwatiyya*[152]

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[146] The *Sunbuliyya* order was founded by S□nb□l Sinān Yūsuf (d.936/1529), head of the *tekkē* of Qoja Muṣṭafā Pasha in Istanbul. The *Sunbuliyya* belongs to the principal Anatolian Khalwati *ṭā'ifa*. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 75.

[147] The *'Idrūsiyya* order (*'Aydarūsiyya*) was founded by Abū Bakr al-'Aydarūs (d.1509).

[148] The *Shādhiliyya* order was derived from Abū Madyan Shu'ayb (d.1197 A.D) but attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d.1258). Al-Shādhilī's successors were Abu al-'Abbās al-Mursī (616-686 / 1219-1287), then Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn 'Aṭā'Allāh al-Iskandarī (d.709/1309), who organized and revitalized the Shādhilī liturgical and spiritual tradition. See P. Lory, "Ṭarīḳa II. The Term Considered Geographically 2. In North Africa," in E I 2, vol. 10, 247. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 49, 330. Al-Hikam, the work of al-Iskandarī, is very famous and has been translated into the Indonesian language, entitled Al-Hikam Pendekatan Abdi pada Khaliknya, by H.Salim Bahreisy, published by Balai Buku, Surabaya, 1984.

[149] The *Sha'bāniyya* order is probably the branch of Anatolian *Khalwatiyya*, founded by Sha'bān Walī (d.977/1569). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 76.

[150] The *Khaḍīriyya* order was a branch of *Shādhiliyya*. The line was initiated by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Mas'ūd al-Dabbāgh, who received his *wird* by direct inspiration from the light of saintship, the supreme initiator, al-Khaḍir, and after spending four years completing the stipulations, declared himself at Bāb al-Futūḥ of Fez in 1125/1713. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 277.

[151] The *Shaṭṭāriyya* order was founded by 'Abd Allāh Shaṭṭārī (d.1428). 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Alī of Singkel (d.1693) introduced this order into Acheh in 1090/1679, not from India but from Mecca, for he was initiated by Aḥmad Qushāshī (the author of *Simṭ al-Majīd)*. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 64, 130. Al-Attas points out that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel was a disciple of Qushāshī when he studied in Medina. See Syed Naguib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays, 29

[152] The *Khalwatiyya* order was founded by Zahīr al-Dīn 'Umar al-Khalwatī (d.c.800/1397). He is regarded as the founder, in the sense of one who formulated rules for Sufis who carried this designation, but there is also reference to one Yaḥyā Shīrwānī (d.c.1460, the author of the *Khalwati wird al-Sattār*) being the *pīr thanī* (the second master). Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 74-75.This *ṭarīqa* was introduced into Indonesia by Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d.1699). He was initiated

38. Bakdasiyya

39. *Suhrawardiyya*[153]

40. Ṭarīqa Aḥmadiyya[154]

41. *'Isawiyya Gharbiyya*[155]

42. *Ṭuruq Akābīr al-Awliyā'*[156]

43. Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya[157]

44. Khālidiyya wa Naqshbandiyya[158]

45. *Ahl Mulazama al-Qur'an wa al-Sunna wa Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa Ta'līm Fatḥ al-Qarīb wa Kifāyat al-'Awāmm.*[159]

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into several *ṭarīqas* but taught the *Khalwatiyya* doctrines that he received from 'Abd al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurashī in Damascus. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 62, 65-66.

[153] The *Suhrawardiyya* order was attributed to Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī (490-563 / 1097-1168), the author of Ādāb al-Murīdīn. This order later developed by his nephew, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (539-632 / 1145-1234), the author of 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif.

[154] The *Aḥmadiyya* order was founded by Aḥmad al-Badawī (d.1276). There is a branch of *Khalwatiyya* in Anatolia, founded by Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn of Manissa (Marmara village, d.910/1504). See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 75.

[155] Trimingham mentions this as the *'Isāwiyya*, without *gharbiyya*. As a branch of *Shādhiliyya*, it was founded by Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā al-Mukhtār (1465-1524), the patron saint of Meknes, where he is buried. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 276, 86, 84. The founder received his authority from Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī (died between 1495-1504), a disciple of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jāzūlī, the author of Dalā'il al-Khayrāt and the founder of *Jāzūliyya*.

[156] This phrase literally means "the paths of great saints."

[157] This is the amalgamated *ṭarīqa* of the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* and was founded by Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas (d.1875), and is the subject matter of the present study.

[158] Some scholars have called it the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*, founded by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Khālid al-Baghdādī al-Kurdī (1192-1243 / 1778-1826). Concerning this *ṭarīqa* in Indonesia, see H.W.Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah, Syeikh Ismail Al Minangkabawi Penyiar thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyya (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985).

[159] This literally means the people who are accustomed to the Qur'ān, the Sunna of the Prophet (pbuh), Dalā'il al-Khayrāt and the teaching of Fath al-Qarīb and Kifāyat al-'Awāmm.

Only some of the above *ṭarīqas* have an Indonesia-wide following, for example the *Naqshbandiyya*, the *Qādiriyya*, and the TQN, whereas the *Shādhiliyya*, the *Tījāniyya* and the *Sammāniyya* are popular in certain regions and not in others. Most of them are active in other Muslim countries, and one finds that some of them are branches of others. According to the JATMN, their list of the *ṭarīqas* conforms to those given in the following references: *Al-Rashaḥāt 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt* of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Wā'iz al-Kāshifī, *Nafaḥāt al-Qudsiyya fi Bayān Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya* of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī,[160] *Al-Tajiyah*, *Al-Khadunī*, *Al-Khiṭāb*,[161] *Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibi Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlāni (d.561/1167), *Al-Manāqib, Bahjat al-Asrār wa Ma'din al-Anwār* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, *Futūḥāt al-Ghaybiyya fi Bayān al Ṭarīqa al-Sharnūbiyya* (d.994/1586),[162] *Qalā'id al-Jawāhir fī Manāqib Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir of [Muhammad ibn Yaḥya al-Tadifi al-Rabā-'ī al-Halabi al-Hanbali* (b.899/1493),[163] *Miftāḥ al-Mā'iyya fī Ṭariq al Naqshbandiyya* of Tāj al-Dīn ibn Zakariyyā ibn Sulṭān al-Shirāzī al-Hindī al-Naqshbandī al-Uthmānī, al-'Abshānī (d.1050/1640),[164] *Al-Ghawthiyya*, *Al-Risāla al-*

[160] Al-Sha'rānī was a sympathizer of the *Shādhiliyya*. The Rashahāt and Maktūbāt al-Imām al-Rabbānī are Naqshbandi sources. *Qādiriyya* sources include Bahjat al-Asrār, al-Ghunya, Qalā'id al-Jawāhir, Futūḥāt al-Ghayb, Nafahāt al-Quds, al-Manāqib, al-Ghawthiyya, whereas among the *Shādhiliyya* sources are al-Mawākhir al-'Aliyya and al-Kawākib al-Zahra. See Idaroh Wusṭā li Jam'iyya Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara al-Nahdliyya, Muqarrarāt al-Masā'il al-Ṭarīqiyya (Mranggen: Sekretariat PP Futuhiyyah, 1995), 18.

[161] These three books cannot be identified.

[162] Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 469.

[163] Brockelmann, GAL II, 335, Supplement II, 463. This work could be also a work of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir himself. See Supplement I, 777.

[164] Brockelmann, GAL II, 419, Supplement II. 618. This work is a commentary of a work written by 'Abd al-Ghānī ibn 'Ismā'īl al-Nabūlusī (1050/1641-1143/1731). See Brockelmann, GAL II, 347 no.50.

Qudsiyya of Abū Ḥamīd al Ghazāli 458-505 / 1059-1111,[165] the *Maktūbat* al-Imam al-Rabbānī, and *Majmū'at al-Rasā'il 'alā Uṣūl al-Khālidiyya.*[166]

As a matter of fact, the books listed above are defined by the JATMN as the *kutub al-mu'tabara*; i.e., books which recognize that the *sharī'a* is based on (at least) one of the four schools (*madhhab*), whether Mālikī, Shāfi'ī, Ḥanafī or Ḥanbalī; theology (*'aqīda*) on al-Imām al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī; and *taṣawwuf* on al-Junayd al-Baghdādī.[167] In various discussions or in the *baḥth al-masā'il* forum of the Idaroh Wustho of the JATMN, for example, the *kiyais* frequently quote from:

1. *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* of Muhammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī (d.1322/1914);
2. *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' wa Anwā'ihim wa Awṣāfihim wa Uṣūl Kulli Ṭarīq wa Muhimmāt al-Murīd wa Shurūṭ al-Shaykh wa Kalimāt al-Ṣūfiyya*

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[165] Brockelmann, GAL I, 421,8, Supplement I, 746.

[166] These references are mentioned in Hasil Muktamar VIII Jam'iyyah Ahl Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyyah at Pondok Pesantren At-Taqwa Cabean Kraton Pasuruan, Jawa Timur, August 27-31, 1995/ Rabi' al-Thānī 01-05, 1416 A.H., 101. Sanūsī's works also deal with listing the Sufi orders, for example his Al-Salsabil al-Mu'in fī al-Tarā'iq al-Arba'in,published in the margins of his Kitāb al-Masā'il al-'Ashr (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ma'āhid bi jawār qism al-Hamāliyya, n.d.), 38, 46, 48. See also his Al-Manhal al-Rawī al-Rā'iq fī Asānīd al-'Ulūm wa Usūl al-Ṭarā'iq (Cairo: Maṭba'a Ḥijāzī, 1373/1954), 49, 51, 56, 65, 77-78, 80, 92. The Sufi orders that are listed in both the works of Sanūsī (al-Salsabīl and al-Manhal) are the following: *Muḥammadiyya, Ṣiddīqiyya, Uwaysiyya, Junaydiyya, Ḥallājiyya, Qādiriyya, Rifā'iyya, Ḥātimiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Aḥmadiyya, Shādhiliyya, Zarrūqiyya, Wafā'iyya, Jazūliyya, Khalwatiyya, Kubrawiyya, Hamadāniyya, Naqshbandiyya, Shaṭṭāriyya, Mawlawiyya, Jahriyya, Burhāniyya, Khawāṭiriyya, 'Aydarūsiyya, Qushayriyya, Chishtiyya, Suhayliyya, and Madaniyya* (or *Madyaniyya*), As for the Sufi orders listed only in the Manhal: *Bahā'iyya, Firdawsiyya, Ṭayfūriyya, Makkiyya, Ghazāliyya, Khaḍiriyya* (or *Khiḍriyya*), *Rāshidiyya, Nāṣiriyya, 'Alamiyya Tuhāmiyya, Bakriyya, Mihdāwiyya* and *Shu'aibiyya.* The Sufi orders that are listed in Salsabīl are the following: *'Urābiyya, Kharrūbiyya, Malāmatiyya, Rukniyya, Nūriyya, Ghawthiyya, 'Ushshāqiyya, Khalīfiyya, Mushāri'iyya, Kharrāziyya, Madāriyya*, and *Qalandariyya.* From the lists above, it is obvious that some authors mention the leading *ṭarīqas* only, some mention the branches and some list both. See also Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 271-281. In the Kashf al-Mahjūb pp. 132-133, Hujwīrī mentions ten of the accepted groups (*maqbūl*) and two are rejected (*mardūd*), however, his context is within the schools not orders, for the latter term is understood when groups see themselves in terms of certain Sufi teachings and adopt the name of a patron or a founder. See Fritz Meier, "The Mystic Path," 120.

[167] Idaroh Wusṭā li Jam'iyya ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara al-Nahdliyya, Muqarrarāt al-Masā'il al-Tarīqiyya, 19. In the statutes of the NU, *taṣawwuf* is based on al-Junayd al-Baghdādī and Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī.

Waṣṭilāḥihim wa Anwā' al-Taṣawwuf wa Alf Maqām [of Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ḍiyā'al-Dīn al-Kumushkhānawī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī (d.1311/1893);[168]

3. *Jāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā' wa Yalīhī Kitāb Asbāb al-Ta'līf* of Abū'l Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn Ismā'īl al-Nabhānī (b.1266/1849);
4. *Bughyat al-Mustarshidīn fī Talkhīs Fatāwā ba'ḍ al-A'imma min al-'Ulamā' al-Muta'akhkhirīn ma'a Ḍamm Fawā'id Jammihī min Kutub Shattā li'Ulamā' al-Mujtahidīn* of 'Abd Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Bā 'Alawī (fl. 1855);[169]
5. *Umm al-Barāhīn* of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Arafah al-Dasūqī (d.1815);
6. *Tuḥfat al-Murīd 'alā Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* of Ibrahīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bājurī (d.1276/1860);[170]
7. *Tafsīr al- Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* of Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar ibn Kathīr (c.a.1301-1373);
8. *Tafsīr al-Khāzin Tafsīl al-Qur'ān al-Jalīl al-Musammā li bāb al-Ta'wīl fī Ma'ānī al-Tanzīl* of 'Ali ibn Muḥammad Khāzin al Baghdādī (1279-1341 A.H.);
9. *Tafsīr al-Ṣāwī* (a commentary on *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*) of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ṣāwī (d.1825);
10. *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl wa 'Uyūn al-Aqāwīl fī Wujuh al-Ta'wīl* of Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar Zamakhsharī (1075-1144 A.H.);
11. *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya* of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī;

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[168] C. Brockelmann , GAL II, 489, Supplement II, 745-746. *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā'* is a work which was often studied by Indonesians around the turn of the last century.

[169] Bā 'Alawī (fl 1835), means flourished, i.e., to be in a state of activity and production. See Webster's Third New International Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: G&C Merriam Company, 1968), 875.This signifies that he did the most of his writings in 1835.

[170] C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 437, 741.

12. *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn* of Abū Bakr 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad Shaṭṭā al-Bakrī al-Dimyāṭī;[171]
13. *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī ādāb al-Ṭarīqa al-Naqshbandiyya* of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣṭafā al Hānī al-Shāfi'ī al-Khālidī al-Naqshbandī (1213-1297 / 1798-1862);[172]
14. *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* of Abū Layth Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī (d.373/983);[173]
15. *Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār* of Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī (d.1301/1884).[174] Some of their references on the other hand are taken from works Indonesian authors, for example:
16. *Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya*, and *'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik* of Musliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān of Mranggen (1917-1981);
17. *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Sambas (1217-1289 / 1802-1875),[175] and many others.

For a ten year period, the general chairperson of the executive of the central board of the JATMN was led by K.H. Dr. Idham Chalid, while K.H. Adlan Ali acted

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[171] C. Brockelmann, GAL II, 500; GAL Supplement II, 604, 811. Brockelmann neither gives his date of birth nor of his death.

[172] C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 774.

[173] C. Brockelmann, GAL I, 196. Supplement I, 348.

[174] C. Brockelmann, GAL II, 489, Supplement II, 746.

[175] 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, Siyār wa Tarājim ba'd 'Ulamā'inā fī al-Qarn al-Rabī' 'Ashar li 'l Hijra, 7. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Ahmad Khatib Sambas," in Dictionnaire Biographique des Savants et Grandes Figures du Monde Musulman Périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau et. al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 1, 14. 'Abd al-Jabbār only mentions the *hijra* year, while Bruinessen notes that the *shaykh*'s death was 1875, a more likely date.

as general chairperson of the legislative council (*ra'īs 'āmm*).[176] They were chosen on the occasion of the sixth and the seventh congresses of the organization. There have been in fact, periodic national meetings of the JATMN since its foundation:[177]

1. *Muktamar 1 Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh*, held on October 12, 1957/Rabī' al-Awwal 18, 1377 in Tegal Rejo, Magelang central Java.
2. *Muktamar II Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh*, held on November 9, 1959/Jumad al-Ūlā 8, 1379 in Pekalongan, central Java.
3. *Muktamar III Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh*, held on July 28-30, 1963/Safar 26-28, 1383 in Tulung Agung, east Java.
4. *Muktamar IV Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh*, held on October 28-30, 1968/Sha'bān 4-7, 1388 in Semarang, central Java.
5. *Muktamar V Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh*, held on August 2-5, 1975/Rajab 24-27, 1395 in Madiun, east Java.
6. *Muktamar VI Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah*, held on December 5-7, 1984/Rabī' al-Awwal 12-14, 1405 in Probolinggo, east Java.
7. *Muktamar VII Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah*, held on November 22-24, 1989/Rabī' al-Thānī 22-25, 1410 in Mranggen, central Java.

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[176] I am grateful to Kiyai Mudhoffar Fathurrahman of Jepara for providing me with the information about the *Jam'iyya*, the TQN in central Java, some photocopies and a work of Kiyai Lutfil Hakim, Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li Ma'rifat al-Tarīqa wa Kayfiyya 'Amalihā min al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya, when I visited him in Jepara, in April 1999. See also Hasil Muktamar VII JATMN di Pondok Pesantren Futuhiyyah Suburan Mranggen Demak, Jawa Tengah 22-25 Rabī' al-Thānī 1410/22-24 November 1989, 60-61.

[177] This list has been reconstructed from various sources: Hasil Keputusan Kongres Jam'iyyah V-VIII and K.H. A. Aziz Masyhuri, Masa'il Diniyyah Hasil Muktamar dan Mubes JATMN, n.p., n.d. One may notice here that until the fifth *mu'tamar*, there was neither the word al-Nahdliyya nor Indonesia, included, but that after this time they appear in the names of the conferences of the respective bodies. For a comparison, see Keputusan Kongres ke VI Jam'iyyah Ahli Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia di Jombang, Jawa Timur, 1991.

8. *Muktamar VIII Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah*, held on August 27-31, 1995/ Rabī' al-Thānī 1-5, 1416 in Pasuruan, east Java.
9. *Muktamar IX Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah*, held on Februay 26-28, 2000/ Dhū'lqa'da 20-22, 1420 in Pekalongan, central Java.[178]

To summarize the above discussion, it may be said that the *Jam'iyya Ahlith Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh (an-Nahdliyyah)*, is a unique institution, serving as an "umbrella" group for the various *ṭarīqa* organizations in Indonesia. It is an expression of the sense of moral responsibility felt by the *'ulamas* to preserve the traditional original Islamic Sufism. Its role appears to have been a significant one, in that it has helped ordinary Muslim believers (*'awamm*) face the challenge of indigenous non-Islamic mystical tendencies. The two institutions (JATMN and JATMI) have had to make a judicious selection from the many *ṭarīqas* and mystical groups active in Indonesia, the number of which always outstrips the approved *ṭarīqas* by a large margin.

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[178] Aula Majalah Nahdlatul Ulama No.4 April 2000, 21, 24. The elected general chairperson (*ra'īs 'āmm*) of the JATMN is K.H. Habib Muhammad Luthfi 'Ali ibn Yahya and operational director (*mudīr 'āmm*) is K.H. Luthfi Hakim Muslih BcHk of Mranggen. They will hold these positions until 2005.

Chapter III

The Early Development of the Teachings of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* as Reflected in the Works of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Kiyai Muslih and Kiyai Romly Tamim

1. Basic Sufi Teachings in the Light of *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* Practices

a. *Dhikr*

Dhikr is an Arabic word constructed from the verbal root *dh-k-r,* which has the basic meaning of "to remember" or "mention." The term *dhikr* itself is usually translated as "invocation." The two fundamental Islamic sources, the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth,* frequently mention it in conjunction with supplication (*du'ā'*, calling [upon God]); both terms signify a type of basically voluntary prayer, in contrast to the five daily prayers (*ṣalāt*), which are compulsory for all Muslim believers.

The word *dhikr* (remembrance), or the phrase (*dhikran tadhkīra*), appears in the Qur'ān more than forty times (such as in *sūra* 10:71, 21:48, 21:105, 40:54). The ultimate object of remembrance is God. The Qur'ān employs the term *dhikr Allāh,* "the remembrance of God," 26 times in the nominal or verbal form, and on 15 occasions actually commands the remembrance of God, such as in the admonition that, if we want God to remember us, we must follow the divine command to remember Him: "Remember Me, I will remember you." (2:152). The *ḥadīth* literature as well provides us with a wealth of material on *dhikr.* For example the prophet calls *dhikr* the best act of worship, reporting in one instance that God says:

"I am of the same thinking as my servant is toward Me, and I am with him when he remembers Me ...." (Transmitted by Bukhārī, Muslim, and al-Tirmidhī).

This is the case in other disciplines as well, such as in Sufi literature. Thus we find Ibn Aṭā' Allāh Al-Iskandarī (d. 1309),[1] for example, writing in his well known treatise on *dhikr*, *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ*,[2] "*Dhikr* is liberation from heedlessness and forgetfulness through constant presence of the heart with the Truth." Among the very few good deeds that remain forever sound is *dhikr*. "All acts of worship will disappear from the servant on the Day of Resurrection, except the remembrance of God...."[3]

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[1] His complete name was Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī al-Judhāmī al-Shādhilī. An early collection of *dhikr* associated with the various orders is the *Risāla* of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-'Ujaymī (d.1702). This was followed by the 'Iqd al-Jumān of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī (d.1791) and Al-Salsabīl al-Mu'īn fī al-Ṭarā'iq al-Arba'īn of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī (d.1859).

[2] This work was published in Cairo by Maṭba'at al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1381 A.H./1961 A.D. and was translated into English under the title The Key to Salvation and the Lamp of Souls by Mary Ann Koury Danner, with an introduction and notes (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996). Al-Iskandarī's other work, Al-Qaṣd al-Mujarrad fī Ma'rifat al-Ism al-Mufrad, deals with the remembrance of God in a general fashion. Its focus is more specifically on the significance and uniqueness of the Divine Name Allāh, and has been translated into French by Maurice Geston, Traité sur le nom Allah (Paris: Les Deux Océans, 1981).

[3] Ibn Aṭā' Allāh Miftāh al-Falāḥ wa Miṣbāh al-Arwāh (Cairo: Shirka Maktabat wa Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961), 4, 31. This work deals with Shādhilī principles and all the possible ways of invoking God, the variety of techniques used and the benefits derived from so doing. There are also specific chapters in the primary and secondary sources on *dhikr*. Among others A.J. Arberry's translation of Kitāb Al-Ta'arruf li Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf by Abū Bakr al-Kalābadhī, entitled, The Doctrine of the Sufis, pp. 105-108; Risālat al-Qushayriyya of 'Abd al-Karīm Al-Qushayrī (d.465/1074), pp. 101-103; Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn of Al-Ghazālī, vol.1., on the chapter of *Kitāb al-Adhkār wa al-Da'awāt* (Cairo: Shirka Maktabat wa Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939), 301-311; Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Jalāl of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (1145-1221) ; Mirṣād al-'Ibād min al-Mabda' ila al-Ma'ād of Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (1177-1209), translated by Hamid Algar, under the title The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, pp. 268-285; Al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya of Ibn al-'Arabī (d.638/1240); The Mystical Dimension of Islam of Annemarie Schimmel (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 167-186; and Nūr al-Dīn Abdurrahmān-i Isfarāyinī Le ré vélateur des mystères : Kāshif al-Asrār of Herman Landolt (Lagrasse: Verdier, 1986), 38-70. In addition, Aḥmad Al-Qushāshī wrote Al-Simṭ al-Majīd (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Niẓāmiyya, 1327 A.H.) which consists of chapters on *bay'a, dhikr* and *talqīn* as well as the spiritual chain of the people of unity (the *silsila* of the *ahl al-tawḥīd*).

The remembrance of God (*dhikr*) is recognized not only in Sunni doctrine but also is fundamental to Islamic piety in the Shi'i tradition,[4] and is especially important to Sufi thought and practice. In general, it is understood that by its very nature *dhikr* is a personal affair, more a part of the inner domain of intention than of outward prayer. Therefore the Sufis consider all Islamic doctrine / teachings to be aimed at awakening the remembrance of God in the soul.

Qādirī sources do not contain much explicit information concerning *dhikr*; al-Sanūsī, however, tells us that *Qādiriyya dhikr* is performed

> "out loud in a congregational circle ... along with a gradual diminution of eating, and flight from human beings... It should be accompanied at the start by the prayer *Jalāl Allāh wa'aẓamatih* (the glory of God and His majesty). For through that, the breath is suppressed and purified, and ... the loosening by the *Jalāl* prayer is the quickest way to extricate one's self from frivolity."[5]

The procedure of the *Qādiriyya dhikr,* as described by al-Sanūsī consists in

> sitting cross-legged, grasping with the toes of the right foot and (the toe that) adjoins it the vein called *kaimās*, which is great vein situated in the hollow of the left knee joint. One puts one's hands open on the knees, so that they take the form of the word Allāh. Then one speaks the name of God or *al-ism* (in *al-Salsabīl*: one begins with the *lām*), prolonging it for a time, and extending it with an emphatic pronunciation (*tafkhīm*) until the breath is cut off, making the words *'aẓamat al-ḥaqq* (the majesty of the True) while exhausting the breath.... One continues the way until the heart is relaxed and the Divine Lights are revealed. Then one goes on with the *dhikr* "*Āward burdāyay*" [sic],which is the *dhikr* of absorption (*fanā'*) and remaining (*baqā'*) in God, ascribed to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir. It consists of sitting as described and turning the face toward the right shoulder and saying *hā*, turning the face to the left, saying *hū*, then lowering the

[4] William C. Chittick, "Dhikr," in ER, vol. 4, 342.

[5] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī al-Khiṭābī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī, Kitāb al-Manhal al-Rawī al-Rā'iq fī Asānīd al-'Ulūm wa Usūl al-Tarā'iq (Cairo: Maṭba 'a Ḥijāzī, 1954), 62-63.

head and expelling the breath while saying *ḥayy*, and repeating this without stopping.[6]

There are certain conditions that should be fulfilled prior to the performance of *dhikr*. The popular Qādirī manual, *Sirr al-Asrār* explains that the perfect *dhikr* should be performed while one is in a pure state, i.e., after ablution (*wuḍū'*). Also an exact direction and strong voice are needed to produce the lights of *dhikr* in the heart of the performer (*dhākir*).[7] Similar conditions are demanded by Aḥmad Naqshbandī, who lists among the *ādāb al-dhikr*, freedom from ritual impurity (*ḥadath*) and malice (*khabath*), and the performance of two *raka'āt* (with the recitation of *sūrat* al-Kāfirūn (109:1-6) after first Fātiḥa; *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ (112:1-4) and al-Mu'awwidhatayn [al-Falaq (113:1-5) and al-Nās (114:1-6)] after the second Fātiḥa), to be performed silently during the day and out loud during the night. One should face the direction of the *qibla*, emptying one's mind of every thought and preoccupation (*khiṭra wa shughl*), reciting a request for the forgiveness of God (*istighfār*) 5 or 15 or 25 times, then performing the *du'ā'* requesting a good end (of one's life in the world) (*ḥusn al-khātima*) for oneself and for one's *shaykh*,

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[6] The Persian words, perhaps originally *Avard burd* (bring and carry) are used for a particular form of the discipline of breath-control. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī al-Khiṭābī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī, Kitāb al-Manhal al-Rawī al-Rā'iq fī Asānīd al-'Ulūm wa Uṣūl al-Tarā'iq, 62-63, and see also his Al-Salsabīl al-Mu'īn fī al-Tarā'iq al-Arba'īn (in the margins side of Kitāb Al-Masā'il al-'Ashr al-Musammā Bughyat al-Maqāsid fī Khulāsat al-Marāṣid of the same author) (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ma'āhid Bijiwār Qism al-Jamāliya, n.d), 58-59, There is a slightly different version of both works concerning this paragraph; i.e., the word *al-kaimās*, in Kitāb al-Manhal reads *al-kimyās*.

[7] See Sirr al-Asrār, 78. Mir Valiuddin explains that the method of *dhikr* of the *Qādiriyya* consists of the set forms of prayers and litanies of the order, recommended for those who have achieved the middle stage of the spiritual journey. See his Contemplative Disciplines in Sufism, 51-59, and on the method of *dhikr* of the Naqshbandi order, pp. 60-72. Trimingham says that the simplest form of Qādiri *dhikr* entails repeating *subḥānallāh, alḥamdulillāh* and *Allāhu Akbar*, each repeated thirty-three times. This repetition is generally carried out with the aid of a rosary that has 99 beads divided into three sections of 33 each. See his The Sufi Orders in Islam, 201.

concluding with performance of the *du'ā' ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī* three times in succession.[8]

Naqshbandi sources also speak of the types of *dhikr*. Amīn al-Kurdī for example explains that there are two types: *al-dhikr al-qalbī* and *al-dhikr al-lisānī*. Both have reference to the Qur'ān and the *sunna* of the Prophet (pbuh). The *dhikr* of the tongue consists of sounds (*aṣwāt*) and letters (*ḥurūf*), whereas the *dhikr* of the heart is performed by observing (*bi mulāḥaẓa*) the practice of pure expression (*lafẓ al-mujarrad*), i.e., pure or free of letters and sounds, thus nothing diverts the *dhākir*'s attention. Al-Kurdī suggests that *al-dhikr al-qalbī* (elsewhere he uses the term *al-dhikr al-khafī*) is superior to *al-dhikr al-jahrī* (voiced *dhikr*), by a factor of seventy times. In addition to basing himself on the verses of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, he argues that the heart is the place of vision of God the Forgiver (*maḥal naẓar Allāh al-ghaffār*), the locality of faith (*mawḍi' al-īmān*), the place of secrets (*ma'din al-asrār*), and the source of lights, etc.[9]

The discussion of *dhikr* is closely related to the Naqshbandi concept of *murāqaba*. The term *murāqaba* is derived from one of God's divine names, *al-raqīb* (the watchful/the All-Vigilant), mentioned in the Qur'ān (4:1) and (30:52). The seeker on the Path must not only remember that God sees him at every moment, but also guard his own heart against distractions and evil thoughts. Al-Ghazālī defined *al-raqīb* as a Knowing and Protective Being, and the *murāqaba* as only worthy of

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[8] Ahmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi ' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 1, 61.

[9] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1368 A.H.), 522-523.

praise if its object is God and man's own heart. It will only be thus when man realizes that God observes every one of his movements, and that not only Satan but also his own soul may lead him astray. Watchfulness therefore means that he is on guard both against Satan and himself.[10] Thus the fundamental theology of *murāqaba* embraces the twin and complementary, ideas of turning towards God and turning away from sin. Regarding the effect of *murāqaba* upon the mind, Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. c. 161/778) once commented, "vigilance is the *ḥajj* of reason (*al-murāqaba ḥajj al-'aql*)."[11] Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d.243/857), on the other hand, does not use the term *murāqaba* but rather insists on the need for self-examination (*muḥāsabat al-nafs*).[12] Al-Ghazālī (d.1111) takes up and develops Muḥāsibī's formulation of *muḥāsaba.* He discusses six stages of spiritual efforts: *mushāraṭa* (to bind oneself firmly [to God] by giving some rein to passion); *murāqaba* (to guard one's self and one's temper/passion through good thoughts); *muḥāsaba* (to take account of the passions); *mu'āqaba* (to punish the passions); *mujāhada* (to disobey the dictates of the passions by constant effort); and *mu'ātaba* (to rebuke the passions). For all these stages, however, the basis is *muḥāsaba,* or taking account of oneself.[13] Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) on the other hand, only

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[10] Al-Ghazālī, Al-Maqsad al-Asnā fī Sharḥ Ma'ānī Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā, 128.

[11] Louis Massignon, Essai sur les origine du lexique de la mystique musulmane (Paris: Vrin, 1968), 256. In addition, the practice of *murāqaba* is connected to *rābiṭa,* the link or bond between disciple and *shaykh,* which is also a Naqshbandī element. Further discussion of the latter may be found below in chapter five of this dissertation.

[12] See Al-Muḥāsibī, Kitab al-Ri'āya li Ḥuqūq Allāh 'Azza wa Jall, ed. Margaret Smith (London: Luzac & Co, 1940), 4-18.

[13] Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn vol. 4. English transl. pp. 408-409. See also R. Deladrière, "Muḥāsaba," in EI2, vol 8, 465. Mir Valiuddin lists eleven types of *murāqaba* according to the *Chishtiyya* order. See his Contemplative Disciplines in Sufism, ed. Gulshan Khakee (London: The

discussed this notion in the context of the "analysis of the soul" (*muḥāsaba*) in one of his letters, saying that it is preferable to profess the transcendence of God before one falls asleep by repeating one hundred times 'Glory be to God (*subḥān Allāh*), 'God is great' (*Allāh akbar*) or 'God be praised' (*alḥamdu lillāh*).[14] Sirhindī comments on Ibn 'Arabī and others who analyze their day's behavior before they fall asleep, thanking God for their good acts and asking His forgiveness for their sins, and arguing that when one asks for forgiveness, one is asking for one's sins to be covered up, but when one professes the transcendence of God by reciting *subḥān Allāh*, one is asking for the sins to be eradicated, root and all. When one is saying *alḥamdu lillāh*, one praises and thanks God for Himself and not for His forgiving nature.

The connection of *murāqaba* with *dhikr* is not explicitly stated in Qādirī sources. In the *Sirr al-Asrār,*[15] spuriously attributed to the founder of the order 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the relationship is implied but not expressed in so many words. Al-Jīlānī's other works, such as *Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq, Futūḥ al-Ghayb, and Fatḥ al-Rabbānī wa al-Fayḍ al-Raḥmānī*, do not tell us much either. In his study, Mir

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Hague, 1980), 98-108. The *Chishtiyya* order was founded by Mu'īn al-Dīn M. Chishti (d. 1236 A.D). Isfarā'īnī (d.1317) discusses this spiritual activity as moving forward from *muḥāsaba, murāqaba,* then *munāsaba*, continued by *mushāhada*, then *al-ru'ya* (from *ma'rifa al-ṣifat* to *ma'rifa al-dhāt*). See also Hermann Landolt, Nuruddin Isfarāyinī Le révélateur des mystères: Kāshif al-Asrār, 83-86.

[14] J.G.J. ter Haar, Follower and Heir of the Prophet Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) as Mystic (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1992), 84-85.

[15] Brockelmann lists the title of this work as Sirr al-Asrār wa Mazhar al-Anwār; the Indonesian translation refers to it as Sirr al-Asrār fī mā Yahtāj ilayh al-Abrār. See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement I, 779. no.30. See also Sirrul Asrar, Arabic and Indonesian translation, by K.H. Zezen Zaenal Abidin Zayadi Bazul Asyhab, page 6. A preface in Indonesian was written by Abah Anom welcoming the translation, dated Suryalaya, Muḥarram 1417 A.H./June 1996. An English translation of this work was done by Shaykh Tosun Bayrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti and published as The Secret of Secrets (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1992).

Valiuddin outlines the Qādirī position on *murāqaba* but does not give references. Thus despite the fact that the *Sirr al-Asrār* was acknowledged in Indonesia as a primary source for Qādirī practices, it must be conceded that the concept of *murāqaba* owes much more to Naqshbandī teaching.

For the *Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*; Mir Valiuddin lists a total of eighteen types of *murāqaba*, as follows: first, *murāqaba-i-aḥadiyyat*; second, contemplation on the heart; third, contemplation of the spirit; fourth, contemplation of the *sirr*; fifth, contemplation of the *khafī*; sixth, contemplation of the *akhfā*; seventh, contemplation of the compresence or co-existence of God (*murāqaba-i-ma'iyat*); eighth, contemplation of *aqrabiya* (closeness of God); ninth, contemplation of love (*murāqaba-i-maḥabba*); tenth, contemplation of the name 'the Outward,' *al-Ẓāhir*; eleventh, contemplation of the name 'the Inward,' *al-Bāṭin* (the superior saintship or the saintship of the angels); twelfth, contemplation of the perfections of prophethood (*murāqaba-i-kamālāt-i-nubuwwa*); thirteenth, contemplation of the perfection of the apostles (*murāqaba-i-kamālāt-i-risāla*); fourteenth, contemplation of the perfections of the *ulu'l 'azm*; fifteenth, contemplation of the reality of the *ka'ba* (*murāqaba-i-ḥaqīqat-i-ka'ba*); sixteenth, contemplation of the reality of the Qur'ān (*murāqaba-i-ḥaqīqat-i-Qur'ān*); seventeenth, contemplation of the reality of prayers (*murāqaba-i-ḥaqīqat-i-ṣalāt*); and eighteenth, contemplation of the 'pure worshipability' or *murāqaba-i-ma'būdiyat-i-ṣirfa*).

b. *Talqīn/Bay'a*

Talqīn is an Arabic word derived from the root *l-q-n*. The verb form is *laqina*, which means "to instruct." *Talqīn* therefore means instruction, direction, dictation, inspiration, insinuation or suggestion, [16] as well as inculcation.[17] A similar meaning provided by Manfred Ullmann, states that *talqīn* means instruction (*ta'līm*).[18] Trimingham says that *talqīn* derives from the verbal noun of *laqqana*, signifying "to prompt," "inculcate," or "teach" by "repetition"; in respect of Sufi initiation, it means "to give (secret) instruction."[19]

Talqīn is often used in conjunction with the word *bay'a*, which means agreement or arrangement. It can also mean a vow of allegiance or initiation, with an oath of allegiance to a Shaykh.[20] *Bay'a* signifies the actual pledge of the disciple (*murīd*), and is the culmination of the process of *talqīn* performed for the *murīd* by

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[16] J. M. Cowan ed., The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 875. The terms *talqīn, bay'a* and *'ahd* are unfortunately not included in 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī's Istilāḥāt al-Sūfiyya or in Su'ād al-Ḥakīm's Al-Mu'jam al-Sūfi. The only term that exists in the latter is *al-'ahd al-ilāhiyy,* which is similar to *al-mīthāq*, this is found on p. 830-831.

[17] William C. Chittick, "Dhikr," in The Encyclopedia of Religion vol. 4, 343.

[18] *Wa kadhālik al-talqīn qad yusammā ta'līman.* One of the two meanings of *talqīn* is that the speakers repeatedly utters the *lafẓ* that the listeners wishes to memorize it. *Talqīn* also means a prompting, a suggesting, a putting of ideas into a people's mind; instruction, tuition. See Manfred Ullman ed., Wörterbuch der Klassischen arabischen Sprache, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 1132.

[19] J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 182. Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrawardi (d.632/1234) mentions the command of a *shaykh* to his disciple that in daily practice one should repeat 101, 151, or 301 times the phrase *lā ilāha illā Allāh* (*talqīn*). See his 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, translated [into English] by H. Wilberforce Clarke (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1970), 163.

[20] J. M. Cowan ed. , The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 86 and J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 14. In the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), the *bay'a* of women was also recognized. This can be examined further in the chapter entitled (*faṣl fī bay'at al-nisā'*) of Al-Simt al-Majīd of Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, 50-56, there is also discussion of the *bay'a* of children on 56-57 (*faṣl fī bay'at al-ṣaghīr*). However, concerning the former case, Al-Sha'rānī raises the question in one chapter, "is it valid to give *al-'ahd* to the women?;" see his Al-Anwār Al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifat Qawā'id al-Sūfiyya, 76-77.

the teacher. In some places in Java, this whole process is called *talqīn*; in others, they simply call it *bay'a*.[21]

According to a Qādirī source, the highest degree of spiritual enlightenment that can possibly be achieved by human beings cannot be attained unless through real repentance (*al-tawba al-nusūḥ*) and through *talqīn* performed by the people of authority (*al-talqīn min ahlih*). The *kalima* that is taught is the *kalimat al-taqwa, lā ilāha illā Allāh.* This is based on *sūrat* al-Fatḥ (48:26): "God makes compulsory the *kalima al-taqwa* for them." This *kalima* should be taken from those whose hearts are full of piety, not from ordinary people. For although the *kalima* is the same, the value is different in each case. Al-Jīlānī argues that this *kalima* in the Qur'an is found in two places: first in *sūrat* al-Ṣaffāt (37:35) (this is the portion of the ordinary people (*'awāmm)*, while the other is in *sūrat* Muḥammad (47:19), where the purpose of the *kalima lā ilāha illā Allāh* is "accompanied by the real knowledge (*al-'ilm al-ḥaqqī*); therefore the latter verse functions as the reason of descending (*sabab al-nuzūl*) of *talqīn dhikr* for those who want to achieve (*wuṣūl*) towards God." Al-Jīlānī explains that *talqīn* is slightly different from other types of explanation. It is commonly acknowledged that 'Alī (r.a.) was the person who asked a question concerning the closest and the easiest way towards God, but the Prophet in fact, did not answer directly but instead waited for the revelation. When Gabriel came and performed the *talqīn* of the *kalima lā ilāha illā Allāh* three times towards the

[21] In certain places in Indonesia, especially in Java, the term *talqīn* is also commonly used for a ceremony performed in the graveyard. When someone dies and is buried, before everyone leaves the tomb, a certain religious teacher performs the *talqīn*, repeating (and thereby reminding) the dead (as well as the living!) of the questions that are going to be asked of him in the grave by the angels Munkar and Nākir.

Prophet, the Prophet also responded three times. Afterwards, the Prophet approached the Companions and performed the *talqīn* to them collectively.[22]

Aḥmad Naqshbandi tells us that the *talqīn* and its chain (*sanad*) should fulfill a particular condition, i.e., that it ought to be connected, via the *shaykh*, to the possessor of the way, the Prophet (pbuh). The author also acknowledges that the Prophet performed the *talqīn* collectively and individually. According to him, *dhikr* does not yield its full benefits except with *talqīn* (*wa kāna al-dhikr lā yufīd fā'idatan tāmmatan illā bi al-talqīn*).[23]

Aḥmad Naqshbandī also explains that certain procedures should be done prior to the ceremony of *talqīn*. Both master and disciple should perform the prayer to request God's guidance (*ṣalāt al-istikhāra*). When this is done, the *shaykh* asks the *murīd* to take a bath of repentance (*ghusl al-tawba*); then he should perform the prayer of repentance (*ṣalāt al-tawba*) for two *rak'āt*, give a donation (*ṣadaqa*), and then come to the *shaykh* to have the ceremony.[24]

c. *Latā'if*

Laṭā'if, the plural form of *laṭīfa*, signifies subtle centers, or subtle organs. In the history of Sufi doctrine, this topic has been a fundamental one, especially for the

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[22] See the later Qādirī manual, Sirr al-Asrar, 52. With slight differences, the *ḥadīth* on collective *talqīn* can be read in 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha 'rānī, Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifat Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya, vol. 1., 27. See also Al-Qushāshī, Al-Simt al-Majīd, 144; Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 1., 80; and Miftāh al-Sudūr of Abah Anom, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 271-273.

[23] Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi ' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 1., 79-81.

[24] Ibid., vol. 2., 91-92.

Naqshbandiyya. According to the Sufi understanding of this concept, the human soul has within it a multi-tiered structure, each level of which may be said to correspond to one of the experiences brought forth by its encounter with God. The ways and principles of division of this interior being are diversely understood among Sufis, and the technical terms indicating these levels are various. The same term used in the works of different Sufis may therefore not always refer to the same experience.[25]

The *laṭā'if* are apparently the most subtle elements of a human being; their essence can never be seen or touched. In short, they are the senses of the heart.[26] The number of *laṭā'if* vary between three to five, seven or ten.[27] These subtle substances

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[25] The most common Sufi terms equivalent to *laṭā'if* are the following: soul (*nafs*), reason (*'aql*), heart (*qalb* P. *dil*), spirit (*rūḥ* P. *jān*), secret (*sirr*), the hidden (*khafī*), the most hidden (*akhfā*), and the secret of the secret (*sirr al-sirr*).

[26] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 147.

[27] Scholars are in disagreement concerning the number of subtle centres as well as their names. 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī mentions three *laṭā'if*; whereas Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d.412/1021), in addition to nature (*tab'*), divided the *laṭā'if* into four: soul, heart, secret, and spirit; see his Risālat al-Malāmatiyya in Abu'l 'Alā 'Afīfī (ed.), Al-Malāmatiyya wa al-Sūfiyya wa Ahl al-Futuwwa (Cairo: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabi wa Shirkāh, 1945), 100, 104. Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jullābī Ḥujwīrī (d. 464/1071) in his Kashf al-Mahjūb also discusses the term; see the translation of this work (bearing the same title) by R.A. Nicholson (London: Luzac and Co, 1911), 261-266; Al-Qushayrī (d.465/1072) discusses the *laṭā'if* in his Risāla al-Qushayriyya as well as in the Tartīb al-Sulūk (see F. Meier, "Qushayrī's Tartīb al-Sulūk," Oriens, XVI (1963): 5 and 10, 16-17. See His Risāla al-Qushayriyya (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.), 45. For Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111), see his Ihyā' 'Ulum al-Dīn vol. III,3-4. Al-Ghazālī mentions *al-nafs, al-rūḥ, al-qalb* and *al-'aql.* Another list is given by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d.618/1220), who identifies four elements of man's inner being: the intellect, the spirit, the heart and the mystery. See his Fawā'iḥ al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl (Wiesbaden, 1957), ed.by Fritz Meier, 168-174; Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, known as Dāya (d.654/1256), added to the fourfold subtle centers in ascending order: the intellect, heart, secret, spirit, and a fifth element, the arcane (*khafī*). See Hermann Landolt, "Stages of God-cognition and the Praise of Folly according to Najm-i Rāzī", in Sufi no. 47 (2000): 37 In the introduction to Rāzī's The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 18, however, Hamid Algar does not try to put them in ascending order. Then 'Alā Al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d.736/1336) added two to Dāya's five, these were the bodily frame (*qālib*) or *qālab* and super-arcane (*akhfā*). Part of Simnānī's theory of the seven subtle organs includes seven prophets, one associated at each level with a colour and a *laṭīfa*; in ascending order, they are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muḥammad. See. H. Corbin, The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism trans. N. Pearson (Boulder: Shambala,1978), 124, and J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of 'Alā Al-Dawla al-Simnānī (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 84. Shaykh Ahmad Khaṭīb Sambas mentions ten subtle substances (*laṭā'if*). The first five are called *'ālam*

– spiritual rather than physical faculties – function as organs linking the human and divine worlds. Definitions and detailed information on these substances vary.[28] The function of each *laṭīfa* is closely related to the various types of *dhikr,*[29] and how *dhikr* is performed.[30] This makes the role of the subtle center important to the process of achieving *ma'rifa.* The *laṭā'if* serve as the loci of *dhikr*, which proceeds through each of them in turn once it has achieved its maximum strength.[31]

Every human being possesses the necessary elements that allow spiritual development (*tarbiya*). These elements include the outer senses, the inner faculties

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al-amr: *al-qalb, al-rūḥ, al-sirr, al-khafī and al-akhfā.* The last five are called *'ālam al-khalq*: *laṭīfat al-nafs* and four element (*al-'anāṣir al-arba'a:* water, wind, fire, and soil). See his Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3. The number seven is taken from the seven major prophets, the seven layers of Qur'ānic meaning, as well as the seven heavens, etc. The number ten on the other is hand from *al-'āshara al-kāmila.*

[28] Hermann Landolt, "Stages of God-cognition and the Praise of Folly according to Najm-ī Rāzī (d.1256)," Sufi no. 47, 2000. See also two writings by the same author, Le révélateur des mystères, 56 ff.; and "Two types of Mystical Thought in Muslim Iran," MW 68, (1978), 196. See also J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God, 72-75 and 157-160.

[29] For example, Al-Sulamī discusses the *laṭā'if* in terms of *dhikr*: *dhikr* of the spirit, of the secret, of the heart, and of the tongue. Risāla al-Malāmatiyya, 104. Al-Qushayrī describes three types of *dhikr* in his Tartīb al-Sulūk, 18, 21-24: *dhikr al-lisān, dhikr al-qalb* and *dhikr al-sirr*, and Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī mentions the *dhikr* of the tongue, the *dhikr* of the heart and the *dhikr* of the spirit (*dhikr bi al-rūḥ*); see Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' vol 2, 73-74. He explains further that when *dhikr bi al-lisān* is performed with the heedlessness of the heart. It is also called *dhikr al-'adah*, which is the *dhikr* of ordinary people (*'awāmm*). *Dhikr bi al-lisān* is performed with the presence of the heart, it is called *dhikr al-'ibāda* and that is *dhikr* of privileged people (*al-khawāṣṣ*). Whereas the *dhikr* with the whole part of the body (*bi jamī' al-jawārīḥ wa al-ā'ḍā'*) is called the *dhikr al-maḥabba wa al-ma'rifa*, and that is the *dhikr* of elite people (*dhikr al-khawāṣṣ*).

[30] I have explained how both types of *dhikr* are performed by the *ikhwān* of the TQN of Suryalaya in the previous pages. This discussion described the movement of the body during the vocal *dhikr* and the imaginary penetration/movement of *lafẓ al-jalāla* during the silent *dhikr.*

[31] The description of *laṭā'if* and its relation to various types of *nafs* and its locations can be observed in the following sources: Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 4-5. Abah Anom, "Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 273-274. Some discussion of these *laṭā'if* can be found in Aḥmad Naqshbandi, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā', vol. 1, 62-64. The names of the *nafs* here, are mentioned by K.H. Syihabuddin Suhrowardi (Ajengan Citungku Ciamis), Bidāyat al-Sālikīn (Diajar Ngambah Ma'rifat ka Allah) (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1982), 33-34.

and other organs of perception,[32] the latter being the *laṭā'if.* These potentialities function as a type of dynamic process on the one hand, and are not even possessed by angels, even though the latter have the spiritual clarity needed to recognize the 'burden pledge'[33] while lacking the strength to bear it. A human being on the other hand, is the one who "encompasses both worlds, a creature who unites the lowest and the highest within himself," enabling him to be the "sole bearer of the 'pledge.'"[34] The human form, especially the soul (*nafs,* pl. *anfus*), is a microcosm of the larger cosmos which is a macrocosm (*āfāq*) of the world of horizons.[35] Human beings are seen as superior to all other created things, but to spiritual entities only if they are able to combine within themselves elements of both lower compounds (*al-murākabāt al-sufliyya*) – animals and plants - and higher compounds (*al-murākabāt*

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[32] Hermann Landolt, "Stages of God-cognition and the Praise of Folly...," 36.

[33] See the Qur'ān *sūrat* al-Aḥzāb (33:72) which says: "We proposed the burden to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, and they refused to undertake it. But man took it upon himself; Verily he is ignorant." As a matter of fact, the term *al-amāna* can also mean trust, moral responsibility or honesty and all the duties which Allāh has ordained. See Muhammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān, The Translation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'ān (Madina: King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qur'ān, 1417 A.H.), 572.

[34] Hermann Landolt, "Stages of God-cognition and the Praise of Folly...," 40, 42.

[35] Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī says that man has been truly identified as a 'microcosm,' or a little world in himself, and that the structure of his body should be studied not only by doctors but by those who wish to attain to a more intimate knowledge of God. See his Kimyā' al-Sa'āda English transl. Claud Field, The Alchemy of Happiness (Lahore: Ashraf Press, n.d.), 31.Hermann Landolt, "Deux opuscules de Semnānī sur le moi théophanique," in Mélanges offerts à Henry Corbin. Ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Tehran: Tehran University, 1977), 285. The term *anfus* is derived from the Qur'ān 41:53, which says: "We shall show them our portents on the horizons (*al-āfāq*) and within themselves (*anfusihim*) until it will be manifest unto them that it is the truth." The dominant Sufi concept sees the perfect human being (*al-insān al-kāmil)* as a microcosm of the universe. See J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God, 69. Najm al-Dīn Kubra discusses macrocosm-microcosm in his Fawā'iḥ al-Jamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Jalāl ed F. Meier, 67-71. The man, the microcosm, is a perfected mirror of that world which is itself the 'mirror of God," and is by extension equally perfect. See Eric L. Ormsby, Theodicy in Islamic Thought The Dispute over Al-Ghazālī's Best of all Possible Worlds (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 106-107. For a discussion on the perfect man, see Al-Insān al-Kāmil by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (Cairo, 1908), and Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil of 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī ed. M. Molé (Tehran, 1962).

al-'ulwiyya) – angels and *jinns*.[36] Al-Ghazālī has already explained that man is capable of existing on several different planes, from the animal to the angelic, and it is precisely in this that the danger lies, i.e., of falling to the very lowest plane. As it is stated in the Qur'ān (33:72) that only human beings received God's offer, this shows that neither animals nor angels can change their appointed rank and place, whereas man may sink to the lowest or soar to that of the highest level. This is the meaning of his undertaking that 'burden' of which the Qur'ān speaks.[37]

According to Sufi understanding, God created the angels from pure intellect and the beasts from pure sensuality, while placing both intellect and sensuality within man. Thus man's intellect is essentially angelic, while his ego is essentially bestial. In Rumi's vocabulary, "bestial" is equivalent to 'satanic' and the 'demonic'. Iblīs and other devils find access to man through his ego, which is one in substance with themselves.[38]

The notion of *laṭā'if* has also been discussed by Al-Hujwīrī (d465/1072), who tells us that *nafs,* etymologically, refers to the sense and reality of a thing, but in popular language carries such contradictory meanings as "spirit", "virility", "body", and "blood." Mystics agree that through the *nafs,* base qualities are manifested, and

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[36] J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God, 79.

[37] Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī, Kimyā' al-Sa'āda, The Alchemy of Happiness, 69-70. The term given here as "burden" is more often translated as "trust." It is also far from clear whether what is meant by "burden" is free-will, as the translator has interpolated; more conservative commentators often interpret it to mean the ritual obligations imposed on believers. For the sake of comparison, see also the new edition of the translation of Kimiyā' al-Sa'āda revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), 41

[38] William C. Chittick, The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983), 88.

that it is the immediate cause of blameworthy actions of two kinds. The first kind is that of sins/*ma'āṣī* (the class of external attributes), which can be removed by repentance. The second kind is that of base qualities, i.e., pride, envy, avarice, anger, hatred, etc. (the class of internal attributes), which can be removed by discipline (*riyāḍāt*) . Both the lower soul and the spirit are subtle matters (*laṭā'if*) existing in the body.[39]

Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111), for his part, discusses the *rūḥ* in connection with the creation of human beings. He describes its inception in the reproductive process when the sperm unites with an ovum in the womb and God inspires part of the spirit (*min rūḥihī*) (Qur'ān *sūrat* al-Sajdah, (32: 9), i.e., *rūḥ al-ḥayāt*, within the embryo. Then He adds the *rūḥ al-ḥayawān,* which makes the embryo move and develop. But it is only when God blows into him the *rūḥ al-insān* (*ḥaqīqat Muḥammadiyya*) that the human being is able to feel and to think, and is therefore eligible to receive *taklīf shar'ī* and become His vicegerent (*khalīfa).*[40]

The connection of the *laṭā'if* with the practice of *dhikr* became increasingly important in Sufi thought with the passing of time. One of the most extensive systems of *dhikr,* employing a psycho-physical approach, is that developed by the Kubrawī Sufi order in central Asia, founded by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1220) and 'Alā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d.736/1336). These teachers combined intensive concentration on *dhikr* recitation with an analysis of the layers of the heart, as based on Qur'ānic terminology. The result was the articulation of a complex psycho-

[39] Al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, 196.

physiology of the body's subtle centers (*laṭā'if*). The system of seven subtle centers developed by Simnānī underwent further evolution in India by the Naqshbandī order, from the fifteenth through the late nineteenth centuries. It gave rise to a new arrangement, assigning six subtle centers to particular parts of the body. [41]

The Kubrawī order has paid considerable attention to man's inner being. Najm al-Dīn Kubrā himself discusses the nature of the intellect, the spirit, the heart and the mystery, as well as the interrelation of these four.[42] Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (d.654/1256) then added a fifth element, the arcane (*khafī*)[43]

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[40] Al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 3, 4 See also Manusia Menurut Ghazālī by Moh. Yasir Nasution, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1988), 104, 113. See also Kharisudin Aqib, Al-Hikmah, 135.

[41] Carl W. Ernst, The Shambala Guide to Sufism (Boston: Shambala Publications, 1997), 106-108. For a comparison see William S. Haas, "The Zikr of the Rahmaniyya Order in Algeria A Psycho-Physiological Analysis, " MW 33 no.1 (1943): 16-28.

[42] Najm al-Dīn Kubra, Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl ed. by Fritz Meier (Wiesbaden, 1957), 168-174.

[43] Algar, "Introduction" to The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 18. Najm al-Dīn Rāzī explains that prior to the opening of the heart, first the eyes of intelligence will be opened, though most scholars and philosophers have not progressed beyond this station. After the *murīd* passes beyond the unveiling of intelligibilia, there will then occur the unveiling of the heart or the unveiling of witnessing; then will come the unveiling of the spirit (or spiritual unveiling), followed by the unveiling of the mystery (*sirr*), known as the unveiling of inspiration. This in turn, is followed by the unveiling of the arcane (*khafī*); see the same source, pages 304-308. Rāzī notes that the spirit is common to both Muslims and unbelievers, while the arcane is a special spirit of God, given only to His elect. Qur'ān, *sūrat al-Mujādala* (58:22) says: "He inscribed faith in their hearts and strengthened them with a spirit from Him;" *Sūrat* Ghāfir (40:15) says: "He casts the spirit, from His command, on whomsoever He wills among His bondsmen;" and see also *sūrat* al-Shūra (42:52). Rāzī further explains that the unveiling of the heart occurs as follows: The heart is the link between the corporeal and the spiritual worlds. It has two aspects: in one aspect it turns toward the world of dominion *('ālam malakūt)* and in the other toward the body. Through the first aspect, it receives the effusion of the light of intelligence, while through the second it conveys the traces of the lights of the world of dominion and of intelligibilia to the soul and the body. Regarding the mystery (*sirr*), this likewise serves as a link between the two worlds of the heart and spirit. With the first aspect turned toward the spirit, it partakes of the effusion of the spirit, whereas with the other aspect turned toward the heart, it conveys the truths of the effusion of the spirit to the heart. Like the heart and mystery, moreover, the arcane (*khafī*) is a link between the world of the divine attributes and the world of spirituality. When turned to the first, it receives the unveilings of the attribute of the Divine Presence; when turned to the second, it conveys to the world of spirituality the reflection of those characteristics, ennobling it so that one may 'acquire God's characteristics as your own' (Ḥadīth narrated by Abu Nu'aym). This is also called the unveiling of the attributes. In this state, if the

As we mentioned above, as part of his theory of the seven subtle organs, 'Alā al-Dīn Dawla al-Simnānī identified seven prophets as corresponding to these, each one associated at each level with a color and a *laṭīfa*. In ascending order, they are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus and Muhammad. To arrive at this, al-Simnānī added to the fivefold scheme of Rāzī the bodily frame (*qālab*) and the perception of the super-arcane (*akhfā*).[44]

Al-Simnānī explains that the subtle bodily substance (*al-laṭīfa al-qālabiyya*) dominates the physical body, but that while the human being is distinguishable from the category of animals through his faculty of speech, he is nonetheless a 'horizonal human being' (*insān-i āfāqī*): the subtle substance of soul (*al-laṭīfa al-nafsāniyya*), on the other hand retains a subtle, perceptive faculty, resulting in a human being who is still unbelieving (*al-insān al-kāfir*) and still in the dark. The possessor of the third subtle substance (*al-laṭīfa al-qalbiyya*) is cleansed of the darkness of his acquired body and is filled with the light of faith and becomes a Muslim. The subtle

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attribute of knowing is unveiled to the *murīd*, God-given knowledge ensues. If the attribute of all-hearing is unveiled to him, the ability to hear the divine speech and address will result. If the attribute of all-seeing is unveiled to him, vision and witnessing will result. If the attribute of beauty is unveiled to him, a witnessing of the beauty of the Divine presence will be experienced. If the attribute of splendor is unveiled to him, true effacement will result. If the attribute of self-subsistence is unveiled to him, true abiding will result. If the attribute of unicity is unveiled to him, oneness will result. The effect of the other attributes may be deduced from this. See Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 308-309. In a *ḥadīth qudsī* God says ... *fa idhā aḥbabtu kuntu lahū sam'an* .... See Al-Aḥādīth al-Qudsiyya with French translation by Fawzī Sha'bān (Beyrūt: Dār Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 77. Rāzī also notes a reference to both names of *laṭā'if*, i.e., the mystery (*sirr*) and the arcane (*khafī*), in the Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ṭāhā (20:7) which says: "If thou makest utterance aloud, verily He knows the secret (*sirr*) and what is more hidden (*khafī*)." Rāzī calls the five inner means of perception, *mudrikat-i bāṭinī*. See Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 135.

[44] H. Corbin, The Man of light in Iranian Sufism, trans. N. Pearson (Boulder: Shambala, 1978), 124 and J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God, 84. The traditional mode of *laṭā'if* has influenced even further the later period. As an example, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (Mullā Ṣadra, d.1050/1640) presents in his smaller epistle entitled the Iksīr al-'Ārifīn a seven-fold division of the *laṭā'if* theory which consists of *tabī'a, nafs, 'aql, rūḥ, sirr, khafī* and *akhfā*. See Rasā'il Mullā Ṣadra (Tehran, 1302/1984-85), 295.

substance of the inmost being (*al-laṭīfa al-sirriyya*) in turn distinguishes the faithful Muslim (*mu'min)* who is decorated with the adornment of the light of the faith, and whose acquired body has found deliverance from inconstancy; the subtle substance of the spirit (*al-laṭīfa al-rūḥiyya*) distinguishes the accomplished mystic (*walī*) from the faithful Muslim, whereas by the subtle substance of mystery (*al-laṭīfa al-khafiyya*), the prophet is distinguished from the saint. Finally, the possessor of the subtle substance of the real (*al-laṭīfa al-ḥaqīqiyya*) has realized the true nature of Muḥammad, the seal of the prophets, which is the highest status a human being can possibly attain.

How the subtle substances relate to the seven prophets is likewise described by al-Simnānī. The first *laṭīfa* is the human physical form, which is the final result of the creative process. It is also the mold of an individual's acquired, spiritual body. Due to its initial position in the hierarchy of *laṭā'if,* this formal subtle substance is the "Adam of your being."[45] The subtle substance of the soul implies something which simultaneously undergoes calamities in the physical world and also controls the body and curbs its natural disorder by confronting it, just as Noah confronted his people; for this reason it is considered "the Noah of your being." The subtle substance of the heart is the shell or oyster in which forms the rare pearl of the perfect human existence. As such, it is the parent in whose loins is nurtured an atom of progeny which comprises the later *laṭā'if.* Corresponding to the position of Abraham, the ancestor of the later prophets, it is called "the Abraham of your

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[45] The hierarchy of subtle substances in the spiritual body has been described at great length by Henry Corbin in En Islam iranien, vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), 275-355.

being." The following level is the subtle substance of the inmost being, which represents direct communication with God, and is therefore "the Moses of your being." The fifth is the *laṭīfat al-rūḥ*, and since the human spirit is the caliph of God in the kingdom of the human body, this *laṭīfa* is distinguished by the robe of caliph authority and corresponds to "the David of your being."[46] The sixth *laṭīfa* is supported by the Holy spirit, and announces the arrival of the seventh and final *laṭīfa* to all the forces that comprise the nations (*umam*) of one's subtle substances. In this capacity it functions as the "Jesus of the human being."[47] The final level, the last *laṭīfa*, is the subtle substance of the "real," and just as Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets, the attainment of this *laṭīfa* corresponds to the "Muḥammad of your being."

The theory of *laṭā'if* in the Naqshbandī order is closely connected to its activities and characteristics, and to the levels of human consciousness, not its essence. One finds discussions that are almost similar to the Kubrawī scheme, and there is some further development of the Naqshbandī concept of *laṭā'if* as part of Sufi psychology. Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) explains that the world of creation and the world of (divine) command both contain five components each, called *laṭā'if*. For him, the components of the material level are the four elements of earth, water, fire and air, which together make up the human 'body' (*qālab*), and the human

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[46] This is a reference to the Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ṣād (38:26) which says: "O David! Indeed We have created you as a representative (*khalīfa*) in the earth, therefore judge among the people with justice, and do not follow desire lest it misled you from the part of Allah."

[47] Al-Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Ṣaff (61:6) says: "And remember, Jesus the son of Mary, said: 'O children of Israel! I am the messenger of Allah to you confirming the law before me, and giving glad tidings of a messenger to come after me whose name shall be Aḥmad."

'soul' (*nafs*), while the components of the spiritual level are, respectively, the heart (*qalb*), the spirit (*rūḥ*), the secret (*sirr*), the inner (*khafī*) and the arcane (*akhfā*).[48] The seven steps correspond to these *laṭā'if* according to the understanding that the four elements -- earth, water, fire and air -- are seen as one entity.[49] Yet while Sirhindī mentions neither the seven prophets nor the colors, other Naqshbandī sources do.[50] As a brief comparison, let us consider the following scheme:

a. The Seven Subtle Substances in the Kubrawī system of 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī.[51]

Subtle Substance	Human Type	Prophet	Color
body (*qālab*)	barbarian (*afaqi*)	Adam	dark
soul (*nafs*)	infidel (*kāfir*)	Noah	blue
heart (*qalb*)	submitter (*muslim*)	Abraham	red
conscience (*sirr*)	faithful (*mu'min*)	Moses	white
spirit (*rūḥ*)	saint (*walī*)	David	yellow
mystery (*khafī*)	prophet (*nabī*)	Jesus	black
reality (*ḥaqq*)	seal of prophets	Muḥammad	green

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[48] J.G.J. Ter Haar Follower and Heir of the Prophet: Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) as Mystic (Leiden: Het Oosters Instotuut, 1992), 90. These ten *laṭā'if* are mentioned in Shaykh Sambas's Fath al-'Arifīn, which we are going to discuss in the following sub-chapter.

[49] J.G.J. ter Haar, Follower and Heir of the Prophet Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) as Mystic, 90.

[50] Carl W. Ernst, The Shambala Guide to Sufism, 107. Ter Haar tells us that none of these *laṭā'if* are treated in any detail, or systematically.

[51] Adapted from Jamal J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God, especially chapter 5, passim..

b. The Subtle Substances in the Naqshbandī system.[52]

Subtle Substance	Location	Color
heart (*qalb*)	two fingers below left breast	red
spirit (*rūḥ*)	two fingers below right breast	white
soul (*nafs*)	beneath navel	yellow
conscience (*sirr*)	center of breast	green
mystery (*khafī*)	above eyebrows	blue
Arcanum (*akhfā*)	top of brain	black

Unlike the other orders, the *Qādiriyya* does not seem to have developed a theory of *laṭā'if* – certainly not one that is as elaborate as that of the *Kubrawiyya* or the *Naqshbandiyya*. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī addresses the issue of the place of the *rūḥ* in the human body, but does not treat it as a question of *laṭā'if*.

From our discussion of some Sufi terminology above, it can be seen that the same terms are used in different Sufi orders with slightly varying understandings; for example, the different concepts of the types of *dhikr* and *murāqaba*. The same is the case with the usage of the term *talqīn*, in the context of Sufism and in the sociological context of Islam in Java in particular, although this is perhaps also due to the general lack of understanding of the term and its context. As for the term

[52] This explanation is adapted from Dhawqi Shah, Sirr-i Dilbaran, as quoted by Carl W. Ernst. See the latter's The Shambala Guide to Sufism, 107. Mir Valiuddin discusses six subtle centers and their locations which is similar to this scheme, but offers no explanation of the prophets and colors See his Contemplative Disciplines in Sufism, 64. Elsewhere in the same source Valiuddin explains the concept of *laṭā'if* and their locations from the point of view of the *Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*, which is slightly different from the scheme outlined above, see pp. 70-71.

laṭā'if, the matter is even more complex, at least as much so as the term *murāqaba,* as we observed in our previous survey.

2. The *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas

a. The History of the Text

The work *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* contains Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas's basic teachings describing in a summary fashion, the *bay'a,* the devotions, the *dhikr* (including *dhikr laṭā'if*) and other spiritual techniques of both the *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* orders, as well as twenty meditations (*murāqaba,* pl. *murāqabāt*). It also includes the *silsila* of the two orders (although it is more complete for the *Qādiriyya* line).[53] The text survives in two versions that we know of. The copyist of the manuscript, which forms the basis of the available printed edition of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* was Muḥammad Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Bālī, a disciple of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas as well as one of his *khalīfa*s whom he had taught in Mecca. According to the colophon, al-Bālī apparently copied or wrote out the text some three years after Shaykh Sambas's death, in the month of Rajab 1295/1878, while living in Ṭā'if (*al-Ṭā'if al-Ma'nūs*). In fact, the first printed edition was published in Mecca in the year 1323/1905-6 (it was this edition that formed the basis for the

[53] It is unclear however, whether Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas had a separate Naqshbandī teacher or studied both *ṭarīqas* with the same teacher, a certain Shams al-Dīn. See Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 169.

partial English translation of William G. Shellabear),[54] and it has been republished several times. In this sub-chapter we will be referring mainly to the printed edition of the work published in Surabaya (probably during the 1980s) by Shirka Bungkul Indah.[55]

The second version of the work is preserved in a manuscript (Museum Pusat Jakarta no. 146), copied by Muḥammad Ma'rūf al-Palimbānī. The manuscript is undated, and the copyist himself is, unfortunately, completely unknown. Bruinessen draws attention to this copy, which he refers to by the title *Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah*, but without providing any further information other than its location. On the surface, the text of the manuscript is pretty much identical to the Surabaya printed version, with the exception that the manuscript contains less Arabic text, and features very small departures from the Malay wording preserved by al-Bālī. These departures are noted for the most part in the footnotes to our discussion of the contents of the printed text. The manuscript consists of 30 pages in length, (paginated in Arabic numerals by a later hand) with 13 lines (approximately) to a page.

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[54] William G. Shellabear's partial translation of Shaykh Sambas's Fath al-'Ārifīn (covering pages 2-5 of the Shirka Bungkul Indah edition of the work), may be found in his article entitled, "A Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices," in The MacDonald Presentation Volume (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1933), 352-356. See also Shellabear's other article, "An Exposure of Counterfeiters," MW 20 (1930): 359-370. Hawash Abdullah summarizes Fath al-'Ārifīn in his book, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: al-Ikhlas, 1980), 182-193.

[55] To all appearances, this Surabaya edition is a reprint of an earlier edition, possibly that of Mecca or perhaps the Cairo-printed version of 1346/1927, referred to by Shellabear in his "Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practice," 370, note 17.

Structurally, the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* is very simple. It has no table of contents, and is very brief, a fact which is confirmed by the author himself (*risalah yang kecil*).[56] On the title page of the edition of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* published by Shirka Bungkul Indah, the statement is made that the work is a *tarjama* in the Malay language (*yang diterjemahkan*), but this is probably meant in the sense of *tarjama* as a commentary or paraphrase. The text contains extensive Arabic quotations of *du'ā'* used in the TQN's initiation process; these are contained within brackets and explained (word by word or phrase by phrase), though not translated, in Malay. On the margins of the printed edition, a text containing supplementary information may be found, also in Malay, but without any ascription. Shellabear identifies the author of this marginal text as Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas himself, and calls it an "introduction" to *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*, although there are reasons to doubt this attribution, as we shall see below. This text, which appears to be independent of the *matn*,[57] extends only to page five of the printed edition, after which the margins are empty, the only exception being page eight where we find a short gloss mentioning the names of the Prophets who bore the title *'ulu'l 'azm*, (the ones who possess firm intention; i.e., the Prophets Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Isā and Muḥammad, peace be upon them). There are also some footnotes on pages four and five concerning the colors of the subtle centers (*laṭā'if*) and the Prophets associated with each of the latter. The editor (*muṣaḥḥiḥ*) of the text, according to the very last page (page 12), was Ilyās

[56] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 2.

[57] The marginal text, while it relates to the topic in the *matn*, does not appear to comment directly on Sambas's Fath al-'Ārifīn.

Ya'qūb al-Azhārī (otherwise unknown), although his exact role in the redaction of the work is unclear.

A comparison with the Museum Pusat manuscript raises at the outset the problem of the work's original title. The treatise was apparently widely known as *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* – it is this phrase that we find on the title pages of the printed edition, and it is by this name that its contemporary critics identified it in their works.[58] Oddly enough, however, there is no trace of this title in the work itself. Shaykh Sambas himself appears to refer to the work as *Risāla Laṭīfa fī Bayān Bay'at al-Dhikr wa al-Silsila al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya* (A Subtle Treatise in the Explanation of the Initiation of the *Dhikr* and the Spiritual Chain of the TQN). Then, at the end of the work, the copyist refers to the treatise simply as *Silsilat al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya* (*qad tamma Silsilat al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya li mu'allifih al-'ālim al-'allāma wa al-ḥibr*[59] *al-fahhāma mawlānā al-Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb ibn al-Marḥūm 'Abd al-Ghaffār Sambas al-Jāwī*), an identification that seems to have been taken over by the copyist of the manuscript version at our disposal. Al-Palimbani's version refers to the work at the outset as *Tariqa yang Dibangsakan kepada Qādiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah,*[60] seemingly a rough translation into Malay of *Silsilat al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya* (literally,

[58] Shellabear, "An Exposure of Counterfeiters."

[59] In ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, 1, line 8, this word is given as *baḥr.*

[60] Ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, 1 lines 5 and 6. This ms. is quite imilar to the printed version of the Fath al-'Arifin, except for a few slight differences. The specific differences will be given in the equivalent sections of the printed edition of the Fath al-'Arifin.

the *Ṭarīqa that is grouped into Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya*). He also preserves in his colophon the Arabic title given in the colophon of the printed edition.[61] How the work came to be referred to as *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* is difficult to say. It is possible that it was derived from the opening words of the first *du'ā'* referred to in the text (*Allāhumma iftaḥ lī bi futūḥ al-'ārifīn*), and reiterated in the editor's colophon to the Surabaya edition (*dan pada hal dinamakan dia* [i.e., entitled] *Futūḥ al-'Ārifīn*).

b. The Text in the Margins of the Printed Edition

Prior to our discussion of the text in the margins, it should be noted that on the title page of the printed edition of the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* we find the following words describing and attributing the text in the margins: *dan beberapa hāmish yang ditepi ini kitab mentafsirkan dan mentahrirkan kalām shaykh raḥimahullāh ta'ālā āmīn*, meaning "and several marginal texts on the side of this book explaining and editing the sayings of the *shaykh* ...." This phrase does not mention the name of the particular shaykh, although the reader might assume it perhaps refers to Shaykh Sambas. The implication of using such terminology may seem to indicate that the marginal text has a direct relationship to the main text (*matn)*, and that our understanding of the phrase "*mentafsirkan dan mentahrirkan*" may have a bearing on the following discussion.

At the beginning of the marginal text that accompanies the Surabaya edition of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*, we find written: "our *ṭarīqa* consists of the letters *nūn, qāf, ṭā',*

[61] Compare the printed edition of Fath al-'Arifin, 11 and ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, 30, line 5 .

jīm and *mīm*: whoever does not come to us will regret it." We are furthermore told that the letter *nūn* signifies the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya*, the letter *qāf* the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya*, the *ṭā'* the *ṭarīqat al-Anfas*, *jīm* the *ṭarīqat al-Junayd* and finally *mīm* the *ṭarīqat al-Muwāfaqa*. These references appear to imply that the five orders somehow make up a single order.[62] The commentator then goes on to explain the characteristics of *dhikr* in each of these orders. Thus the *Naqshbandiyya* order practices silent *dhikr*, holding the breath, and reciting the expression "Allāh, Allāh," in their heart, while the *Qādiriyya* order has an audible *dhikr*, performed either standing or sitting. The *Ṭarīqat al-Anfās* is, in turn, said to repeat *dhikr* "by the way they breathe," i.e., in the course of inhaling and exhaling. Members of the Junayd

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[62] There is a slightly different understanding of the term *ṭarīqa* as used here from that which applies to the first two, the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya*. The *Ṭarīqat al-Junaydiyya* is likely an order in the traditional sense as well; it is one of the ten *ṭarīqa al-maqbūl* / approved (traced back to Abu'l Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910) mentioned by Hujwīrī, p. 130-131 in his Kashf al-Mahjūb). The *ṭarīqa* al-Junayd and its eight principles were also mentioned in the Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (Cairo, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961), 50. In addition, this method, though, was not confined to one line, but was inherited by all the Junaydī orders. Sanūsī includes *al-Junaydiyya* among the chosen forty Sufi orders. See his Al-Salsabīl al-Ma'īn fī al-Ṭarā'iq al-Arba'īn, published in the margins of his Kitāb al-Masā'il al-'Ashr al-Musammā Bughyat al-Maqāsid fī Khulāṣat al-Marāṣid (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ma'āhid bi Jawār Qism al-Ḥamāliyya, n.d.), 5. Sanūsī also explains the *ṭarīqa al-Junaydiyya* in his Kitāb Al-Manhal al-Rawī al-Rā'iq fī Asānīd al-'Ulūm wa Uṣūl al-Ṭarā'iq (Cairo: Ḥuqūq al-Ṭab' Maḥfūẓa li al-Nāshir, 1373/1954), 61. On page 100 of the same source, Sanūsī calls Junayd *sayyid al-Ṭawā'if*. As for the remaining two orders, the *Ṭarīqat al-Anfās* and the *Muwafaqa*, they appear to be understood on the basis of their general techniques rather than as "proper Sufi orders." E. Geoffroy discusses the term *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭuruq*, *ṭarā'iq*) in detail. There are at least six understandings of the term *ṭarīqa*: way, method, the sufi order, modes and rites of affiliation, towards 'fraternalism,' and the universal way. See his "Ṭarīḳa i.The Nature and Development of the Term in Ṣūfism," in E I 2 vol. 10, 243-246. The term *al-anfās* appears in the Laṭā'if al-Minan of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, ed.'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd (Cairo: Dār al-Ma 'ārif, 1992), 194, where he states that "the reason of my encounter with him was as followed: after the pre discussion that placed between the disciple and me, I say to myself: "why would not you see that man? He is the one who hold the truth of the signs that was explained." So I went to one of his meetings and found him trying to speak in different spiritual breathes (*anfās*) that the Legislator had asked the man to experiment." The translator comments that the term *anfās* can receive diverse acceptance in Sufi terminology. The master Shādhilī Ibn 'Abbād, for example, defines it as "the instant short that succeed in the man's conscious." See Eric Geoffroy, La Sagesse des maîtres soufis. French translation from the Arabic and annotation of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allah's Laṭā'if al-Minan fī Manāqib al-Shaykh Abi'l 'Abbās al-Mursī wa Shaykhihih al-Shādhilī Abi'l Ḥasan (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1998), 141.

order[63] are then described as reciting *subḥānallah* on the first day of the week (Sunday) four thousand times, *alḥamdulillāh* on Monday four thousand times, *lā ilāha illā Allāh* on Tuesday four thousand times, *Allāhu Akbar* on Wednesday four thousand times, *lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh* on Thursday four thousand times, *ṣalawāt* on Friday, and *istighfār* on Saturday, only to recommence this pattern when Sunday arrives once again. Finally, the *Muwāfaqa* order is said to perform a phrase-patterned devotion *(wird)* composed of the beautiful names of Allah (*asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*), repeating each one as many times as is signified by the numerical value of the letters in the name.[64]

Still on the margins of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*[65] we are furthermore informed that the *Sammāniyya* order subsumes the aforementioned orders (*maka tariqat Samman ini menghimpunkan akan segala tariqat yang tersebut ini*) -- and thus Ahmad Khatib's

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[63] Trimingham notes that at any time a Sufi might be told in a dream to convey al-Junayd's Way. For example, Yūsuf al-'Ajamī al-Kūrānī (d.768/1366) was the first to revive the *ṭarīqa* of al-Junayd in Egypt after its obliteration. See his The Sufi Orders in Islam, 13. In addition, the *Kubrawiyya* also seems to be inspired by the teachings of Junayd. One may find several references in Najm al-Dīn Kubra's Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl, pp. 6, 80, 93, 109, 127 and page 128 to Junayd. He lists Junayd's eight essential principles on the Sufi path and adds two on his own behalf. See Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, Al-Sā'ir al-Hā'ir. The first eight include purity, silence of the tongue, seclusion, fasting, and constant *dhikr*, negation of thoughts, inclination for the association of holy people (i.e. *shaykh*), and the contentment with God's command. Whereas the other two are the renunciation of sleep, and observing the sufi rules concerning consumption of food and drink. F de Jong writes that the Khalwatī was "basically the *ṭarīqa* of al-Junayd." See "*Khalwatiyya*" in E I 2 vol.4, 992. See also G.W.J. Drewes, "A Note on Muḥammad al-Sammān, his Writings, and 19th Century Sammāniyya Practices, Chiefly in Batavia, according to Written Data." Archipel 43 (1992): 75. Meanwhile, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, like some classical Sufi figures, called al-Junayd *sayyid al-ṭā'ifa al-ṣūfiyya*. See his Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3. Louis Massignon tells us about the *Junaydiyya* in his La Passion de Husayn ibn Mansūr Hallāj vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 202, 314 and 322. For a modern study on al-Junayd, see 'Ali Hassan 'Abdel Kader, The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd (London: Luzac & Co., 1976).

[64] Regarding the latter issue, for a similar example see Muḥammad Ṣādiq Luṭfil Hakim's work, Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li Ma'rifat al-Tarīqa wa Kayfiyya 'Amalihā min al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya (Mranggen, n.d.), 24. He explains that the numerical value of *lā ilāha illā Allah* (165) determines the number of times it should be repeated.

[65] The marginal text in Fath al-'Arifīn, 2-3.

TQN. This surprising statement may be explained by the fact that the *Sammāniyya* was traditionally regarded as an eclectic composite consisting of elements from the *Khalwatiyya, Naqshbandiyya, Qādiriyya* and *Shādhiliyya.*[66] The implication here, as I understand it, is that the *Sammāniyya* order is a more comprehensive order than any of the other single or combined *ṭarīqas*, and therefore, perhaps, superior. On the basis of comments such as these, we have to say that it is unlikely that the marginal text was written by Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, especially as Shellabear cannot offer any evidence in support of this.

The question that remains unanswered is why the text in the margins was included in the printed edition in the first place. Its presence in the first edition and its constant reprinting in subsequent editions is an indication that whoever it was that decided to include it saw it as having some connection with the *matn.* Perhaps the comments were inscribed on al-Bali's manuscript copy, though whether they were his own or someone else's is difficult to tell. In the end however, the fact remains that the marginal text is neither particularly useful nor entirely contradictory; rather, in presenting a different perspective on some of the topics discussed in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*, it seems to complement the latter. Whether or not this perspective is that of the *Sammāniyya* or not, it cannot have appeared unsuitable to the person or persons who first put together the printed edition. This acceptance is in

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[66] Martin van Bruinessen, "Ahmad Khatib Sambas," in Dictionnaire Biographique des Savants et Grandes Figures du Monde Musulman Périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau, et. al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 14. In this article Bruinessen does not distinguish between Fath al-'Arifin and the marginal text, although I assume that he is talking about the same edition of the book published by Bungkul Indah Surabaya, n.d.

a sense characteristic of a certain attitude in Sufi circles as to the roles of the different orders.

To comprehend better the Sufi order's role as a religious institution, it is helpful to understand the differences in approach between the sociological concerns of academic scholars and the practical engagement of Sufis with particular teachings. One important difference is that scholars (particularly Western scholars) have the tendency to see the Sufi orders as social phenomena with clear historical and geographical boundaries. Scholars also see the Sufi orders as authoritarian structures, something like political parties with distinctive ideological characteristics. For Sufis, the *ṭarīqa* is not so much a social institution as it is a mystical transmission; not a strictly corporate entity but a set of spiritual methods/techniques maintained by and passed on to its members.[67] A famous saying concerning the number of the *ṭarīqas* in existence is: "The ways to God most high are as numerous as the souls of human beings" (*ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq bi 'adad anfās (nufūs) al-khalā'iq*). They may have many branches or sub branches, but to their members they are in fact one, since the goal of all is one.

c. A Survey of the Contents of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*

After a very brief *ḥamdala* and *ṣalawāt* to the Messenger of God, Shaykh Sambas begins by explaining the procedure (*kayfiyya*) of the instruction (*talqīn)* that leads up to the vow of allegiance (*bay'a),* which together form the rite of initiation

[67] A summary of Carl W. Ernst's argument in The Shambala Guides to Sufism (Boston: Shambala Publications, Inc., 1997), 120-124. However, he uses the term "western orientalists."

into the order.[68] The *shaykh* first, and then the disciple, read the formulas below in the following order:

1. They begin with the *basmala* (*bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm),* and then follow this with the prayer (*du'ā'): '*O Allah, open up to me the victories of the adepts"[69] (*Allāhumma iftaḥlī bi futūḥ al-'ārifīn*) seven times.

2. Then the *basmala* is recited twice with the following additional wording: "In the Name of Allah the Beneficent and the Merciful, all praise belongs to Allah, and mercy and peace upon the beloved, the high and great, our master Muḥammad, the leader on to the straight path. In the name of Allah the Beneficent and the Merciful, I ask pardon of Allah, the Forgiving, the Merciful" (*bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, alḥamdulillah wa al-ṣalāt wa al-salām 'alā al-ḥabīb al-'aliyy al-'aẓīm sayyidinā Muḥammadin al-hādī ilā al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm, bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, astaghfirullāh al-ghafūr al-raḥīm).*

3. Then *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh) are performed twice in succession. These prayers take the form: "O Allah, have mercy upon our master Muḥammad, and upon his family and companions, and give him peace" *(Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa 'alā ālihī wa ṣaḥbihī wa sallim*).

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[68] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Arifīn, 2. *Talqīn* (verbal noun of *laqqana*, to prompt), means giving (secret) instruction and becomes a synonym for initiation. In other *ṭarīqas,* the term *bay'a* is sometimes understood as the event of initiation while in the TQN's tradition, both elements form the initiation . Abah Anom dedicates chapter 3 of his Miftāh al-Sudūr to explaining *talqīn* and *'ahd.*

[69] This translation is by Shellabear, "A Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices," 357. From this page onwards, the translations of passages from Fath al-'Arifīn are by Shellabear. See Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Arifīn, 2 and ms.of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, 1, line 11.

4. Then the *shaykh* recites the formula *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, repeating it three times, followed by his disciples.

5. The above formula is completed with the phrase: *sayyidunā Muḥammad rasūlullāh ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam.*

6. Then the *shaykh* reads (followed by his disciples) *ṣalawāt munjiyāt*, which we will quote from Shellabear's translation: "O Allah, have mercy upon our lord Muḥammad with a mercy by which Thou wilt save us from all terrors and misfortunes, and by which Thou wilt supply all our needs, and by which Thou wilt cleanse us from all iniquities, and by which Thou wilt elevate us to the highest ranks, and by which Thou wilt cause us to reach the furthest limits of all good things in this life and after death" *(Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin ṣalātan tunjīnā bihā min jamī' al-ahwāl wa al-āfāt wa taqḍī lanā bihā jamī'al-ḥājāt wa tuṭahhirunā bihā min jamī' al-sayyi'āt wa tarfa'unā bihā a'la al-darajāt wa tuballighunā bihā aqṣa al-ghāyāt min jamī' al-khayrāt fī al-ḥayāt wa ba'd al-mamāt).*

7. Next the *shaykh* recites *sūrat* al-Fatḥ (48:10): "Those who give their allegiance to thee are giving their allegiance only to Allah; the hand of Allah is above their hands, so he who breaks faith will break faith with himself only, and he who keeps the covenant which Allah has made with him will receive from Allah a great reward" (*innalladhīna yubāyi'ūnaka innamā yubāyi'ūn Allāh yadullāh fawqa aydīhim faman nakatha fainnamā yankuthu 'alā nafsih wa man awfā bimā 'āhada 'alayhullāh fasayu'tīhi ajran 'aẓīma).*

8. Following this, *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is recited for the sake of all the shaykhs of the *ahl al-silsila al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya*, but especially for the *sulṭān al-awliyā'* Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and for the sake of the "lord of the Sufi sect" (*sayyid al-ṭā'ifa al-ṣūfiyya),* Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī.

9. Then the shaykh recites *du'ā'* for the sake of the disciple, praying that all will be made easy for him, after which he directs the gaze (*tawajjuh*) of the pupil a thousand times, or more than a thousand times.[70]

I have not yet encountered any Qādirī and Naqshbandī sources that explain in such great detail the practice of *talqīn* as described above, although, essentially, it does reflect Qādiri and Naqshbandī practices. This is especially the case, due to its concern with the issues of the spiritual preparation of the *murīd* prior to entering the *ṭarīqa,* i.e., the repentance and connected matters, the importance of *talqīn,* and the acknowledgment of the *talqīn* performed by the Prophet (pbuh), collectively and individually.[71] What can furthermore be said, based on what I observed during a performance of Naqshbandī *talqīn,* is that it has all the elements mentioned above,

[70] Ahmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 2-3. This is accompanied by a thousand silent recitations of the *lafẓ al-Jalāla, Allāh, Allāh.* On page 2, line 13 of the manuscript Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, the copyist does not mention that the *shaykh* performs the *du'ā'* for the *murīd,* or that he performs *tawajjuh* for him 1,000 times, or more, as stated in the Fath al-'Ārifīn.

[71] For a Qādirī source, see Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Sirr al-Asrār (Arabic and Indonesian translation), 53-54. See, for a Naqshbandī source, Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmī' al-Usūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 1, 79. For a detailed account of *talqīn,* see the latter work, vol.2, 91-92.

such as, the recitation of *istighfār*, the *kalima shahāda*, the *āyat al-mubāya'a*, the recitation of *sūra* Fātiḥa for their *shaykh*s, and the *du'ā'*.[72]

After outlining this method of *talqīn*, Shaykh Sambas then goes on to explain that human beings consist (*murakkab*) of ten subtle centers (*laṭā'if*), the first five of which are called, collectively, the world of command (*'ālam al-amr).*[73] Individually, these are: the subtlety of the heart (*halus hati - laṭīfat al-qalb*); the subtlety of the spirit (*halus rūḥ - laṭīfat al-rūḥ*); the subtlety of the innermost being (*halus rahasia - laṭīfat al-sirr*); the subtlety of the hidden being (*halus yang tersembunyi - laṭīfat al-khafī*); and the subtlety of the most hidden being (*halus yang terlebih tersembunyi - laṭīfat al-akhfā*). The other five are called, as a whole, the world of creation (*'ālam al-khalq)*; they include the subtlety of the soul (*laṭīfat al-nafs)* and the four elements (*al-'anāṣīr al-arba'a*), which constitute the essence of creation, i.e., water, air, fire and earth. Shaykh Sambas furthermore specifies that the subtlety of the soul (*halus otak - laṭīfat al-nafs*), is located on the forehead and cranium (*di dalam dahi dan kepala*).[74]

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[72] This field observation has been made many times at the Masjid al-Imān, Avenue du Parc, Montreal. As a matter of fact, this event occurs in regular meetings, every Sunday and Thursday night, whenever people intend to take the *bay'a.*

[73] Ahmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3.Although Shaykh Sambas does not explain the discussion on this issue in detail, his followers later do this. For example, Kiyai Muslih in his 'Umdat al-Sālikīn, and Kiyai Romly Tamim in his Thamarat al- Fikriyya.

[74] Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3-5. The translation of *laṭīfa* into Indonesian as "*halus*" -- smooth/soft -- sounds very literary. The issue of *laṭā'if* developed later, in the discussion of the Shaykhs of the TQN. Among others, there is the treatment of Kiyai Muslih of Mranggen in his works, Risalah Tuntunan Tarīqat Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah 2 vols. and 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik (both works are in the Arabic and Javanese languages), as well as Abah Anom's Miftāḥ al-Sudūr.

At first, Shaykh Sambas is less than clear on whether the *laṭā'if* actually dwell in the human body, but later he shows that this is the case when he describes the process of *dhikr*. His later follower Shaykh Muslih, however, is emphatic: God, in creating the human body, imposed on the five *laṭā'if* of the world of command very clear limits.[75] Although they are immaterial, these subtle centers that control the inner life of human beings are located in the body.[76] The discussion on the *laṭā'if* according to Shaykh Sambas's point of view obviously derives from Naqshbandī sources; compare Naqshbandi's interpretation (in particular) of the ten *laṭā'if* and related matters.[77]

In his next chapter (*faṣl*), Shaykh Sambas explains the method of *dhikr* of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya*, a practice carried out in conjunction with the Naqshbandī *dhikr* (described above) after every performance of each of the five daily prayers. In the practice described below, the *dhikr* of the *Qādiriyya* (described first) is voiced, while the Naqshbandī *dhikr* is performed silently.[78]

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[75] Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik, 45.

[76] For the place of *rūḥ* in the human body, see Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Sirr al-Asrār, 34-42. The author explains the types of *rūḥ* instead of naming them as *laṭā'if*; i.e., *rūḥ jasmānī* is in the chest, *rūḥ rūḥānī* is in the heart, *rūḥ sulṭānī* is located in the *fu'ād*, and *rūḥ al-quds* is in the *sirr*.

[77] Among the Naqshbandī sources, see Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Usūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 1, 56, 62. In Jāmī' al-Usūl vol. 2, 390 furthermore, he discusses the reality of the heart, the soul, the great spirit and the innermost being (*haqīqat al-qalb wa al-nafs wa al-rūḥ al-a'ẓam wa al-sirr*).

[78] Due to the authority of the *shaykh* in the history of the Naqshbandī order, for example, we observe the change of policy concerning the way to perform the *dhikr*. For a succinct discussion on both types of *dhikr* practiced in the history of the Naqshbandī see two articles of Hamid Algar, "Silent and Vocal Dhikr in the Naqshbandī Order." Akten des VII Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamissenschaft, ed. A. Dietrich, 39-46 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1976) and Algar's other article, "Some Notes on the Naqshbandī Ṭarīqat in Bosnia," Die Welt des Islams 13 no. 3-4 (1971): 168-203.

1. First there is the request for pardon (*istighfār*): "I ask pardon of Allah, the pardoning and the merciful One" (*astaghfirullāh al-ghafūr al-raḥīm*). This must be recited at least twice or as many as twenty times.

2. Then there is the recitation of *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet (pbuh).

3. Next there is the recitation of the formula *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, repeated 160 times[79] after the completion of each of the five obligatory prayers. Besides this, there is a further recitation of the same formula, as much as one is able, using the following technique: one begins by lengthening the word *lā*, picturing it in one's thoughts as rising from the navel to one's head, following this with the word *ilāha*, which one imagines as passing to the right of the body, and finally driving the words *illā Allāh* into the heart (which according to Shaykh Sambas has the shape of the fruit called *ṣanawbarī*),[80] using a powerful effort "so that the illustrious words may pass through the five subtleties," i.e., the first five *laṭā'if* described above. At the same time, the one performing *dhikr* should bear in mind the following sentence: *la maqṣūda illā Allāh*, meaning, "nothing is intended except Allah."[81] In the meantime, the *dhākir* should await the abundant favor of God.

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[79] There must be a misprint in the Fath al-'Ārifīn page 3. There the text reads *seratus enam puluh kali*, meaning 160 times, whereas in the manuscript it is 165 times (*seratus enam puluh lima kali*). See ms.of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, 4, line 1.

[80] The Arabic *ṣanawbar* means "pine cone," and is used by Malays for the pineapple, owing to its conical shape; *ṣanaubarī* means conical, and *hati sanubari* or *jantung* are used by Malays for the anatomical heart. Shellabear refers to Rinkes, who states that the same expression is used by 'Abdul Ra'ūf in his 'Umdat al-Muhtājīn; see Rinkes, Abdoerraoef van Singkel, 68.

[81] Shaykh Sambas explains that the One who is purposed is God, meaning, the name for the essence of God for which there is nothing similar. He is accorded all attributes of perfection and praise, some of which are the 20 obligatory attributes (*ṣifat wājib*), and He is exempt from all the attributes of

The invocation *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, Shaykh Sambas tells us, is the *dhikr* of negation and affirmation (*al-nafy wa al-ithbāt*); it has the same value whether it is performed audibly or silently. When this *dhikr* is completed, it closes with the phrase: "our lord Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, may Allah have mercy upon him and give him peace" (*sayyidunā Muḥammadurrasūlullah s.a.w.).*

4. There follows the recitation of *ṣalawāt munjiyāt.*

5. The *Qādiriyya dhikr* ends, according to Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, with the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the sake of the Prophet (pbuh), his Companions, all the shaykhs of the TQN (especially Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī and Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas) and for one's fathers and mothers, one's Muslim brothers and sisters, and all believing men and women - both living and dead - (*muslimīn, muslimāt, mu'minīn, mu'mināt, al-aḥyā' minhum wa al-amwāt*).[82]

The following chapter explains the method (*kayfiyya*) of practising the *dhikr* of the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya*,[83] which as we noted earlier, is performed in conjunction with the *Qādiriyya* method.

1. This begins with recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the following: first for the sake of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), then for his family, and next for his

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deficiency and defect (*kekurangan dan kecelaan*), some of which are the 20 impossible attributes (*ṣifat mustaḥīl).* See his Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3.

[82] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3. In addition to the names of those to whom the recitation of Fātiḥa is dedicated, the manuscript lists that of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. See page 6, line 3 of the ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah.

[83] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3-4.

Companions. Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas describes this recitation as "something [done] for the sake of Allah (*shay' lillāh*)."

2. *Sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is then recited for the souls of the shaykhs of the *silsila* of the TQN, especially Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī and Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas.

3. The recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is also performed in the memory of the souls of fathers, mothers, Muslim men and women, and believing men and women, both the living and the dead.

4. Then there is a request for pardon (*istighfār)* -- "I ask pardon of Allah my lord for every sin, and I repent towards him" (*astaghfirullāh min kulli dhanbin wa atūbu ilayh)* -- repeated as few as five or as many as twenty-five times.

5. Then follows the recitation of *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ (Qur'ān 112: 1-4), repeated three times.

6. Next comes the recitation of *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh) and to the Prophet Ibrāhīm, as follows: "O Allah, have mercy upon our lord Muḥammad, and upon the family of our lord Muḥammad, as Thou didst have mercy upon our lord Abraham and upon the family of our lord Abraham; and bless our lord Muḥammad and the family of our lord Muḥammad, as Thou didst bless our lord Abraham and upon the family of our lord Abraham in the worlds, thou art praiseworthy and glorious" *(Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa 'alā āl sayyidinā Muḥammad kamā ṣallayta 'alā sayyidinā Ibrāhīm wa 'alā āl sayyidinā Ibrāhīm wa bārik 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa 'alā āl sayyidina*

Muḥammad kamā bārakta 'alā sayyidinā Ibrāhīm wa 'alā āl sayyidinā Ibrāhīm fil-'ālamīna innaka ḥamīdun majīd).

Before proceeding with his explanation, Shaykh Sambas tells us that in all devotions the heart should be present before Allāh so that "He is exalted," and that one should "seek from Him the abundance of His grace, love for Allāh and perfect acquaintance through the mediation of the *shaykhs*." Indeed, the figure of the teacher from whom one learned the *dhikr* should be pictured in the heart whenever the *shaykh* is absent. If he is before the *dhākir,* then the latter should simply wait for the flowing of God's favor and recite the *dhikr.* In either case, one's thoughts should be directed to the subtlety of the heart (*laṭīfat al-qalb*), remembering at the same time what is understood when the words *Allāh, Allāh* are spoken, i.e., the essence or selfhood of God.

These words and their accompanying mental imagery are matched by certain physical and quasi-physical actions. Thus, while reciting *dhikr,* the tongue is brought to the roof of the mouth, and both eyes are closed. According to Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, when one notices the movement of *dhikr* in the heart, then, by the blessing of directing one's thoughts upon one's *shaykh* (*baraka tawajjuh shaykh*), and by much recital of the *dhikr,* one moves, in the direction of one's teacher, to the subtlety of the spirit (*rūḥ*), which is below the right breast, at a distance of two fingers' breadth, and towards the right side, reciting the *dhikr* just as in the case of the subtlety of the heart. And when one notices the movement of the *dhikr* there, as in the heart, then one moves again, in the direction of one's teacher, to the subtlety of the consciousness (*sirr*), which is in line with the left breast, at a distance of two

fingers' breadth towards the sternum, reciting the *dhikr* just as one did in the previous step. When one notices the movement of the *dhikr* there, one moves again, in the direction of one's teacher, to the subtlety of the hidden being (*laṭīfat al-khafī*), which is in line with the right breast, at a distance of two fingers' breadth above it, and one recites the *dhikr* there, as in the previous step. Then when one notices the movement of the *dhikr* there, one moves again, in the direction of one's teacher, to the subtlety of the most hidden being (*laṭīfat akhfā*), which is in the middle of the chest, and recites the *dhikr* there. And when one notices the movement of the *dhikr* there, one moves again, in the direction of one's teacher, to the *laṭīfat al-nafs*, meaning, the subtlety of the brain (*halus otak*), which is located in the forehead and head (*didalam dahi dan kepala*) and one recites the *dhikr* there. Then, when one notices the movement of the *dhikr* there, one moves again, with the help of one's teacher, to the subtlety of the entire body (*laṭīfat al-qālab)*, involving the whole body from the top of head to the tips of the feet, until one notices the movement of the *dhikr* in all of the five "subtleties." This is repeated several times, whether one is reciting the *dhikr* to the name of the essence (that is, *Allāh, Allāh)*, or reciting the *dhikr* of negation and affirmation (*al-nafy wa al-ithbāt)* (that is, *lā ilāha illā Allāh).* This recitation is performed either aloud or silently in the heart.[84]

7. Finally, one recites with the heart or with the tongue the following formula:

   Allāhumma anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak,

[84] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 5.

which means, "O my God, it is Thou whom I desire, and Thy good pleasure is what I seek; bestow upon me Thy love and acquaintance with Thee."[85]

According to Shaykh Sambas, if one recites the *dhikr* audibly with the tongue, using the correct words and remembering the meaning, fixing these in the heart as though one were in the presence of Allah, an impression is produced. When the method (*kayfiyya*) is clear (i.e. the movement of the *dhikr),* and when the permanent strength of the *dhikr (kekal kuat dhikr)* is established, then one continues with gratitude and pleasure until it becomes one's own method; that is, a permanent *dhikr,* so that it is the same whether one is asleep or awake, and it becomes natural (*tab'iyya*).[86]

Although Shaykh Sambas's accounts of *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya dhikr* do not include any references, they do conform in large part to accounts of the practices found in our earlier discussions, for example, the types of *dhikr* identified by a Qādirī source, and by our Naqshbandī sources Aḥmad Naqshbandī and Amīn al-Kurdī. In trying to reconcile the two practices, Shaykh Sambas explains that the *dhikr* of the tongue is a starting point. He avoids saying explicitly, however, that this *dhikr* is either superior to silent *dhikr* or inferior. From this, the important point that may be made is that Shaykh Sambas prefers that the *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* practices are combined by members of the TQN.[87]

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[85] The translation is by Shellabear, "A Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices," 362.

[86] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 5.

[87] See the later Qādirī manual, Sirr al-Asrar, 74. Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 1, 59; vol.2. 87, 332. The method of *dhikr* of the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* orders are discussed in detail in Mir Valiuddin, Contemplative Disciplines in Sufism, 51-59 and 60-73.

Shaykh Sambas then continues by explaining that the people of the Path (*ahl al-ṭarīqa*) have said that there are three requirements (*tiga syarat*) that lead one to the goal of Allah. First, there is silent *dhikr*, i.e., the *dhikr* in one's mind, which is presented by a heart which is free of all stray thoughts (*khawāṭir*), and thus free of all thought of the past or the future or the present, free of all concentration upon what the eye sees, in short, free of any thought other than Allah.[88] Second, vigilance of the heart for Allah (*murāqaba*),[89] which means that the heart keeps watching for Allah (*mengintai hati kepada Allah*), as "a cat watches for a rat which has gone into a hole," while waiting for a limitless abundance of favor. The third and last requirement is to be devoted in one's service (*khidma*) to the Shaykh (*melazimkan hadir berkhidmat dengan shaykh*); that is, the teacher who produces an impression (*bekas* [Malay]), concentration (*tawajjuh*), recollection (*jam'iyya*) and method

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[88] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,.5. *Khawāṭir* arise during the practice of invocation or meditation, and this will indicate the state of the disciple's spiritual being. Najm al-Dīn Kubrā mentions a fivefold division of *khawāṭir*: those divinely inspired (*khāṭir-i ḥaqq*); those arising from the heart (*khāṭir-i dill*); those inspired by angels (*khāṭir-i malak*); those arising from the soul (*khāṭir – i nafs*); and those of satanic origin (*khāṭir-i shayṭān*). See Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, "Risālat al-Sā'ir al-Ḥā'ir al-Wājid ilā al-Sātir al-Wāḥid al-Mājid," ed. Marijan Molé in Annales Islamologiques 4 (1963): 52-54. In his Fawā'iḥ, on the other hand Kubrā mentions four kinds of *khawāṭir* according to their origin: diabolic (*shayṭānī*), from the soul (*nafsānī*), angelic (*malakī*) and Divine (*raḥmānī*). See Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawatih al-Kamāl, ed. F. Meier, 11-14.

[89] The practice of *murāqaba* in the TQN is performed with the permission and *bay'a* of *murāqaba* from the *shaykh*. The *murāqaba* is performed after every obligatory prayer, after one finishes the *dhikr nafy ithbāt* and *dhikr laṭā'if*. Since there are twenty *murāqabāt*, therefore after each prayer, four *murāqabas* are performed. The first four *murāqaba* is done after *fajr* prayer, the second four after *ẓuhr*, the third four after *'aṣr* prayer, the fourth four after *maghrib* and the last four after *'ishā'* prayer. See Muslih, Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya (Semarang: Toha Putra, 1994), 63-64.

(*kayfiyya*). These are the three things that are essential for the traveller (*sālik*) who is on his way to Allāh, and therefore essential for any of the people of the Path.[90]

Having completed his explanation the practice of *dhikr* in the two orders, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas goes on to define the twenty meditations (*murāqabāt*) referred to above. Shaykh Sambas does not explain when exactly these should be performed or how to apply them, although, generally speaking, in Sufi practice they tend to follow the *dhikr*. He does, however, go into considerable detail as to their nature and purpose.[91]

1. The *Murāqabat al-aḥadiyya* (meditation on the [exclusive] unity of Allah), is performed by directing (*tawajjuh*) the heart towards the level of the essence (*ḥaḍrat dhāt*) of God. This leads to the conviction that He is "one in the [midst of all] attributes of perfection and praise without limit, some of which are the twenty necessary (*wājib*) attributes." At the same time His purity is "far removed from the attributes of dependence and limitless imperfection, some of which are the twenty impossible attributes (*mustaḥīl*), the opposites of the twenty necessary."[92] In this form of meditation, one awaits the bestowal of favor from God, from any of the six directions, that is to say, from above, from below, from right, from left, from before and from behind. The argument (*dalīl*) for this position derives from the words of

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[90] Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 5-6. The *jam'iyya*, have may refer to *jam'iyyat al-qalb*, the recollection of the hearts, at least between the *shaykh* and his disciples. For further discussion of this matter, see H. Landolt, Nūr al-Dīn Isfarāyinī's Kāshif al-Asrār, page 125 onwards.

[91] However, Shaykh Muslih of Mranggen explains the more practical details as indicated previously. We will discuss it further in the next sub-chapter.

[92] The translation in the quotation is by Shellabear. "A Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices," 363.

Allāh Himself: *Qul, huwa'llāhu aḥad*, meaning, "Say, O Muḥammad, God is One" (Qur'ān 112: 1). When there is recollection (*jam'iyya*), that is to say, the permanency of the movement of the *dhikr*, and all random thoughts (*khawāṭir*) are made to vanish for at least four hours, then one moves on, at the direction of one's teacher, to the second meditation.

2. The *Murāqabat al-ma'iyya* (the meditation of concomitance); that is, concentration (*tawajjuh*) in directing the heart towards the essence (*dhāt*) of God. This *murāqaba* reinforces the belief that God is with the *sālik* in every part (*juz'*) of his body, and that these are somehow one with God, including one's hearing, seeing, speech, the feeling of the members, and the tongue and the sense of smell. Yet one does not know how or in what way (*kayfiyya*) He is one with them -- this is something that Allāh alone knows fully. The proof (*dalīl*) for this is the words of Allāh Almighty: " *Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum"* (Qur'ān 57: 4), meaning, "And Allāh is with you wherever you are." The concomitance of God is believed to have a figurative meaning (*ma'nawī*). When one abandons concentrating (*tawajjuh*) on the six directions as the source of God's emanation, the *sālik* then moves on to:

3. The *Murāqabat al-aqrabiyya* (the meditation on proximity), that is, concentration on the essence of God, who is said to be:

> nearer to one than the artery in one's neck, nearer to one's hearing, nearer to the seeing of one's eyes, nearer to the smelling of one's nose, and nearer to the taste of one's tongue, and nearer to the thinking of one's heart, and nearer to all one's members; but without one knowing the modality (*kayfiyya*) of His nearness, which only Allāh knows. And while one is thinking of the impression (*athar*) that He has created mankind, and has made all animals that creep on the earth and that fly in the air, and all the creatures that are in the sea, and while we are thinking

> of the upper universe *('ālam al-'ulwī)*, and the creation of the seven spheres of the sky and all that is contained in them, such as the moon and sun and stars and clouds, then we also think of the lower universe *('ālam al-suflī)*, and the creation of the ocean and dry land and mountains and plains, and such things as trees and rocks and all that grows.[93]

Shaykh Sambas is referring here to the Qur'ānic verse, *wa naḥnu aqrab ilayh min ḥabl al-warīd* ("We are nearer to him than his jugular vein," Qur'ān 50:16). This meditation comes at the time when one awaits the flowing of favour into one's *laṭīfat al-nafs,* together with the other five *laṭā'if* in the chest, which constitutes God's favour being bestowed on the *sālik.* This represents the point at which the license is granted (*maḥall al-ijāza*) by the master to his student: "I have clothed thee with the patched robe of poverty, and have [given thee a] license for guidance and authority, and have made thee a successor " (*Albastuka khirqata'l-faqīrīyya, wa ajaztuka ijāzatan muṭlaqatan lil-irshādi wa'l-ijāzati, wa ja 'altuka khalīfatan).* To this the pupil replies: "I have accepted" (*qabiltu).*[94] This is the end of the lesser authority *(wilāyat al-ṣughrā)* and the beginning of one's entrance into the circle of the greater authority (*dā'irat wilāyat al-kubra).*[95] From this point the *sālik* moves on, at the direction of the *shaykh* to:

4. The *Murāqabat al-maḥabba fī al-dā'irat al-ūlā* (the meditation on love in the first circle). This means the concentration on God Who loves and is loved in the first

[93] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Arifīn, 6.

[94] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Arifīn, 6. When the *murīd* says this, he becomes *khalīfa ṣughrā*, see Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik (Purworejo: Shirka al-Tijāra, n.d.), 98.

[95] Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Fath al-'Arifīn, 6-7. Shaykh Sambas does not explain at this point how one goes from lesser to greater authority. There are three levels of *wilāya*: *wilāyat al-ṣughrā, wilāyat al-kubrā* and *wilāyat al-'ulyā.* See Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik, 106-108.

circle[96] and the levels (*darajāt*) of concentration "upon the essence of God who loves us" -- and He whom we also love -- while gazing with eyes of the heart at the essence of one's God "who possesses all the level of names of unlimited goodness," some of which are the beautiful names (*asmā' al-ḥusnā*), which are ninety-nine altogether.[97] At this point, the meditation results in emanations (*fuyūḍāt*), which may be understood as God's spiritual bounty being bestowed upon the subtlety of the soul *(laṭīfat al-nafs).* Then, the *sālik* moves on again at the direction of the *shaykh*, to:

5. The *Murāqabat al-maḥabba fī al-dā'ira al-thāniya* (the meditation of love in the second circle), in which the *sālik* concentrates on God Who loves and is loved in the second circle/level,[98] that is, concentration upon the essence of God while looking with eyes that see Him on the level of His attributes which are ideas (*ṣifah ma'ānī*) and those connected with ideas (*ma'nawiyya*).[99] Again, in this meditation the *laṭīfat al-nafs* is favoured with God's bounty.

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[96] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 7. This circle is the first station (*maqām 'awāmm*); see Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan TQN vol.2 (Menara Kudus n.d.), 44.

[97] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 7. For a discussion on the *asmā' al-ḥusnā*, see Al-Ghazālī, Al-Maqsad al-Asna fī Sharḥ Ma'ānī Asmā' al-Ḥusnā, edited and introduction by Fadlou A. Shehadi (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1971), On *asma' al-ḥusnā* according to the *Ahl al-Sunna*'s point of view, pp. 172-175 and in relation to theology, pp. 175-177.

[98] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn , 7. This level called by Kiyai Muslih *maqām khawāṣṣ* or *maqām khāṣṣa.* See his Risalah Tuntunan TQN vol.2, 45.

[99] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 7. The discussion of the Divine attributes in Islam, involving those who believe that God has attributes (Attributists, the Ash'arites) and those who deny (the Anti attributists, the Mu'tazilites). However, some modified views among these exist as well. The arguments used by the Mu'tazilites for the denial of the reality of attributes were based upon their own particular conception of the meaning of eternity and of the meaning of the unity of God. The Attributists refute the Mu'tazilites' conception of the meaning of these two. The first Sunni Attributist to use the term *ṣifah* is Ibn Kullāb (d.854 A.H.) who is reported by Ash'arī (d.935 A.H.) as using the expressions "the names (*asmā'*) of God are His attributes (*ṣifāt*). See Harry Austryn

6. The *Murāqabat al-maḥabba fī al-qaws*[100] (the meditation of love in the Arc), which means concentration on God Who loves and is loved at a lesser distance; that is, concentration upon the level of the essence of God According to Shaykh Sambas, the argument (*dalīl*) of the preceding three meditations [101] is that Allāh Almighty said: *Yuḥibbuhum wa yuḥibbūnahu* (Qur'ān. 5: 54), meaning "He loves them, and they love Him,"[102] as a result of which his bounties (*fuyūḍāt*) fall once again upon the subtlety of the soul (*laṭīfat al-nafs*). Then the *sālik* moves on, at the direction of the *shaykh*, to:

7. The *Murāqabat wilāyat al-'ulyā* (the meditation on the Highest Authority), which consists in watching God, who represents the highest authority. According to Shaykh Sambas, since concentration upon the essence of God gives one the authority of the angels (*wilāyat al-malā'ika*), that is, inward control, which He himself then called "inward" (*bāṭin*). The proof (*dalīl*) of this is in the words of

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Wolfson, The Philosophy of the Kalam (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 118, 137. According to Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (419-478 / 1028-1085), *ṣifāt ma'nawiyya* (predicative terms), include knowing, powerful, living, willing, hearing, seeing, speaking. These are neither existent nor non-existent, but each of these modes (*ḥāl* pl.*aḥwāl*) is caused by a corresponding *ma'na*, such as knowledge, power, life, will, audition, sight, speech, and each of these *ṣifāt al-ma'ānī* (substantive terms) is a real attribute existing in God. See al-Juwaynī, Kitāb Al-Irshād ilā Qawāti' al-Adilla fī Usūl al-I'tiqād (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1369/1950), 61-76. See also the translation (Translated into French and edited by J.D. Luciani) Paris, 1938), 17. For the discussion on God's attributes, see D. Gimaret, "*ṣifa*" in E I 2 vol. 9, 552, and also his La doctrine d'al-Ash'arī (Paris: 1990).

[100] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn , 7. Louis Massignon discusses the term *qaws* in his La Passion de Ḥusayn ibn Mansūr Ḥallāj vol. 1, 255, 529; vol. 2, 270, 411; and vol. 3, 292, 312, 313, 315, 327, 369. As a matter of fact, this term relates to the location where the Prophet Muḥammad performed his ascension, experienced his vision and completed his mission. See Josef Van Ess, "Vision and Ascension: Sūrat al-Najm and its Relationship with Muḥammad's Mi'rāj." Journal of Qur'ānic Studies 1, no.1 (1999): 47-62, especially pp. 54-55.

[101] Perhaps what Shaykh Sambas means by three *murāqabas* is *murāqabas* numbers 4, 5 and 6.

[102] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn , 7. At this stage one stands on the *maqām khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ / khāṣṣat al-khāṣṣa*, See Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan TQN vol.2, 46. For this stage, Shaykh

Allāh Almighty, "He is the first and the last, and the outward and the inward" *(Huwa al-awwalu wa al-ākhiru wa al-ẓāhiru wa al-bātin)* (Qur'ān. 57:3), meaning, "He is God Who is first without beginning, and last, without end; and He is God Who is the outward, and He is also the inward." The bounty of this meditation falls in turn, upon the three elements (*wa al-fayḍ 'alā al-'anāṣir al-thalāth),* water, fire and wind.[103] From this stage the *sālik* moves on, at the direction of the *shaykh* to:

8. The *Murāqabat kamālāt al-nubuwwa* (meditation on the perfections of Prophethood); that is, concentration upon the essence of God, "Who made the perfections of all prophets, and who gave to them the commands of the canon law (*shar'*)." Here the bounty falls upon the soil (*'unṣur al-turāb*), after which *sālik* moves on, at the direction of the *shaykh* to:

9. The *Murāqabat kamālāt al-risāla* (meditation on the perfections of the Messengership); that is, concentration upon the essence of God, "Who made the perfections of all the messengers," meaning, He gave them a command over the law which is more than what was more perfectly enjoyed by the prophet, because the messenger-prophet is greater than the prophet who is not a messenger. Once again, at this stage, the bestowal of bounty changes, this time to the united form *(hay'at al-waḥdāniyya)* which is the compilation (*yaitu ibarat daripada perhimpunan*) of the

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Muslih refers to *sūrat* al-Bayyina (98:7) and al-Fajr (89:27), while he refers to *sūrat* al-Mā'ida (5:54) for *murāqaba* number 4.

[103] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 7.

ten subtleties (*laṭā'if*).[104] This is achieved through the mediation of the *shaykh*s. Then, at the direction of one's own *shaykh*, one proceeds to:

10. The *Murāqabat kamālāt uli'l 'aẓm* (meditation on the perfections of the Possessors of Determination), that is, concentration upon the essence of "our God Who made the perfections of the *ulu'l 'azm*[105] more perfect than the perfections of prophethood and the perfections of messengership." The proof (*dalīl*) is: "Be patient, O Muḥammad, as the *ūlu'l 'azm* of the messengers were patient" (*Faṣbir kamā ṣabara ūlu'l-'azmi min al-rusul)* (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Aḥqāf (46:35)), while the bounty once again falls upon *hay'at al-waḥdāniyya* as it does in the case of the remaining *murāqabāt* listed below.[106] Then one moves on again, at the direction of one's *shaykh* to:

11. The *Murāqabat al-maḥabba fī dā'irat al-khulla* (meditation on the circle of sincere friendship); meaning, observation of God in the station (*maqām*) of love, which is the "concentration upon the essence of God who made the reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of Lord Abraham," taking him as his beloved, according to His saying, "Allāh, Almighty, took the prophet Abraham as his beloved" (*Wattakhadha'llāhu Ibrāhīma*

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[104] Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 7. The author lists here the ten subleties that he explained earlier in the work; i.e., five *laṭā'if* of the *'ālam al-amr* (the subtlety of the heart, the spirit, the innermost being, the hidden being and the subtlety of the most hidden being) and the other five that are called *'ālam al-khalq;* i.e. the subtlety of the soul and four elements, the brain, water, wind, fire and soil. Kiyai Muslih explains this as the collecting (*perpaduan*) of two worlds, the world of command (i.e. five *laṭā'if*) and the world of creation (i.e. soul and five bodily elements). See his 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik, 112.

[105] See the margins of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas' Fath al-'Ārifīn 8. There are five messengers who bore the title *ulū al-'azm*: the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Isā and Nūḥ (a.s). See also Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fi Khayr al-Masālik, 116.

[106]The significance of the bestowal of bounty on all the *laṭā'if* in the remaining *murāqabāt* may be explained by the fact that the other four elements have already been bestowed, as it was mentioned in *murāqaba* no. seven and eight.

khalīlā) (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Nisā' (4:125)). Then one moves on, at the direction of the *shaykh* to:

12. The *Murāqabat dā'irat al-maḥabba al-ṣirfa hiya ḥaqīqa sayyidinā Mūsā* (meditation on the circle of pure love which is the reality of our lord Moses); that is, concentration upon the essence of God Who bestowed love upon Moses as pure love, as is expressed in His saying: "And I threw [upon you], meaning I gave you, O Musa, pure love from me" (*Wa alqaytu 'alayka maḥabatan minnī)* (Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ṭāha (20:39)). Then the *sālik* then moves on, at the direction of the *shaykh* to:

13. The *Murāqabat al-dhātiyyat al-mumtazija bi al-maḥabba wa hiya ḥaqīqat al-Muḥammadiyya*[107] (the essential meditation mixed with love which is the Reality of Muḥammad); that is, concentration upon the essence of God "Who made the reality of Muḥammad from original love, which was mixed with him whom He loved," as in His saying: "And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger" (*Wa mā Muḥammadun illā rasūl)* (Qur'ān, sūrat Āl-'Imrān (3:144)). Then through the mediation of the *shaykh*, the *sālik* proceeds to:

14. The *Murāqabat al-maḥbūbiyyat al-ṣirfa wa hiya ḥaqīqat al-aḥmadiyya* (meditation on the beloved who is pure, which is the reality of Aḥmad), that is, concentration (*tawajjuh*) upon the essence of God "Who made the reality of Aḥmad[108] entirely from what He loved," as in His saying, "Giving joyful news of a

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[107] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 8. The same passage in the manuscript has *al-maḥbūbiyya* instead of *al-maḥabba*, but the meaning remains the same. See ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah,19, line 10.

[108] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 8. Aḥmad is one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad and a proper name used by Muslims from the lifetime of the Prophet onwards, and the forms

very great messenger who comes after me, the name of that messenger being Aḥmad"[109] (*Wa mubashshiran bi rasūlin ya'tī min ba'dismuhū Aḥmad* (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Ṣaff (61:6)). Then through the mediation of the *shaykh*, the *sālik* proceeds to:

15. The *Murāqabat al-ḥubb al-ṣirf* (meditation on pure love), that is, concentration upon the essence of God who gives pure love to His servants, whether it be love for God, or love for the Prophet, or love for angels, or love for other Muslims, or love for anything, since "all of it is bestowed by God upon His servants," as is confirmed, according to Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas in His saying: "Those who believe [in Allah and His messenger] are most fervent in the love of Allāh." (*Wa'lladhīna āmanu ashaddu ḥubban lillāh)* (Qur'ān 2:165). [110] Then through the mediation of the *shaykh*, the *sālik* proceeds to;

16. The *Murāqabat lā ta'ayyun* (meditation on "Non-determination" or "non-manifestation)," meaning, observing the essence of God, Who is not concretely manifest; that is, concentration upon the essence of our God "Who is not at all to be found by any person, whether it be the angels who are brought near, or even a prophet who is given a message, [for] they do not in the least find the essence of our

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Maḥmūd, Ḥamīd and Ḥumayd occur in the first century of Islam too. The use of Aḥmad as a proper name among Muslims seems to begin only about 125/740. See J. Schacht, "Aḥmad" in E I 2, vol. 1, 267. See also Montgomery Watt, "His Name is Aḥmad" MW 43 (1953): 110-117. Louis Massignon tells us about Aḥmad in his La Passion de Husayn ibn Mansūr Hallāj vol. 1,299, 523, vol.2, 204, 269, 291, 321, and vol.3, 304, 321, 326. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī mentions 201 names of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh). See his Dalā'il al-Khayrāt (Semarang: Toha Putera, n.d.), 78-90.

[109] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn, 8. The translation is by Shellabear, "Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices," 368.

[110] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn, 8. In its version of the explanation of *murāqabat al-ḥubb al-ṣirf*, the manuscript, page 20, line 9, leaves out the words 'angel, or love to'. It also omits the word "ḥubban" from its quotation of the verse of the Qur'ān. See ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, 20, line 12.

God, for there is no one who knows Allāh, but Allāh Himself." This is an allusion (*ishāra*) to the verse (in His words): *laysa kamithlihī shay'un, wa huwa al-samī' al-baṣīr* (Qur'ān 42: 11), meaning, "There is not one like Him, and it is He who fully hears and fully sees"; as well as an allusion to the verse: *Walam yakun lahū kufu'an aḥad* (*sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ: 4). "And there is not one who is an equal to Him." Then through the mediation of the *shaykh*, the *sālik* proceeds to:

17. The *Murāqabat ḥaqīqat al-Ka'ba* (meditation on the reality of the *Ka'ba*), that is, concentration upon the essence of God "Who made the reality of the *Ka'ba* as a place of prostration (*sujūd*) of all possible beings (*mumkināt*)," and the proof of which Ahmad Khatib Sambas finds in the verse: *Wa idh ja'alnā al-bayta mathābatan li al-nās* (Qur'ān 2:125), "And when We made the House a place of resort for men." Then at the direction of the *shaykh*, the *sālik* moves on to the next stage.[111]

18. The *Murāqabat ḥaqīqat al-Qur'ān* (meditation on the reality of the Qur'ān), that is, concentration upon the essence of God who made the reality of the Qur'ān, such that even in the shortest of its chapters there is a miracle. According to Ahmad Khatib Sambas, this is confirmed in the verse: *Wa in kuntum fī raybin mimmā nazzalnā 'alā 'abdinā fa'tū bi sūratimmin mithlih* (Qur'ān 2: 23), "And if ye be in any doubt as to what We sent down upon our servant, then bring a chapter like it." Then at the direction of the *shaykh*, the *sālik* moves on to the next stage.

[111] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Arifīn, 9. The text on page 21 of the manuscript, fourth line from the bottom, lacks the sentence '*mumkināt dan dalilnya wa idh ja'alnā al-bayt mathābatan li al-nās,*" which appears in the printed edition.

19. The *Murāqabat ḥaqīqat al-ṣalāt* (meditation on the reality of prayer); that is, concentration upon the essence of God who made the reality of prayer, which consists of a wide variety of actions and expressions ranging from the *takbīratu'l-iḥrām* (*Allāhu Akbar*) and ending with the *salām.* This is performed in accordance with a set of strict regulations, which Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas sees as grounded in the Qur'ānic verse: "And the prayer is for the believers prescribed and timed" (*Inna al-ṣalāta kānat 'alā al-mu'minīna kitāban mawqūtan)* (Qur'ān 4:103). Then at the direction of the *shaykh*, the *sālik* may proceed to;

20. The *Murāqabat dā'irat al-ma'būdiyya al-ṣirfa* (meditation on the circle of the objective of pure servitude); that is, concentration upon the essence of God "to whom belongs all the worship of all His creatures, and Who has bestowed servitude upon all existing things,"[112] as is stated in the Qur'ān: "And I did not create the *jinn* and mankind save that they might serve Me" (*Wa mā khalaqtu'l-jinna wa al-insa illā li ya'budūnī)* (Qur'ān 51:56).

Observing the discussion on *murāqaba* by Shaykh Sambas, and in light of the *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* understanding of the concept, it is clear that he mostly relies on Naqshbandī sources. In descending order, the *muraqabāt* are taken from Ahmad Naqshbandī's *Jāmi'al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā'* (where they sometimes bear a slightly different name, or in some cases not even mentioning that it is a *murāqaba*) as follows: *murāqabā* 1 (called *al-ittiḥād*), 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18 and

[112] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Arifīn, 9. The translation is by Shellabear. On page 22 of the manuscript, line 9, the word *dā'ira* is missing, in terms of the completion of the name of *murāqaba* number twenty. Ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, loc. Cit.

19.[113] When we look at a secondary source, i.e., Mir Valiuddin, we find those listed there to be Naqshbandī in origin and to resemble at least half of Shaykh Sambas's twenty; i.e., *murāqabāt* 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19 and 20.[114] In addition, Shaykh Sambas also adopted some *Qādiriyya murāqabāt* (nos: 2 and 3 according to the list provided by Mir Valiuddin).[115] Thus the rest of *murāqabāt,* no. 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, and 20, seem to be quoted from other sources which Shaykh Sambas does not identify.

The copyist (*khaṭṭāt*) notes at this point that the transcription of the portion of the text devoted to *talqīn dhikr* and *bay'a ṭarīqa* ends here. He statets, in addition, that it was transmitted by Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār Sambas (*guru kita*) to his disciple (*anak muridnya*) in Mecca.[116]

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[113] Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi ' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 1, 218-250. Naqshbandi calls *murāqabāt* nos. 17, 18, 19 the divine realities (*al-ḥaqā'iq al-ilāhiyya*), whereas nos. 13, 14 and the reality of *Ibrāhimiyya* are called the realities of prophecies (*al-ḥaqā'iq al-anbiyā'iyya*). It is unclear from Jāmi' al-Uṣūl, however, how many *murāqabāt* the author has defined. The most likely divergent ones from the others are (*murāqabāt*) *dā'irat al-sayf al-qāti'*, *dā'irat al-qayyūmiyya* and *dā'irat ḥaqīqat al-ṣawm* (pp. 248-250)

[114] See Mir Valiuddin, Contemplative Disciplines in Sufism, 110, 114, 116, 117, 123, 126, 127, 125, 130, 131, 135. For the last *murāqaba* of the Naqshbandī, Valiuddin does not use the word *dā'irat.* Shaykh Sambas calls it by a more complete name: *murāqaba dā'irat al-ma'būdiyya al-ṣirfa.*, See Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 9.

[115] Valiuddin neither names both *murāqabas* nor calls *murāqaba* no. 2 by the name *murāqaba ma'iyya,* although himself and Shaykh Sambas described the latter in reference to the same verse of the Qur'ān *sūrat* al-Hadīd (57: 4). It is the same case for *murāqaba aqrabiyya,* as both orders refer to the same verse of the Qur'ān, i.e., *sūrat* Qāf (50:16). See Mir Valiuddin, Contemplative Disciplines in Sufism, 99, 100, and Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 6.

[116] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn , 9. The phrase *anak muridnya,* could mean the copyist al-Bālī, because in the manuscript on page 23, line 9 onwards, the copyist includes in the *silsila* the name "Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (perhaps his own *laqab*), who performed the *talqīn* and did the *bay'a, tawajjuh,* and received the *ijāza* from my teacher (*guru hamba*), the master Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭib in Mecca al-Musharrafa who in turn, was initiated by Shaykh Murād, who was initiated by Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ ...." Thus the copyist leaves out one name, Shams al-Dīn, which is included in the printed edition of Fath al-Ārifīn, page 9: Shaykh Sambas was initiated by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, who in turn, was initiated by Shaykh Murād. Returning to its similarity to the printed editon, then, it ends with the *khatm ṭarīqa* sayyid Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. See ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah, 25-30. Regarding Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, who was Shaykh Sambas's teacher, he is mentioned in various other sources as well.

After this explanation of the *murāqabas*, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas provides a list or chain of the *silsila* of the TQN. The list is as follows, given in descending chronological order:

Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas (d.1875)
|
Shaykh Shams al-Dīn
|
Shaykh Muḥammad Murād
|
Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ
|
Shaykh 'Uthmān
|
Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm
|
Shaykh Abū Bakr
|
Shaykh Yaḥyā
|
Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn
|
Shaykh Walī al-Dīn

Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn
|
Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn
|
Shaykh Shams al-Dīn
|
Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hattāk
|
Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz (d.1205)
|

Sulṭān al- awliyā' al-quṭb al-ghawth sayyidunā Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī

(d.1166)

Shaykh Abī Sa'īd Makhzūmī

Shaykh Abī Ḥasan 'Alī al-Hakkāri

Shaykh Abu al-Faraj al-Ṭarṭūshī

Shaykh 'Abd al-Waḥīd al-Tamīmī

Shaykh Abī Bakr al-Shiblī

Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa al-Ṣūfiyya Abū al-Qāsim Junayd al-Baghdādī

Shaykh Sarī al-Saqaṭī

Shaykh Ma'rūf al-Karkhī

Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā'

Shaykh Mūsā al-Kāẓim, who received from Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bāqir

Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn

al-Shahīd sayyidunā al-Husayn ibn sittinā Fāṭima al-Zahrā'

sayyidunā 'Alī k.w.

sayyid al-mursalīn wa ḥabīb rabb al-'ālamīn wa rasūluh ilā kāffat al-khalā'iq ajma'īn

sayyid Muḥammad (pbuh)

sayyidunā Jibrīl a.s.

Rabb al-arbāb wa mu'taq liriqāb, He is Allah (swt).[117]

The last chapter of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* describes the concluding prayer-sequence (*khatm)* of the *ṭarīqa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī as follows:[118]

1. The *khatm* starts with the recitation of the *basmala*; i.e., *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm.*

2. This is followed by the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa seven times in a row:

   a. First, on the behalf of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh) and his family, and his Companions.

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[117] Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 9-10. For a comparison, see ms. of Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqshbandiyyah, 23-25. In the manuscript page 23 line thirteen, the copyist misses one name, Shams al-Dīn. The *silsila* is mostly Qādiri, though only one name between 'Abd Qādir al-Jīlāni and Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas is at all recognizable. The branch of Naqshbandī that the shaykh was affiliated with remains unclear. It is not known whether he had a separate Naqshbandī teacher or studied both *ṭarīqas* with the same teacher, a certain Shams al-Dīn. See Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 169. As for the link in the *silsila* of the TQN after Shaykh Sambas (i.e. Mranggen line (central Java), Suryalaya (west Java), Rejoso and Sawahpulo (east Java) and Lampung line (Sumatra), this will appear at the end of this thesis.

[118] This formula of *khatm* is recited in the practice of *khataman* of the TQN. On page 26 of the manuscript lines 5 and 6, there are some discrepancies, for example, the word *rūḥ*, instead of *arwāḥ* (many similar cases found in various pages); "*wa al-fuqarā'*" (not stated in Fath al-'Ārifīn); "*al-ṣāliḥīn*" after "*al-qurrā'*; and "*al-musfirīn*" instead of *al-Mufassirīn* as it is on p. 10 of Fath al-'Ārifīn. Still on page 26 of the ms line 11, the name Junayd al-Baghdādī after Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī is left out, On page 27 of the manuscript line 2, the phrase *wa li man aḥsanu ilaynā* is missing; and on page 28 line 4, one recitation is forgotten and that is the *ṣalawat* 100 times after *yā arḥam al-rāḥimīn*; on fifth line from the bottom of the same page, after the recitation of *ṣalawat* 100 times, it leaves out two and a half lines (compare with p. 11 of the Fath al-'Ārifīn). These lines are as follows: "Then [we] should be humble towards all creation, although they are lower than us and our body is priceless before God and [one should request] the lawful sustenance as well as passed away in the [condition] of belief etc., then the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the sake of this intention once, then recite".... On page 29 of the manuscript lines 2 and 3, the recitation of *yā laṭīf* is to be read as many as 16,641 times, whereas in the printed edition of Fath al-'Ārifīn, it is written 6641. After this, the manuscript misses the recitation of *ṣalawat* 100 times and *tawajjuh* towards God's essence, as it is mentioned in the Fath al-'Ārifīn page 11, lines 11 and 12. Still on page 29 of the manuscript, line 5 from the bottom, it should be *mu'īnan* after *'awnan*; this can be compared with the Fath al-'Ārifīn page 11 line 10 from the bottom. On the last page of the manuscript, the first line, first word should be read *'indaka.* In this colophon, the copyist Shaykh Ma'rūf ibn 'Abd Allāh Khaṭīb Palembang neglects furthermore to state the date on which he finished copying the *risāla.*

b. Then, on behalf of the souls of his fathers, his brothers among the prophets and messengers, the intimate angels (*al-malā'ikat al-muqarrabīn)* and archangels *(al-karūbiyyīn*), the martyrs, the *ṣāliḥīn* and all the Prophet's family and his Companions, and then for the souls of Adam, Eve and all the people from their time until the Day of Judgment.

c. Then, for the sake of the souls of female lords (*sādātinā*), masters (*mawālīnā*) and leaders, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, then the souls of the rest of the Companions and their families (*baqiyyat al-ṣaḥāba wa al-qarāba)*, and the *tābi'īn* and the *tābi' al-tābi'īn* (and the following generation).

d. Then, for the sake of the souls of the leaders of the *mujtahidīn* and their followers in religion and for the sake of the souls of the *'ulamā' al-rāshidīn*, and the *qurrā' al-mukhliṣīn*, the experts in *ḥadīth*, the *mufassirīn* and all Sufi masters, the true sufis (*al-ṣufiyya al-muḥaqqiqīn)* and then the souls of all saints, male and female, and all Muslim men and women "from the east and the west."

e. Then, for the sake of the souls of all shaykhs of the *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* and all the people of the *ṭarīqas,* especially 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Abū al-Qāsim Junayd al-Baghdādī, Sarī al-Saqaṭī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, Ḥabīb al-'Ajamī Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Abū Yazīd al-Basṭāmī, Yūsuf al-Hamadānī, Bahā'al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī and al-Imām al-Rabbānī *(*Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī), and for their principles *(uṣūlihim),* their branches (*furū'ihim),* the people forming part of the chain *(ahl silsilatihim),*

and for those who have learned the *ṭarīqa* from them *(wa al-ākhidhīna 'anhum).*

f. Then, for the sake of the souls of parents, shaykhs, the dead, those "who do good things for us, for those who have rights over us" *(liman lahū ḥaqqun 'alaynā),* those "who entrust us and those who are concerned with us" *(liman awṣānā wastawṣānā),*and those "who follow us with virtuous prayer" (*wa qalladanā bidu'ā' al-khayr).*

g. Then, for the sake of the souls of all male and female believers (*mu'minīn, mu'mināt),* Muslim men and women *(muslimīn, muslimāt),* the living and the dead, "from the east to the west and from the right to the left and from *qāf* to *qāf*[119] from the time of Adam to the Day of Judgement."

1. Then the *ṣalawāt* are repeated 100 times.

2. Then *sūrat* Inshirāḥ (Qur'ān 94: 8) is repeated 79 times.

3. Then *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ is repeated 1000 times.

4. This is followed by *Allāhumma yā qādī al-ḥājāt* which is repeated 100 times.

5. Then follows the recitation of *Allāhumma yā kāfī al-muhimmāt,* 100 times.

6. Then follows *Allāhumma yā rāfi' al-darajāt,* repeated 100 times.

7. Then *Allāhumma yā dāfi' al-baliyyāt* repeated 100 times.

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[119] These references are to standard Sufi symbols. *Qāf* refers to a putative Mount *Qāf* on the extreme edge of the world that is the nesting ground of the Sīmorg as well as the towering frame of that tenebrous region where the water of life is found. The Sīmorg is a phoenix-like bird, originating the pre-Islamic mythology of Iran, but adapted to various symbolic purposes in Sufi expression. See Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, translated by Hamid Algar (New York: Caravan Books, 1982), 141.

8. Then *Allāhumma yā muḥill al-mushkilāt,* repeated 100 times.

9. Then *Allāhumma yā mujīb al-da'awāt,* repeated 100 times.

10. Then *Allāhumma yā shāfī al-amrāḍ* repeated 100 times.

11. Then *Allāhumma yā arḥam al-rāḥimīn,* repeated 100 times.

12. Then the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is performed once for the sake of *haḍrat* Imam Khwājagān.[120]

13. Then *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is recited for the sake of the king of the saints (*sulṭān al-awliyā'),* Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.

14. Then *ṣalawāt* are once again repeated 100 times.

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[120] The central Asian Naqshbandīs were first called the Khwājagān, and they owed their initial doctrines to Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (d.1140) and 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujdawānī (d.1179), later they associated with the name of Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī (d.1389). All subsequent *ṭarīqas* claim to be derivatives of one or more of these chains. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 14, 62-63, 202. On Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb al-Hamadānī, see also Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā Abnā' al-Zamān vol.6 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1949), 76-78; 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, vol. 1 (Cairo, n.d.),108; and see also Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, Nafahāt al-Uns min Ḥadarāt al-Quds, ed. Maḥmūdī 'Abidī. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn also writes that the Naqshbandī teachings began with Abū Ya 'qūb Yūsuf al-Hamadāni. See his Rashaḥāt 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt, vol. 1, 13. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujdawānī may be regarded as responsible for the stress placed upon the purely mental *dhikr,* and he also formulated the eight rules which governed *Ṭarīqa al-Khwājagān* the name by which the *silsila* was originally known. 'Abd al-Khāliq was taught the *ṭarīqa*'s special form of *ḥabs-i dam,* or restraint of the breath, by al- Khaḍir, the spirit of Islamic gnosis. The "eight rules" were expanded to eleven in number by Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshbandī who added *naẓar dar qadam,* watching one's steps, *khalwat dar anjuman,* solitude in a crowd, and *wuqūf-i zamāni,* temporal pause. Naqshbandīs meet every Thursday night to recite the obligatory prayer-sequence called *khatm-i khwājagān* (the seal of the masters). The leader chants the formula which constitutes the confraternity, and the assembly responds in chorus. A special chapter on *khatm-i khwājagān* was dedicated by Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī in his Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda bi Jiwār Muḥāfaẓa, 1368 A.H.), 535-547. For more detailed information on the Khwājagān, see Jürgen Paul, Doctrine and Organization The Khwajagan/Naqshbandīya in the First Generation after Bahā''uddin (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1998). On the story of how Bahā' al-Dīn was initiated into the silent *dhikr* and the role of 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujdwānī and his *rūḥāniyyāt* had in the process, see Marijan Molé, "Autor du Daré Mansour l'apprentissage mystique de Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshbandi," Revues des études Islamic 27 (1959): 35-66.

15. Then *ḥasbunallāh wa ni'ma al-wakīl* is recited 1000 times.

16. Then *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is recited once.

17. Then *ṣalawāt* are repeated 100 times.

18. Then *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is recited on behalf of *ḥaḍrat* Imām Rabbānī.

19. Then *ṣalawāt* are repeated 100 times.

20. Then, as Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas puts it, one recites *sūra* al-Fātiḥa "feeling humble as a very humble servant of God and requesting the food (*rizq*) which is lawful (*ḥalāl*) and asking to die in the faith (*īmān*)."

21. This is followed by reciting *lā ḥawla walā quwwata illā billāh al-'aliyy al-'aẓīm* 500 times.

22. Then *ṣalawāt* are repeated 100 times.

23. Then the participants recite the prayer: *Allāhumma anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak wa ṣallallāhu 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa ālihī wa ṣaḥbihī ajma'īn wa al-ḥamdu lillāh rabb al-'ālamīn.*

24. Then the formula of *yā laṭīf* is recited 6641 times.

25. Then *ṣalawāt* are repeated 100 times.

26. Then *tawajjuh* is performed, focussing on the essence of God.

27. This is followed by a special prayer (*du'ā' khuṣūṣiyya),*[121] which closes the *khatm* ceremony.

d. Reaction to the *Fatḥ al-'Arifīn*

When the work first appeared it met with a hostile reaction on the part of those opposed to sufism in general and Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas's theories in particular. It received its most severe criticism, however, at the hands of the Naqshbandī-initiated scholar, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau, who attacks the *Fatḥ al-'Arifīn* in his *Iẓhār Zaghl al-Kādhibīn fī Tashabbuhihim bi al-Ṣādiqīn.*[122] The questions raised by Minangkabau include whether the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya (Khālidiyya* in the case of Minangkabau*)* had its origin in the *sharī'a*; whether its silsila goes back to the Prophet; whether abstinence from eating meat has its origin in the *sharī'a* (an issue that is not even mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-'Arifīn*); whether the periods of *sulūk* (asceticism) – forty or twenty or ten days – have their origin in Islamic law; and finally, on the originality of the concept of *rābiṭa.*[123] He also

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[121] *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm ya laṭīf ya man wasi'a luṭfuhū ahl al-samāwāti wa al-arḍ nas'aluka bikhafiyyi khafiyyi luṭfika al-khafī an tukhfiyanā fī khafiyyi khafiyyi luṭfika al-khafiyy innaka qulta wa qawluka al-ḥaqq Allāh laṭīf bi 'ibādihi yarzuqu man yashā' wa huwa al-qawiyy al-'azīz. Allāhumma innā nas'aluka ya qawiyy ya 'azīz ya mu'īn biquwwatika wa 'izzatika ya matīn an takūna lanā 'awnan wa mu'īnan fī jamī' al-aqwāl wa al-aḥwāl wa al-af'āl wa jamī' mā naḥnu fīhi min fī'l al-khayrāt wa an tadfa'a 'annī kulla sharrin wa niqmatin wa miḥnatin qadistaḥqaynāhā min ghaflatī wa dhunūbī fa innaka anta al-ghafūr al-raḥīm qad qulta wa qawluka al-ḥaqq wa ya'fū 'an kathīrin Allāhumma biḥaqqi man laṭafta bihī wawajjahtahu 'indaka wa ja'alta al-luṭfa al-khafiyya tābi'an lahū haythu tawajjaha as'aluka an tuwajjihanī 'indaka wa an tukhfiyanī biluṭfika innaka 'alā kulli shay'in qadīr waṣallallāhu 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin wa 'alā ālihi waṣaḥbihī wa sallam wa al-hamdu lillāh rabb al-'ālamīn al-Fātiḥa.*.The text is finished in the month of Rajab 1295 A.H.

[122] William G. Shellabear, "An Exposure of Counterfeiters," in MW, October 1930. Iẓhār Zaghl al-Kādhibīn was written in Malay.

[123] William G. Shellabear, "An Exposure of Counterfeiters," 360.

criticized the teachings of the ten *laṭā'if*, which originally, according to him, were invented by Imām Rabbānī (Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī), as well as the concept of the twenty *murāqabāt* mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*. According to him, all of the teachings in the work produced confusion and innovation (*bid'a*), and none of them were practiced during the Prophet's lifetime or that of his Companions. Another innovation was said to be the tradition of *khalwa* (seclusion) and *sulūk*, which, Minangkabau claims, were invented by Shaykh Khālid Kurdī al-Baghdādī (d.1243/1827).[124] All of these new traditions, according to him, led people away from the original teachings of the *Naqshbandiyya*. At the same time, however, Minangkabau seems to accept the teachings of al-Ghazālī (especially those in *Iḥyā''Ulūm al-Dīn)*, al-Qushayrī and Suhrawardī, for in their books, according to him, "there is a distinction between the true and the false, and men are taught obedience, and to maintain their religious duties (*'ibādāt*)." Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau wrote at least two other books (also in Malay) attacking Naqshbandī practices, i.e., *Al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt li'l Munṣifīn fī Izālāt al-Khurāfāt ba'ḍ al-Muta'aṣṣibīn* and *Al-Sayf al-Battār fī Muḥiqq Kalimāt ba'd Ahl al-Ightirār*.[125]

Minangkabau's polemics were answered by Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'ad Mungka (d.1942) of Payakumbuh in west Sumatra, who wrote *Irghām Unūfī'l*

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[124] Shaykh Khālid was the founder of *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*. He was of Kurdish and Indian origins See "Ṭarīḳa" in the Turkish lands, from Anatolia to Eastern Turkistan, in E I 2,vol. 10, 250.

[125] William G. Shellabear, "An Exposure of Counterfeiters," 366. Minangkabau's three works: Izhār Zaghl al-Kādhibīn (1906); Al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt (1908); and al-Sayf al-Battār (1908) have been printed separately in Padang, the three then appeared in a one-volume edition printed in Cairo. The last two, which consist of an enlargement and commentaries on the first work, were specifically written as part of his polemics with the Naqshbandīs. See Zaim Rais, Against Islamic Modernism the

Muta'annitīn fī Inkārihim Rābiṭat al-Wāṣilīn and *Tanbīh al-'Awāmm 'alā Taqrīrat ba'ḍ al-Anām,*[126] in reply to the first two works by Minangkabau listed above. In response to Minangkabau, a Malay work entitled *Lisān Naqshbandiyya Untuk Membantras Risala bagi Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb*, was written and published by Ḥajji Yaḥya ibn Laksmana, Kampung Naqshbandiyya in Selangor, Malaysia. In this undated work by Ibn Laksmana, a detailed reply is offered in response to the five questions of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau's *Iẓhār Zaghl al-Kādhibīn fī Tashabbuhihim bi al-Ṣādiqīn.*[127] Another work written to meet the challenge of Minangkabau's polemics was that of Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zayn ibn Muṣṭafa al-Faṭānī (d.1908), entitled *Mir'āt al-A'ājīb fī Jawāb al-Su'āl Majāzīb.*[128]

Minangkabau Traditionalist Responses to the Modernist Movement (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001), 70

[126] H.W.Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah, Syeikh Ismail al-Minangkabawi Penyiar Thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985), 62, 83,85-86. Zaim Rais mentions Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'ad ibn Tinta (or Mungka) date was 1857-1921.

[127] I am thankful to Kiyai Lutfil Hakim who gave me Ibn Laksmana's work as a gift when I visited him during my research visit to Mranggen, in March 1999. See Hajji Yahya ibn Laksmana, Lisan Naqshbandiyya (Untuk Membanteras Risala bagi Shaykh Ahmad Khatib), 16-17. This work was written in Malay, Arabic script and finished in 1981, in Selangor, west Malaysia. Ibn Laksmana tells us that Minangkabau was an *imām* in Masjid al-Ḥarām (of Shāfi'ī school), from 1912-1916. Prior to his appointment, he was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Shaykh Sulaymān al-Karūmī, together with his three colleagues: Shaykh Ḥasan al-Yamanī, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Mafarnī and Shaykh 'Alī al-Madanī. Then he started to write against the Naqshbandīs in 1913. According to Ibn Laksmana, Minangkabau's Zaghlūl was published in Bukittinggi, west Sumatra, but some of his writings, especially the five questions, were included in the book entitled Tarīqa Naqshbandiyya, published by Islamiyah publication in Medan, north Sumatra. At the end of his life, Aḥmad Khaṭib Minangkabau suffered with a swelling in his stomach for six months, which brought on his death. During his lifetime, the *Naqshbandiyya* in Mecca was led by Shaykh Sulaymān Zuhdī in Jabal Qubays. Some of his *khalīfas* were from Sumatra and Malaysia; among others, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Langkat, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Kempulun, Shaykh Muhammad Ṭīb Selangor, and Shaykh Bilāl Pahlawan Johor

[128] H.W.Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah, Syeikh Ismail al-Minangkabawi Penyiar Thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah, 10-11. This work is written in reply to the letter of his disciple, Sultan Kelantan. This work began to achieve widespread popularity in the year 1324/1906 and became a strong source of guidance for the Sultan of Kelantan and *muftis* in Southeast Asia who studied with Shaykh Aḥmad al-Faṭānī.

The *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas provides a manual for the TQN, amalgamating the teachings of the two *ṭarīqas* of different origin. It sets forth an initiatory ritual and a procedure consisting of two types of *dhikr* practice (vocal and silent *dhikr*), while at the same time, clarifies the sources of this liturgy. It also offers an account of the spiritual progress that a TQN adept might achieve through meditation, and finally grounds these practices in an extensive *silsila*, although the latter is primarily *Qādiriyya* and is silent with respect to Sambas's Naqshbandī *shaykh*s. And yet, despite this careful groundwork, we shall see how in the second generation of the TQN, not all aspects of the teachings in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* are developed; each *shaykh* seems to emphasize certain issues in his writings, even though the overall practice remains the same.

3. Kiyai Muslih of Mranggen: a brief biography and an account of his works.

Kiyai Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marāqī (1917-1981), founder of the Mranggen branch of the TQN, was born in the village of Mranggen, in north east Semarang (central Java). He received his earliest religious education at home, for his father Kiyai 'Abd al-Raḥmān, (born in Mranggen in 1872) ran a modest *pesantren* there that he had himself established in 1905, and was a descendant of Sunan Kalijaga (one of the nine saints of Java).[129] He was also initiated into the TQN by Kiyai Haji

[129] The *nasb* is the following: 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Qasidil Haq ibn Abdulloh Muhajir (Raden Oyong/Raden Atro Wedono, Wedono Distrik Gubug Purwodadi) ibn Raden Ngabehi Dipowacono/Dipokusumo ibn Pangeran Sedokrapyak (Pangeran Wirokusumo) ibn Panembahan Wijil (Panembahan Notoprojo II) ibn Panembahan Agung (Panembahan Notoprojo I) ibn Panembahan Sabrang ibn Panembahan Ketib Kadilangu ibn Sunan Hadi (Panembahan Kali) ibn Sunan Kalijogo. See Qowa'id, "Tarekat dan Politik Kasus Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Desa Mranggen Demak Jawa Tengah" (M.A. thesis), Universitas Indonesia (Jakarta), 1993, 103-105.

Ibrahim Brumbung, who later appointed him as his *khalīfa.* In addition to studying at Pondok Pesantren Brumbung, Kiyai 'Abd al-Raḥmān also spent time in Pondok Pesantren Tayem, as well as receiving instruction from Kiyai Saleh Darat of Semarang.[130]

Kiyai Muslih likewise studied for a while under Kiyai Ibrahim, and then went to Pondok Pesantren Termas (Pacitan), and later to Sarang (Rembang), in each of which institutions he spent three years. While at the latter *pesantren,* he also participated in the weekly study circle of Kiyai Maksum in Lasem and studied the *Tafsīr Jalālayn.*[131]

As a matter of fact, Kiyai Muslih received his first *ijāza* to teach the *Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* from a Bantenese teacher, 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn 'Alī Banten, a *khalīfa* of Kiyai Asnawī of Caringin, who was in turn a *khalīfa* of 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. Kiyai Muslih was initiated a second time by Kiyai Ibrahim of Brumbung but did not receive an *ijāza* from him, for the latter passed away before being able to do so; however, he did receive one from the latter's *khalīfa,* 'Abd al-Raḥmān Menur. He himself mentions both of his affiliations.[132]

The works of Kiyai Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān that deal specifically with Sufism include the following: *Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya fī al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya*

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[130]Ibid., 103-105.

[131] Martin van Bruinessen, "Muslikh of Mranggen," in Dictionnaire Biographique des Savants et Grandes Figures du Monde Musulman Périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours.ed., Marc Gaborieau et. al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 23-24. The name of Kiyai Muslih is written Muslikh, in books in the Javanese language.

[132] Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Umdat al-Sālik fi Khayr al-Masālik (Purworejo: Shirka al-Tijara, n.d.), 142, 147.

wa al-Naqshbandiyya;[133] *'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik*;[134] *Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qādiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah*;[135] *Munājat al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya wa Ad'iyatuhā*;[136] *Al-Nūr al-Burhānī fī Tarjamat al-Lujayn al-Dānī fī Dhikr Nubdhah min Manāqib al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī*;[137]

The major focus of Kiyai Muslih's studies was on traditional Arabic grammar (*naḥw*), a subject which he taught along with *fiqh* in his father's pesantren in Mranggen, (where he later succeeded the latter as head). In the 1960s and 1970s, he led the most widespread network of any *ṭarīqa* in central Java, with a few overseas branches, such as in south and west Kalimantan. His followers were mostly organized into local groups of devotees, each coordinated by a deputy (*badal*) who led the weekly ritual meetings. A handful of these deputies were raised to the level of *khalīfa*, with the authority to transmit independently the *ṭarīqa*, especially the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya*, on the island of Java. Their duties were divided between the west, central and east Java branches.

Some of his contemporaries, who controlled similar networks of the same *ṭarīqa* descending from the line of Shaykh Sambas, were Kiyai Musta'in Romly of

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[133] This work is published in Semarang: Toha Putra (in Javanese) n.d., and has been republished many times.

[134] This work is written in Arabic (with Javanese translation at the bottom of the text and in Arabic script), published in Purworejo by Ma'had Burjan, n.d.

[135] This work consists of 2 vols. and was published in Kudus by Menara Kudus (in Javanese and Arabic script), n.d.

[136] This book is written in Arabic but the explanation is in Javanese with Arabic script, published in Semarang by Pustaka al-'Alawiyah. n.d.

[137] This work consists of 2 volumes, published in Semarang by Toha Putera; the first volume is in Javanese with Arabic script but in the second volume, the first half is written in Arabic, whereas the translations in the second half are written in Javanese with Arabic script.

Rejoso (Jombang), east Java, and Kiyai Haji Shohibul Wafa Tajul 'Arifin of Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya, west Java. Among these three influential *ṭarīqa* leaders, van Bruinessen[138] sees Kiyai Muslih of Mranggen as the least politically minded, and states that he was staunchly loyal to the social and political association of *kiyais*, the Nahdlatul Ulama, as well as being a founding member of the NU–affiliated association of *ṭarīqa* movements (JATMN). At present, the Pondok Pesantren al-Futuhiyya of Mranggen is run by the family, especially by Kiyai Muslih' two sons, Kiyai Lutfil Hakim and Kiyai Muḥammad Ḥanīf.[139] As for the master-ship, this was delegated to Kiyai Lutfil Hakim,[140] the brother of Kiyai Muslih, although Kiyai Ahmad Mutohhar[141] also served as a [senior] *murshid*. The order has many *khalīfas*, some of them indeed grouped within families, others not.

In addition to operating a traditional system of education, Pondok Pesantren Futuhiyya has implemented a *madrasa* system in the form of *ibtidā'iyya* (Islamic elementary school), *thanawiyya* (Islamic junior high school) and *'āliya madrasas* (Islamic senior high school), as well as kindergarten, general junior and senior high

[138] Martin van Bruinessen, "Muslikh of Mranggen," 24.

[139] Kiyai Muslih had six children from his marriages, two sons and four daughters. He had four children by Nyi Marfu'ah: Al-Inayah, Mohammad Sodik Lutfil Hakim, Faizah and Mohammad Hanif and two daughters by Nyi Mukminah, Qoni'ah and Masbahah. He had no children by Nyi Umi Sa'adah. See Qowa'id, "Tarekat dan Politik Kasus Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Desa Mranggen Demak Jawa Tengah," 119-123.

[140] Kiyai Lutfil Hakim wrote a book entitled *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li Ma'rifat al-Ṭarīqa wa Kayfiyya 'Amalihā min al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya*. This work was commended (*taqrīẓ*) by his uncle, Kiyai Ahmad Mutohhar.

[141] Among four brothers and two sisters of Kiyai Muslih, only two are still alive, Kiyai Ahmad Mutohhar and Mrs. Tasbihah.

schools.[142] The role of Pesantren Futuhiyyah in the development of the JATMN has also, as we saw in the previous chapter, been very crucial from the beginning. The latest congress of JATMN, for instance, appointed Kiyai Lutfi Hakim as general chairperson (*mudīr 'āmm)* of the central board of the JATMN for the period 2000-2005.

A brief look at Kiyai Muslih's works

1. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya wa al-Fuyūḍāt al-Ilāhiyya fī al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya.*[143]

In this work (written in Javanese but in Arabic script) the author discusses the ten principles (*mabādi' 'āshira),*[144] the advantages of *dhikr,* the manner (*ādāb)* that a disciple should display towards his teacher, the foundations of the *silsila* of the TQN (including the order's procedure of *talqīn* and *bay'a* as well as the *laṭā'if),* the practice of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya,* the practice of the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya,* the people of the *ahl al-ṭarīqa,* the seven *laṭā'if* and the twenty types of contemplative

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[142] Qowa'id, "Tarekat dan Politik Kasus Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Desa Mranggen Demak Jawa Tengah," 222.

[143] This complete title is given by the author on page 3 of the work.

[144] Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, Al-Futūhāt al-Rabbāniyya fi al-Tarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya (Semarang: Toha Putera, 1994), 4-23. The ten principles (*mabādi' 'āshira)* consist of: first, the definition of *ṭarīqa;* second, the prohibitions in *ṭarīqa* knowledge; third, the topic (*mauḍū'*) that is discussed in the *ṭarīqa;* fourth, the fruit/result of the knowledge of the *ṭarīqa;* fifth, the regulation (*ḥukm)* to learn about the *ṭarīqa* knowledge. The sixth element is the advantages of the *ṭarīqa* knowledge; seventh, the ascription (*nisbat)* of the *ṭarīqa* knowledge; eighth, the people who connect the *ṭarīqa* knowledge (*silsila*); ninth, the procurement of support (*istimdād)* of *ṭarīqa* knowledge; and tenth, the problems discussed in *ṭarīqa* knowledge. The third principle discusses the high essence (*al-dhāt al-'aliyya)* through the evidence available (*dalīl burhān*), and ascription (*nisbat*) to disciples (*ṭālibīn),* sometimes with witnessing (*shuhūd*) and viewing ascription (*'iyān nisbat*) to those who arrive (*wāṣilīn*). It discusses the purification of the souls, the hearts, and the spirits (*taṣfiyat al-nufūs wa al-qulūb wa al-arwāḥ*). As for the problems discussed in the *ṭarīqa* knowledge (the tenth principle), it includes the obstacles to reaching the essence of God (*'awāriḍ Allāh al-dhātiyya*), the procedure (*kayfiyya*) of *dhikr,* and the *talqīn dhikr, rābiṭa,* the heart pause (lit.) or

vigilance (*murāqaba),*[145] the remembrance of God while holding one's breath (*dhikr ḥifẓ al-anfās),* the four questions concerning the *ṭarīqa mu'tabara* (based on the decision of Mu'tamar Nahdlatul Ulama XXIII, December 1962 in Solo),[146] the spiritual genealogy of the TQN, some poems that he describes as *manẓūma linafsī wa ahlī wa ikhwānī min ahl al-silsila al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya ilā yawm al-Dīn* ("a poem dedicated to myself, my family and my brothers of the people of the *silsila* of the TQN until the Day of Judgment"), a chapter on the *khataman* of the TQN that includes an explanation of the *maḥal al-iḥḍār* (the place of presence), praise to the Prophet for the ease with which mankind finds sustenance and for his help in improving one's behavior (*ṣalawāt li tawsī' al-arzāq wa taḥsīn al-akhlāq),* the *du'ā'* to be recited after the *dhikr* of the TQN, the *du'ā' al-farj* of the the Prophet Khiḍr, and, last but not least, the *du'ā' ḥusn al-khātima.*

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control of the heart (*wuqūf qalbi),* the stage of 'passing away' *(maqām fanā'),* abiding (in God) *(baqā'), murāqaba,* and witnessing or contemplation (*mushāhada).*

[145] Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya fī al-Tarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya, 52-64. Literally, m*urāqaba* signifies awareness, watching, contemplation, meditation. See J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 146. 308. In the TQN *murāqaba* signifies that the heart always watches God with the hope of receiving the virtue (*faḍīla)* of God. See Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol. 2, 31. See also his Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya, 51. The word "heart" is changed into "inner eye" (*'ayn baṣīra)* by Shaykh Muslih in his other work, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik, 81.

[146] Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya fī al-Tarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya, 67-69. The four question-answer sections deal with the following: first, clarification that the *ṭarīqa Khālidiyya, Qādiriyya* and *Shaṭṭāriyya* indeed belong to the *ṭarīqa mu'tabara,* based on *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl al-Awliyā'* p. 126; second, the *ḥukm* that performing the initiation (*bay'a)* [for somebody else] of the *ṭarīqa mu'tabara* without permission of the *shaykh* is not valid, based on Bahjat al-Saniyya, p. 33 (Jav. *hukume membay'at tariqa mu'tabara sing durung idzin sangka guru iku ora sah*); third, the *ḥukm* concerning people who do not perform *bay'a* until death, is unlawful (*ḥarām),* if one cannot purify one's heart by himself, based on the decision of Mu'tamar NU in Tegalrejo, Magelang; and fourth, the warning concerning the *ḥukm* of one who does the reading (*muṭāla'a kitāb) tafsīr/ḥadīth/taṣawwuf,* especially in the case of the advantages of good deed (*faḍā'il al-a'māl).* One should be careful before giving suggestions to practice it. This based on Khazīnat al-Asrār, 24. All the references given in this note are from al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya of Kiyai Muslih.

2. *'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik*

This book is written in Arabic but includes a Javanese interlinear translation in Arabic script. The work begins with a preface (*khuṭbat al-kitāb)*, followed by quotations from the words of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, an introduction, a chapter on the method of *al-talqīn* and *al-bay'a* in the TQN (which includes a discussion on human beings as consisting of ten *laṭā'if),* a chapter on the procedure of practicing the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya,* another on the method of practicing the *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya*, a chapter entitled "Sayings of the People of the Path" (*maqāla ahl al-ṭarīqa)* wherein there is discussion of subjects such as silent *dhikr* (*dhikr al-khafī),* contemplative vigilance with one's inner eye (*al-murāqaba bi'ayn baṣīratih),* and making a habit of the recollection and the presence (of the heart) and *tawajjuh*, as well as serving the *shaykh*, and *rābiṭa* (*mulāzama al-jam'iyya wa al-ḥuḍūr wa al-tawajjuh ilā Allāh wa khidmat al-shaykh wa al-rābiṭa).*[147] Then there is a chapter which discusses in detail the twenty types of *murāqaba*;[148] as well as a chapter on the uninterrupted chain of authorities (*asānīd)* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya*, a chapter on *al-wird al-rātib* of the same order, an afterword by the author (*mu'allif*), and finally a few words of praise *(taqrīẓ)* from the author's

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[147] Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik (Purworejo: Shirka al-Tijāra Ma'had Burjan, n.d.), 79-86. This chapter seems to be unique to this book. Each item is discussed by referring to Qur'ānic verses and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).

[148] Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik, 86-140.

brother, Shaykh 'Uthmān al-Marāqī, as well as from Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qandalī and Shaykh Muhammad Nawawī al-Burjānī Purworejo.[149]

3. *Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qādiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah*[150]

This two-volume work is written in the Javanese language but in Arabic script. The first volume begins with a chapter on the believer who is sincere *(ṣādiq)* and not a hypocrite, followed by another on the justification in *ḥadīth* literature *(dalīl nasṣ)* for the legitimate Sufi path *(ṭarīqa mu'tabara)*. Then there is a chapter on the method of [151] practice of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya,* followed by a chapter on the method[152] of practice of the *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya,*[153] and then a chapter on *dhikr*

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[149] This *shaykh* is the author of *Sabīl al-Hidāya fī Asās al-Ṭarīqa,* printed by Shirka Ikhwān al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya in Berjan Gebang Purworejo n.d.

[150] This book consists of two volumes, published by Menara Kudus, 1976.

[151] Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol. 1, 11-14. The procedure (*kayfiyya*) of the *Qādiriyya* practice is as followed: first, the recitation of *istighfār* (*astaghfirullāh al-ghafūr al-raḥīm*), then *ṣalawat* to the Prophet (pbuh), then the recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* three times of each then ended by *sayyidunā Muḥammad Rasūlullāh ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wasallam*; followed by the recitation of *dhikr nafy ithbāt, lā ilāha illā Allāh* 165 times ended by *sayyidunā Muhammad Rasūlullāh ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wasallam*; then the recitation of *ṣalawāt munjiyāt*; then the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa to the Prophet (pbuh); then the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the Shaykh of TQN; then again the reading of al-Fātiḥa for one's parents, male and female Muslims, as well as men and women believers, the dead and the alive; then finally the recitation of personal *du'ā'*. The only difference from the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* is that the *istighfār* is recited at least twice or twenty times, and Shaykh Sambas explains in detail the procedure to recite *lā ilāha illā Allāh*. See page 3 of the latter's work.

[152] Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol.1, 14-22. As in to *Fatḥ al-'Arifīn* (p.4), the procedure (*kayfiyya*) of *Naqshbandiyya* practice includes: the recitation of *istighfār* (*astaghfirullāha rabbī min kulli dhanbin wa atūbu ilayh*) three times, then the recitation of *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ three times, then followed by *ṣalawat* to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and *ṣalawat* to the Prophet Ibrahim (a.s), then the recitation of *dhikr* , Allāh, silently through the seven subtle centers (*laṭā'if*).

[153] Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol.1, 14-15. An interesting explanation given here concerns how to spend one's time in between the practice of *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* devotions. After one finishes the *Qādiriyya* portion, then if one really wants to do something, for example, to meet a very important guest or to go to the washroom, one may stop here and after the obstacle (*'udhūr*) is gone, one may continue with the practice of *Naqshbandiyya*

ḥifẓ al-anfās[154] as the preferred way of showing obedience to God. This is followed by a chapter explaining that the practice of the *ṭarīqa* is ultimately to seek the contentment (*riḍā'*) of God, based on a saying in the *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'* of Al-Malībarī, which he quotes. Then there follows a chapter on the obligation of ordinary people (*'awāmm*) to learn the *'ilm al-ṭarīq* (the knowledge of *sharī'a, ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*), which is followed by a section on questions and answers. This latter part consists of five questions: the first concerns the correct definition of the *ṭarīqa mu'tabara*; the second deals with the legal status (*ḥukūm-e* [Jav.], i.e *ḥukm* [Ara.]) of people who surrender to a *murshid* authorized to receive their *bay'a*; the third revolves around why the people of the *ahl al-ṭarīqa al-mu'tabara* are certain to use the argument (*dalīl*) of the Qur'ān,"*wa an law istaqāmū 'alā al-ṭarīqati la'asqaynāhum mā'an ghadaqā* (*sūrat* al-Jinn: 16), followed by a discussion of the ten *laṭā'if*; the fourth deals with the reasons why people, during the *dhikr* turn their head to the right and left; and the fifth and last asks why people, when they perform the *dhikr nafy ithbāt* (Ara. *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt*), turn their head to the right when reciting the word *ilāha* as if wanting to throw something away, -- to which

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devotions, but one should first repeat three times the *Fātiḥa* (the last element in Qādirī practice before personal *du'ā'*). If there is no obstacle, one may continue with *istighfār*, as in the first recital in Naqshbandī practice. This is then followed by *sūrat al-Ikhlās*, three times. This *sūra* however, is not recited in the TQN of Suryalaya.

[154] At the beginning of this chapter, Shaykh Muslih quotes a poem of Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Ali al-Ma'bari al-Malībarī in his *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'*. This chapter is unique for one will not find it either in Abah Anom's works or Kiyai Romly's. The *dhikr ḥifẓ al-anfās* is practiced when one enters or pulls the breathe, one performs the *dhikr "hu"* and while one releases the breathe, one performs the *dhikr* "Allāh". Shaykh Muslih also refers to a poem from his own work, *al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya,* page 58, and the *ḥadīth* of Prophet (pbuh). See Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, vol.1, 22-24.

Shaykh Muslih replies that the right hand-side represents the place where good deeds (*'amal ṣāliḥ*) and virtues (*ḥasanāt*) lie.[155]

The second volume of *Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qādiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah* begins with an introduction (*al-asas)* where the author explains the correct manner of sitting when a member of a *ṭarīqa mu'tabara* performs *dhikr*,[156] and where he offers an explanation of the pillars (*arkān*) of *īmān, islām* and *iḥsān.*[157] Still in the same section, Kiyai Muslih explains specifically the importance of the implementation of *iḥsān*, an aspect of religion that is neglected. Then he continues with a section in which he relates the biography (*hikāyāt)* of the four great figures of the Islamic legal schools, Imām Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām Shāfi'ī and Ibn Ḥanbal, as well as of the scholars of succeeding generations, all of whom were expert in *sharī'a,* by virtue of their status as *ahl al-ṭarīqa al-mu'tabara*, the people of *ḥaqīqa* and *ahl al-ma'rifa.*[158] Also in this section, Kiyai Muslih explains what it meant by the term *khalīfa kubra,* i.e., it refers to a *murshid* who has the authority to perform *bay'a.*[159] The last part of this section concerns the importance of being pure (achieved through ablution) for the one who wants to perform the *dhikr* or *murāqaba.* Then he moves

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[155] These five questions are neither discussed in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas, nor in the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* of Abah Anom, nor in the works of Kiyai Romly Tamim.

[156] Kiyai Muslih discusses at great length the various ways of sitting for the *dhikr* in different *ṭarīqas.* In doing so, he refers to various works such as *Jāmi' Uṣūl al-Awliyā', Majmū'at al-Rasā'il* of Sulaymān Zuhdī al-Khālidi, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* of Muhammad Amin al-Kurdī, and *Sharḥ al-Zarqānī* on *Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik. See Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol.2, 2-10.

[157] Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol.2. 10-15.

[158] Ibid., vol.2. 15-28.

[159] Ibid.,vol.2. 28-29. On these pages, he mentions the names that belong to *khalīfa kubra*: Kiyai Haji Arwani of Kudus, Kiyai Haji Hafiz of Rembang, Kiyai Haji 'Adlan of Cukir, Tebuireng, Jombang. Not to be confused with *khalīfat al-wilāya al-kubrā* (one type of *murāqaba*).

on to a chapter on the 20 types of *murāqaba,*[160] where he also explains the advantages of *manthūra, salawat tawsī' al-arzāq* (both oral and written), and *qawl al-a'mash ba'ḍ qirā'atih: shahidallāh annahu lā ilāha illā huwa.* Then, in the subsequent chapters, he quotes from *Al-Mujarrabāt* of *al-Imām* al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī, and from various *du'ā' al-kifāya* from the Prophet (pbuh) on how to avoid calamity (*muṣība)* and the oppression of the *sulṭān.*[161] He ends the work with a prayer to find ease in the face of death (*tashīl sakarāt al-mawt),* [162] and ending this with the *sayyid al-istighfār.*

4. *Munājat al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya wa Ad'iyatuhā.*

This work, as is stated on the title page, was taken from a larger work entitled *Kitāb al-Ad'iya wa al-Fawā'id min al-Kutub al-Mu'tabara* and quotes, as well from the *Tafsīr al-Ṣāwī.*[163] The book in fact, consists of three prayers (*du'ā'*)

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[160] In this work, after explaining the *murāqabāt* in verse form (*naẓm*), Kiyai Muslih acknowledges that a discussion of the same subject can also be read in his other works, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya* (pp. 52-64) and *'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik* (pp. 86-140). While the names of *murāqabāt* are exactly the same as those mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas, one finds that Kiyai Muslih's explanations are far more detailed than Shaykh Sambas's. See his Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol.2, 31-60.

[161] Kiyai Muslih quotes the *du'ā'* from the Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibī Tarīq al-Haqq of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.

[162] Kiyai Muslih quotes the *du'ā'* from the Durr al-Manthūr fi Tafsīr Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā al-Manthūr of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. See his Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah,vol.2, 73, whereas Brockelmann mentions the work as Tarjūmān al-Qur'ān fī Tafsīr al-Musnad or Durr al-Manthūr fi Tafsīr al-Manthūr. See Brockelmann, GAL II, 145.

[163] Muslih, Munājāt (Semarang: Pustaka al-'Alawiyah. n.d), 4. Tafsīr al-Sāwī was written by Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Ṣāwī (d.1241/1825). This *tafsīr* is a commentary of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī.. Al-Ṣawī also a founder of *al-Ṣāwiyya,* and he was a disciple of Aḥmad al-Dardīr. See J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi orders in Islam, 124.

and two *ṣalawāt;* i.e., *ṣalawāt hajjiyya* and *ṣalawāt al-badriyya*, with the author's commentary.

Some of the first *du'ā',* according to Kiyai Muslih, are better recited by those who are already members of the TQN, and preferably after dawn prayer (*ṣubḥ*) and after sunset prayer (*maghrib*) or after *'ishā'* prayer, but especially after *tahajjud* [164] prayer. They have many advantages, which include: achieving a good end (*ḥusn al-khātima)* and entering paradise, becoming a substitute saint (*wali abdal)* in the view of God, and being loved by God and the Prophet (pbuh). Furthermore, if they are recited before leaving the house, one will return home safely; if recited after the five obligatory prayers, following a person's death, his grave will be planted with fruits from heaven. One will also be rewarded as if one recites the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* [165] forty times, while seventy angels will write the reward for the one who recites that *du'ā'* every morning for a thousand days in succession, so that his sins will be forgiven as well as the sins of his parents. Later on, on the Day of Judgment, that person will be together with the Prophet (pbuh) and his family.

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[164] *Tahajjud* is a voluntary prayer at night. This is based on Qur'ān, *sūrat* Banī Isrā'il (17:79).

[165] *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa Shawāriq al-Anwār fī Dhikr al-Salāt 'alā al-Nabiyy al-Mukhtār* is a work written by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū Bakr al-Jazūlī al-Simlālī (d. 870/1465). See Brockelmann, GAL II, 253, Supplement II, 359. As a matter of fact, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt,* published by Toha Putra Semarang, n.d., states that it was an *ijāza* that Kiyai Muslih received from 'Alam al-Dīn Muḥammad Yāsīn ibn 'Isā al-Fadani (from Padang, west Sumatra), a teacher (*mudarris*) in Dār al-'Ulūm al-Dīniyya in Mecca, on Sunday, 27 *Dhū'l Qa'da,* 1387 A.H.). In this publication, Kiyai Muslih also writes the summary (*khulāṣa*) of the explanation on reciting the word of our master (*sayyidinā*) when one mentions the name of Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh). In addition, he also explains the *ḥadīth* of *musalsal bi al-muṣāfaḥa,* meaning the connection through shaking hands. This is based on the prophetic saying: "*man ṣāfaḥanī aw ṣāfaḥa man ṣāfahanī ilā yawm al-qiyāma dakhala al-janna,*" meaning whoever shakes hands with me or shakes hands with those who know me until the Day of Judgment, thus those people will enter the paradise. Kiyai Muslih also explains the type of *muṣāfaha* and its regulations, then mentions his chain of *muṣāfaḥa* to his teacher, continued backward to the Prophet (pbuh), see pp. 37-45. On pages 28-31, about the *sanad* of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*; and on page 31 onwards, the *sanad* of *Dalā'il* from other line. *Sanad* means the (uninterrupted) chain of authorities on which a tradition is based.

When he dies, the Prophet (pbuh) will guarantee respect for his corpse (*janāza*) prior to burial; he will not be harmed, and will be saved from burning, and he will not die until he dreams of the Prophet. He will also be saved from the vices of human beings and *jinn*, will be spared any test (*balā'*) in this world and the Hereafter, and will see his needs fully met. The only condition is to recite the *du'ā'* continuously while meeting the requirements of *īman*, *islām* and *iḥsān*.[166]

The second *du'ā'* is called *du'ā' nāfi' mubārak*, and its advantages are the following: the one who recites the *du'ā'* will be granted health (*ṣiḥha*), well-being (*'āfiya*), and bodily well-being; one's spirit (*rūḥ*) will taste favor/grace (*ni'mat*), brightness of heart, sharpness of reason (*'aql*), and fluency of language (*faṣih*). His knowledge will be beneficial, his actions and character good, his livelihood (*rizq*) enlarged, his earnings blessed, his family and children harmonious, his residence secure, and his good deeds rendered sincere, so that his worldly life (*dunyā*) and that of the hereafter (*ākhira*) will be good. This *du'ā'* is recited every morning and afternoon, three times on each occasion. If one is really in need (of some specific thing) one should recite it every night forty times or 100 times, or 113 times or 1000 times, depending on the gravity of one's need.[167]

The third *du'ā'* is read after the *ṣalawāt ḥajjiyya* and recited after the obligatory prayers. This will help a person gain beneficial knowledge and bring

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[166] Muslih, Munājāt, 2-21. *Īman* signifies belief, *islām* means surrender, *iḥsān* as the highest level, meaning when you worships God as if you see Him, if you do not see Him, indeed He sees you. The three of them are considered to be a pillar of religion (*rukn al-dīn*).

[167] Ibid., 22-24.

blessings upon his livelihood (*rizq)* and love for his own person.[168] The *ṣalawāt ḥajjiyya,* on the other hand, are best recited by those eager to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, to which purpose it is recited every night 1000 times or as many times as possible.[169] Finally, the work closes with the *ṣalawāt al-badriyya.*

5. *Al-Nūr al-Burhānī fī Tarjamat al-Lujayn al-Dānī fī Dhikr Nubdhah min Manāqib al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī*

This work, in two volumes, is written in Javanese in Arabic script. The first volume begins with the praise (*taqāriẓ)* heaped on the book by various famous *'ulamā'* of Java, among others Kiyai Haji Baiḍāwī of Lasem and Kiyai Arwani of Kudus. After the *muqaddima,* the author explains the rule (*ḥukm)* of the *manaqiban* and that of the *wasīla.* This is followed by an explanation of the *khawāriq al-'ādāt,* an explanation of the miracles of the friends of God (*karāmāt al-awliyā'),* and an explanation of the names of the friends of God (*wali Allāh*). This section is followed by an account of the advantages of the *manakiban* and its manners, the method of *tawassul* granted to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, as well as the texts of the *du'ā' al-ism al-a'ẓam,* a *du'ā'* requesting openness (*futūḥ)* and brightness of heart, the *du'ā'* of *li ṭalab al-ghina wa nafy al-faqr* and various *ṣalawāt* of the Prophet (pbuh), all of them with comments as to their purpose.

The second volume of the *al-Nūr al-Burhānī* contains a hagiography (*manāqib)* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, starting with his birth, and gives an

[168] Ibid., 26. The author quotes this *du'ā'* from Kitāb al-Nafas al-Yamānī of Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-Ahdān.

[169] Ibid., 25.

account of some of his miracles before his death.[170] Then follows a collection of *du'ā'*, as well as some poems, including the *qasīda* of Ḥabīb 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ṭāhir Bā'alawī, and another *qasīda* of Shaykh al-Islām al-Qutb al-Ghawth al-Ḥabīb 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alawī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād.

In addition to the above works, Shaykh Muslih's son, Kiyai Lutfil Hakim, wrote a work entitled *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li Ma'rifat al-Ṭarīqa wa Kayfiyya 'Amalihā min al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya.* This book is written in Arabic and consists of a discussion of the pillars of the *ṭarīqa,* the advantages of *dhikr,* the question of whether *dhikr* recited in the company of people is more advantages than private *dhikr* (*dhikr khalwa),* the types of *dhikr,* the signs of the true master (*al-murshid al-amīn*), the conditions of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, the procedure of the *talqīn/bay'a* of the *ṭarīqa,* the method of practicing the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya,*[171] a series of notes on the proceedings of the *khataman* of *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya,* the text of the *du'ā' ḥusn al-khātima*, and finally a listing of the *silsila* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya.*

General comments on Kiyai Muslih's works

The reader will find many similar elements in Kiyai Muslih's various works. Nevertheless, there are several passages that contain detailed explanations of, for

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[170] Muslih, Al-Nūr al-Burhānī fī Tarjama al-Lujayn al-Dānī fī Dhikr Nubdhat min Manāqib Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, vol. 2 (Semarang: Toha Putra n.d.), 20-103.

[171] The author explains that the *rumz* of reciting *lā ilāha illā Allāh* 165 times, is in fact, the letter *lām alīf* consists of 21, *ilāha*, 36, *illā*, 32 and *lafẓ al-Jalāla, Allāh*, 66. Therefore, altogether 165. See Muhammad Lutfil Hakim, Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li Ma'rifa al-Ṭarīqa wa Kayfiyyatu 'Amalihā min al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya (Mranggen, Demak, Semarang, n.d.), 24.

example, the *laṭā'if*,[172] the five questions mentioned above,[173] the discussions of *īmān*, *islām* and *iḥsān* and their interpretation according to earlier scholars,[174] and a careful explanation of how to sit while performing *dhikr*.[175] Moreover, in most places he mentions his sources.[176]

In the case of the *murāqabāt*, we find certain similarities along with a clear development of his thought in his *'Umdat al-Sālik* (p. 87-140), in his *Risala Tuntunan TQN* vol. 2, (p. 31-60), and in his *al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya* (p. 52-64), in each of these we find as well a list of the *murāqabāt* to be practiced at particular prayer times. Sometimes Shaykh Muslih refers to Qur'ānic verses that are not mentioned by Shaykh Sambas;[177] however, in most cases their sources are the same.

There are, moreover, some topics that seem to be unique to his works, such as the issue of holding one's breath (*ḥifẓ al-anfās)*,[178] the concept of

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[172] Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, vol. 1, 17-22 under the chapter how to practice the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya*.

[173] Ibid., vol. 1, 40-61.

[174] Ibid., vol. 2, 10-28.

[175] Ibid., vol. 2-10.

[176] Among his sources are Khazīnat al-Asrār, Tafsir Marāḥ Labīd of Nawawī al-Bantenī (vol. 1), Tafsīr Ṣāwī, and Jāmi' Usūl al-Awliyā'.

[177] For example in the case of *murāqaba lā ta'ayyun* he refers to *sūrat* al-An'am (6:130), on *murāqaba ḥaqīqat al-Ka'ba* to al-Baqara (2:150) and to *murāqaba* number twenty, he refers to *sūrat* al-Bayyina (98:5). See his Risala Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, vol. 2.

[178] Ibid., vol. 1.,22-24 and his al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya, 65-67.

redemption/compensation (*'ataqa qubrā* or *fida' akbar)*[179] and references to the decisions of the Nahdlatul 'Ulama congresses.[180]

4. The works of Kiyai Romly Tamīm of Rejoso

a. Kiyai Romly Tamim and the Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum

The name of Kiyai Romly Tamim is most closely associated with Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum [Dār al-'Ulūm). This *pesantren* is among the most famous in Jombang, east Java, the others being Tebuireng, Tambakberas and Denanyar. These four institutions are often the subject of media reports that try to inform a public hungry for information on its various activities. This is but one indication of how traditional Islam, in east Java particularly, and in Indonesia generally, is still an important phenomenon. This is not to imply, however, that they are uniform in terms of character or political affiliation.

The founder of Pesantren Darul Ulum was Kiyai Tamim Irsyad [Irshād], the father of Kiyai Romly. Originally from Madura, Kiyai Tamim began by constructing a public prayer hall (*muṣalla)* in 1880, then he erected a very simple building to serve as a *pesantren* in 1885. Soon afterwards, a young *kiyai* of Demak, Kholil, came to teach there and eventually married Kiyai Tamim's daughter. Kiyai Kholil's brother, Kiyai Syafawi [Shafawī], also joined them to serve the *pesantren.* In 1904, Kiyai Syafawi passed away, as did Kiyai Tamim ten years later. Then Kiyai Kholil and his

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[179] '*Ataqa kubra* or *fida' akbar* is a kind of *dhikr* that is performed with struggle (*mujāhada*) to purify the soul by reciting certain formula; for example the recitation of 100,000 times of *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ or *tahlīl* 70,0000 times to redeem *nafs al-ammāra* or other *nafs.* In practice, the recitation can be performed little by little (gradually). This explanation is found where he explains *murāqaba al-Aḥadiyya.* See his Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, vol. 2, 27.

[180] Muslih, al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya, 67-69.

brother-in-law, Kiyai Romly, continued as the successors. In 1938, Kholil's sons, Kiyai Dahlan and Kiyai Maksum [Ma'ṣūm] returned from their studies in Mecca and decided to rename the Pesantren Darul Ulum, in honor of their previous *alma mater* in Mecca. In addition to the traditional system, Pesantren Darul Ulum began to implement a *madrasa* system in 1933, and in 1948, furthermore, commenced accepting female santris, for whom they established the Madrasah Mu'allimat in 1954.[181] From that time forward, Darul Ulum began to establish various elementary and high schools, all of them affiliated to the Department of Education and the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. It has successfully established a University as well, offering instruction in both secular and religious courses of study. However, in addition to this modern system, the pesantren continues to operate a *pengajian* (religious circle) and has its own curriculum based on Islamic texts.[182]

b. The works of Kiyai Romly Tamim

[181] Imam Bawani, Pondok Pesantren "Darul Ulum" Jombang Jawa Timur (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1981/2), 1-15.

[182] The curriculum of the reading circle of Islamic classical texts (*pengajian kitāb*) is divided into three levels: the lower level includes *fiqh, al-Qur'ān, ḥadīth, naḥw, ṣarf* and *tawḥīd*. The works studied are Fatḥ al-Qarīb, Sullam al-Tawfīq, Sullam al-Munājāt, Al-Qur'ān, Bulūgh al-Marām, al-Jurūmiyya, Maqsūd and *al-Sanūsi*. At the intermediate level, in addition to the first, *uṣūl fiqh* and *tafsīr* are studied; here the works read are Taḥrīr, Irshād al-'Ibād, Bidāyat al-Hidāya, Tafsīr Jalālayn, Tajrīd al-Ṣarīh, Waraqāt, Latā'if al-Ishāra, Dāsūqī, Qawā'id al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, Alfiyya Ibn Malik, and Ibn 'Aqil. At the advanced level, *balāgha, qawā'id al-fiqhiyya, akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf* are studied in addition to the intermediate level, and here literature includes Fatḥ al-Mu'īn, Fatḥ al-Wahhāb, Kifāyat al-Akhyār, Alfiyya Ibn Malik, Ibn 'Aqil, Jawhar al-Maknūn, Tajrīd al-Ṣarīḥ, Riyād al-Ṣālihīn, Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, al-Shibah wa al-Nadā'ir and Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. See Imam Bawani, Pondok Pesantren "Darul Ulum" Jombang Jawa Timur, 27.

The principal works of Kiyai Romly Tamim are *Thamarat al-Fikriyya: Risālah fī Silsilat al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyyah wa al-Naqshbandiyya* (Rejoso, Jombang: n.d.), and *Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah,* originally written in Malay (in Arabic script) of which the only accessible version is an Indonesian edition (*edisi bahasa Indonesia*), of the work published by Ikatan Thoriqot Qodiriyyah wan Naqsyabandiyah, Jombang, 1997. His son, Kiyai Musta'in Romly, was an author as well, having written *al-Risāla al-Khawāṣiyya* (Jombang,n.d.) This latter edition was revised by Kiyai Haji Aḥmad Dimyati Romly, the present Shaykh of the *ṭarīqa* as well as the head of the Pesantren. [183]

The two works of Kiyai Romly Tamim are short but very dense. The first, *Thamarat al-Fikriyya: Risāla fī Silsilat al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya,* is written in the Javanese language using Arabic script. Like the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas, (with a very few exceptions), this work consists of the following elements: an outline of the procedure of *talqīn* and *bay'a* in the TQN;[184] a chapter concerning the *dhikr* practice of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya;*[185] a chapter regarding the practice of the *ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya*;[186] a chapter concerning the path towards

[183] I am grateful to K.H.A Dimyati Romly as well as to his wife Ibu Nyai Muflihah, who provided me with these three books. They received my husband and me with hospitality and very warmly, while I visited Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum, Rejoso, Jombang, east Java, in February, 1999. Similar to Thamarat a-Fikriyya, I suspect that the previous edition of Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah was written in Arabic script and Javanese language, but I only have access to the Indonesian edition. However, the formula recitation is written in both, Arabic and its transliteration, while some of them are followed by the Indonesian translation.

[184] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 1-3.

[185] Ibid., 3-5.

[186] Ibid., 6-9. The *lafẓ* of *istighfār* here, *astaghfirullāh rabbī min kulli dhanbin wa atūbu ilayh* in the printed edition of Fath al-'Ārifīn, page 4, is recited either 25 times for five times, while in Thamarat al-Fikriyya, Kiyai Romly says 5 times.

Allah;[187] a chapter on *murāqaba*;[188] and a chapter on the *silsila* of the TQN, [189] as well as a chapter on *khatm wird rātib* TQN.[190] Some of the specific characteristics of Romly's elements work are as follows:

1. In his introduction (*khuṭbat al-kitāb*), he refers to the founder of the TQN, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, and then mentions that the teachings and practice of the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* ultimately derive from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (r.a) respectively, who both received them from the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).
2. A chapter concerning the least amount of *dhikr Naqshbandī* and *dhikr Qādirī* that may validly be performed by an adept.[191]
3. A chapter on the virtue of *dhikr.*[192]
4. A chapter concerning the virtue of *tafakkur,* and a chapter concerning the division of this issue.[193]

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[187] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 9-11.

[188] Ibid., 11-23.

[189] Ibid., 26-32.

[190] Ibid. 23-25.

[191] Ibid., 32-33. In this chapter, Kiyai Romly explains that the very least amount of Naqshbandī *dhikr* that should be practiced in a day and night is 5,000 times. In fact, the people of the path do that 25,000 times (the recitation of *lafẓ al-jalāla*). As for the minimum *Qādiriyya dhikr* is 165 times [the recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*] through all the *laṭā'if* as well as the practice of *murāqaba* after every obligatory prayer.

[192] Ibid., 33-36.

[193] Ibid., 36-39. Kiyai Romly refers to certain Sufi shaykhs, that one *murīd* should perform *tafakkur* every time and he explains the virtues of *tafakkur* by referring to a ḥadīth of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh): "*tafakkur* in one hour is better than in worship for a year." He also refers to 'Alī (r.a.), saying that: "There is no worship that has more virtues than *tafakkur.*" A certain person of *ahl ma'rifa* says that *tafakkur* can be (function) as a lamp in the heart. When there is no *tafakkur*, there is no light, and one's heart is dark. Kiyai Romly further explains six types of *tafakkur*. First, [one has to] think when looking at beautiful things, for this indicates the attributes of the power of God, the seven

The author says that his *risāla* finishes here, although he goes on to deal with five more topics.[194]

5. An explanation of *Kitāb al-Islām wa al-īmān*

6. A chapter on the pillars of *īmān*

7. A chapter on the pillars of *Islām*

8. A chapter on *Tanbīh*

9. A chapter on *Khātima fī al-ma'rifa wa al-sharī'a wa al-ṭarīqa wa al-ḥaqīqa.*

In his other work, *Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah*, Kiyai Romly Tamim makes the following points regarding additional (i.e., non obligatory) practices:

1. He begins with the procedure of *ṣalāt ḥājat* (a voluntary prayer spoken when one is in need of God's help) and *sujud shukr* (the prostration showing gratefulness

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heavens and seven earths and their contents as a sign of His existence. Second, [one should] think about God's great favor (*ni'ma*), which is uncountable, in order to be more grateful towards Him. Kiyai Romly refers to the Qur'ānic verse: "If ye give thanks, I will give you more," *la'in shakartum la'azīdannakum* (*sūrat* Ibrāhīm 7). Third, [one has to] think that indeed God sees both the unseen matter and the obvious one, He always sees the movement of the heart, either towards evil, or virtue or towards the desire of the ego. Remember the unlawful matters in order for (our) inside and outside to be careful, not fall into the wrath of God. Fourth, [one has to] remember to worship God (not) to be defeated by the ego, and think of when our body will suffer later in the Hereafter, and it will be wounded and careless towards the affairs of worship. Fifth, [one has to] remember that most of the worldly matter leads to abandoning the Hereafter, the worldly matters are easy to lose and wear out, be *zuhd* and receive as well as be happy with what has been given (to us), that is, to perform worship. Kiyai Romly refers to the Qur'ānic verse *fastabiq al-khayrāt* (*sūrat* al-Baqara (2:148)). Sixth, [one has to] think about the near coming of the death, for its arrival time can neither be hastened nor delayed, because death comes without an appointment. All deeds will be cut off and one will suffer in the graveyard due to one's carelessness towards worship. While one lives in the world, one should be in a hurry to perform good deeds with sincerity, as preparation for death. He advises that one hurry to purify one's self by asking forgiveness and performing repentance towards God before the coming of the small doomsday (*qiyāmat ṣughrā*),meaning death. Kiyai Romly refers to the verse of the Qur'ān, *wa sāri'ū ilā maghfirotin min rabbikum min qabli an ya'tiya yawmun la rayba fīh.* On page 39 of the Thamarat al-Fikriyya, the colophon says that this *risāla,* with God's help, was finished on 28 Sha'bān 1360 A.H. But on page 40 Kiyai Romly continues with some other chapters; i.e., *Kitāb al-Islām wa al-Imān.*

[194] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 39.

for His favor). These procedures, according to him, were instituted by the Prophet Khiḍr. The procedure for *ḥājat* prayer starts with the intention to perform such a prayer, and is then followed by *takbīr* and the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa, followed by *sūrat* al-Kāfirūn, repeated ten times for the first *rak'a.* Then for the second *rak'a* , *sūrat* al-Fātiḥah is once again recited and then *sūrat* al-Aḥad [al-Ikhlāṣ], afterwards. The procedure of *sujud shukr* consists of first of all, forming the intention of *sujud shukr*, then performing the prostration while reciting *subḥānallāh wa al-ḥamdu lillāh wa lā ilāha illā Allāh Allāhuakbar wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh al-'aliyy al-'aẓīm.* Next there is recitation of *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) ten times, then the recitation of the *du'ā': rabbanā ātinā fī al-dunyā ḥasanah wa fī al-ākhirati ḥasanah wa qinā 'adhāb al-nār*, repeated ten times, and then finally recitation of the *salām.*[195]

2. The author then speaks of the importance of recitation of *sūra* al-Fātiḥa for the Prophet (pbuh), his family and his Companions, ... etc. This part is almost similar to the last chapter of the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn.* [196]
3. He recommends that *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa be recited also for the souls of Kiyai Muhammad Romly Tamim and those of Kiyai Mustaʿīn Romly and Kiyai Rifāʿī Romly.[197]
4. A chapter on *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa and its virtue.[198]

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[195] Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 9.

[196] Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 10. As mentioned earlier, this formula of *khatm* is recited in the practice of *khataman* of TQN.

[197] Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 10-14.

5. A chapter on *istighfār*, performing the *tasbīḥ* (glorifying God), the *lafẓ* of *ḥawqala* and their *faḍīla.*[199]

6. A chapter on *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and its advantage.[200]

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[198] Among the virtues of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is that whoever recites it steadfastly after the obligatory prayer seven times, God almighty will open the door of virtue to him and will make him be sufficient for the interest of religion. And if one recites twenty times after every obligatory prayer, God will grant him his goals (with the blessing of *sūrat* al-Fatiha). Kiyai Romly refers to the *ḥadīth*: "whoever recites *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa as if it is equal to reading the Tawrāt, Injīl, Zabūr and al-Qur'ān. See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 15-16. See Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī, Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār (Semarang: Maktabat Usaha Keluarga, n.d.), 109. The chapter on the virtue of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is based on the prophetic traditions, see the same source pages 108-115.

[199] Among the advantages of *istighfār*, are performing the *tasbīḥ* (glorifying God), the *lafẓ* of *ḥawqala.* See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 16-18. Kiyai Romly refers to a *ḥadīth* in which Shaykh Ma 'rūf al-Karkhī tells a ḥadīth from Anas ibn Mālik and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar: "One day a man approached the Prophet (pbuh) and asked: "O Messenger of God show us the good deed that may lead us to (the) Paradise." The Prophet answered: "Do not get angry easily." The man says: "We cannot resist getting angry, O messenger of God." The Prophet answered: "If you are unable to hold your anger, do read the *istighfār* (requesting forgiveness from God) 70 times a day after *'asr* prayer, then Allah will forgive you for your sin of 70 years." The man says: "If our sin is not so great then [how does it help]?" The messenger of God replies: "God will forgive the sins of your family/relatives." Kiyai Romly refers to a *ḥadīth*: "Do ask forgiveness of your God, indeed we (the Prophet Muḥammad) request forgiveness and repent towards God 100 times a day." See Muḥy al-Din Abī Zakariyya Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Dīn, Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn, transl. S.M. Madni Abbasi (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1989), 914-915. This *ḥadīth* was narrated by Abū Dawūd and Al-Tirmidhī. Kiyai Romly also refers to the Qur'ān: "Then perform the *tasbīḥ* with praising your lord and ask forgiveness of Him. Indeed God is the receipient of repentance." (*sūrat* al-Naṣr (110:3)). Among the virtues of the *ḥawqala* (*la hawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh al-'aliyy al-'aẓīm)*, Kiyai Romly also refers to a *ḥadīth*: "Whoever recites this formula 100 times every day, will never suffer poverty." "Whoever recites this formula 300 times a day God will open his way or to remove his difficulties." Another formula of *hawqala, lā hawla wa lā malja'a min Allāh illā ilayh.*" (There is neither power nor place to seek refuge except from God). Among the virtues is: "Whoecver is in difficulties or if one's heart is not tranquil then one recites this formula with steadfastness, then Allah will enlarge one's chest and give security to that person." As for among the virtues of *ṣalawāt* (to the Prophet Muḥammad), Kiyai Romly refers to a *ḥadīth*: "Whoever multiplies reciting the *ṣalawāt* towards me, Allah will give one the wealth that does not make one poor forever." "Whoever recites the *ṣalawāt* to me, the angels will ask forgiveness of God for that person, whoever the angles ask forgiveness, then Allah will feel symphaty to that person, everything that exists in seven heavens, seven earths, and seven oceans, as well as the plants, and animals will ask forgiveness for that person."

[200] Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 18-19. The suggestion to perform *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), is written in *sūrat* al-Aḥzāb (33:56), where God says: "Lo Allah and His angels shower blessings on the Prophet. O ye who believe! Ask blessings on him and salute him with a worthy salutation." Muḥammad Marmaduke Pickthall, The Glorious Qur'ān Text and Explanatory Translation (Saudi Arabia: The Muslim World League, 1977), 448. Concerning the various types of *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet (pbuh), may be read in Kumpulan Keistimewaan Shalawat Nabi (Di Tinjau dari Beberapa Segi), (Bandung: Hussaini, 1990), an Indonesian translation of Al-Ṣalāh 'alā al-Nabī of Imām Qaḍī 'Iyyāḍ, ed. by Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Khusht.

7. A chapter on the *lafẓ al-jalāla* and some of the names of God (*asmā' al-ḥusnā*) and their virtues, i.e. *yā Allāh yā qadīm,*[201] *yā samī' yā baṣīr,*[202] *yā mubdi' yā khāliq,*[203] *yā ḥafīẓ yā naṣīr yā wakīl yā Allāh,*[204] *yā ḥayyu yā qayyūm biraḥmatika astaghīthu,*[205] as well as the virtue of the formula, *lā ilāha illā anta subḥānaka innī kuntu min al-ẓālimīn,*[206] *yā laṭīf,*[207] *yā raḥmān yā raḥīm,*[208] and that of the formula, *astaghfirullāh al-aẓīm innahū kāna ghaffārā.*[209]

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[201] Among the advantages of *lafẓ yā Allāh ya Qadīm* (ya Allāh o the Eternal), "Whoever in each of his movements always performs the *dhikr* with *lafẓ al-jalāla* (Allāh), that person will see the miraculous thing, both in the skies and on the earth and God will give privilege that everything will obey him, as if when one says to the sands: "be flour," that sand can change to become flour with God's permission." "Whoever multiplies reciting *yā qadīm* continuously, by God willing that person will be loved by all human beings, and will be saved from evil of stubborn people to follow their will." See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 19. Kiyai Romly refers to Shams al-Ma'ārif al-Kubrā (this work cannot be identified).

[202] Among the advantages of *lafẓ yā samī' yā baṣīr* (yā Allāh, the Essence that hears and sees) is, "Whoever multiplies the *dhikr* with the *lafẓ yā samī'* one's du'ā' will be accepted by God, one's words will be noticed (listened) to by one's audience." "Whoever multiplies the *dhikr* with the *lafẓ yā baṣīr*, God will unveil to him the obscure affairs and he won't have to be fearful in religious and worldly affairs." See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 19-20. Kiyai Romly refers to Manba' Usūl al-Ḥikma (this work cannot be identified).

[203] Among the advantages of *lafẓ yā mubdi' yā khāliq* (yā Allāh the Maker O the Creator) is: "Whoever does a lot of the recitation of *yā mubdi'*, Allāh will grant him wisdom in his words." "Whoever starts one's affair with the recitation of *yā mubdi'*, Allāh will give blessings to that matter." As for "the *lafẓ* of *yā khāliq*, is good to mention as many as possible in *dhikr* so that one's heart will be granted a certitude that whatever one does, one will understand that in fact, one's work is a mediation and [only] God almighty is the real creator." See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 20. Kiyai Romly refers also to Manba' Uṣūl al-Ḥikma.

[204] Among the advantages of this formula (yā Allāh, the Essence that preserves, assists and represents) is "Whoever travels and during travel always performs the *dhikr* of *yā ḥafīẓ*, God will preserve him in his travel until he returns. "Whoever worries of falling down from something that he feels heavy and does a lot of *dhikr* of *yā ḥafīẓ*, God will save that person." "Whoever does the *dhikr* of *lafẓ yā naṣīr* when he debates with somebody, God will help him and give him the victory." "Whoever performs the *dhikr* of *lafẓ yā wakīl*, God will make one sufficient and provide unlimited sustenance." Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 20-21. Kiyai Romly also refers to Manba' Uṣūl al-Ḥikma.

[205] "Whoever performs the *dhikr* with *yā ḥayy yā qayyūm bi raḥmatika astaghīth* (yā Allāh, the Essence that is alive and everlasting, with your mercy I seek assistance), God will make one's affairs easy." Kiyai Romly refers to a *ḥadīth* narrated by Ānas saying that when Prophet was in difficulties, he recited this formula. Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 21-22.

[206] Among the advantages of the formula *lā ilāha illā anta subḥānaka innī kuntu min al-ẓālimīn.* Kiyai Romly refers to a ḥadīth: "Whoever in a complicated situation recites this formula, Allah will make it

8. A chapter on the advantages of various types of *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet (pbuh), including the *ṣalawāt* to be recited if one is in need,[210] the *ṣalawāt nāriyah*,[211] and the *ṣalawāt munjiyāt*.[212] Here also he explains of the virtue of *yā badī*.[213]

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easy for him." This formula has been recited by the Prophet Yūnus when he was in the stomach of fish, and made him get out of it safely. Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 22.

[207] Among the virtues of the *lafẓ yā laṭīf*, is ita ability to change the sadness into relief, sickness to healing, and persecution by a leader or oppressor to safety, with God's permission. Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 22. Kiyai Romly also refers to Manba' Uṣūl al-Hikma.

[208] Among the advantages of *yā raḥmān yā raḥīm* (yā Allāh, the Essence that most beneficent and merciful) is: "Whoever always performs the *dhikr* with this *kalima*, will always receive the contentment from God." According to the narration of the Prophet Khiḍr: "Whoever recites *yā Allāh*, then *yā raḥmān* after *'asr* on Friday until the sun sets, then recites the *du'ā'*, and one's *du'ā'* will be accepted." "All of one's matters, both inner and outer, will be loved by human beings, including the person with a hard heart." Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 23. Kiyai Romly also refers to Manba' Uṣūl al-Hikma.

[209] Among the advantages of the formula *astaghfirullah al-'aẓīim innahū kāna ghaffārā* (I seek Your forgiveness ya Allāh, the Essence that most great, indeed You are the forgiver" is based on the words of the *'ulamā' salaf*: "Whoever recites this formula God will grant blessings to him knowledge, sustenance, offsprings." This *istighfār* is preferable to be performed 70 times every day. Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 23.

[210] Among the virtues of this (special) *ṣalawāt* (*Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad qad ḍāqat ḥīlatī adriknī yā Rasūlullāh* / yā Allāh give additional mercy and greatness to our master Muḥammad, indeed many of our efforts already and may you see me o messenger of God), is "whoever in need recites this *ṣalawāt* 100 times, Allah will accept his requests and also will be spared of difficulties." See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 24.

[211] Among the advantages of *ṣalawāt nāriya*, is that whoever recites this *ṣalawāt* ten times after obligatory prayer steadfastedly, God willing, his spirituality will be elevated, and God will make easy his sustenance. If it is recited after *fajr* prayer 40 times, God will accelerate to fulfil one's needs, and whenever it is recited 1,000 times, God willing, God will grant high nobility/ miracle (*karāma*). The *ṣalawāt* reads as follows: *Allāhumma ṣalli ṣalātan kāmilatan wa ṣallim salāman tāmman 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin tanḥallu bih al-'uqad wa tanfarij bih al-kurab wa tuqḍā bih al-ḥawā'ij wa tunālu bih al-raghā'ib wa ḥusn al-khawātim wa yustasqa al-ghamām bi wajhih al-karīm wa 'alā ālihī wa ṣaḥbihī fī kulli lamḥatin wa nafasin bi 'adadi kulli ma 'lūmillak.*" See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 24-25.

[212] Among the virtues of *ṣalawāt munjiyāt* is "Whoever recites the *ṣalawāt munjiyāt* 1000 times in the middle of the night, then requests for whatever he needs, God willing, his wordly and hereafter needs will be granted." Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 25-26. See also Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī, Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār, 179.

[213] Among the advantages of *lafẓ yā badī '* (yā Allāh the Essence that creates everything without parable) is "Whoever always performs the *dhikr* with this *lafẓ*, will achieve the knowledge that he wills, and will be given the understanding of what he does not comprehend, and God will flow wisdom to his words." Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 26-27. Kiyai Romly also refers to Manba' Uṣūl al-Hikma.

9. A chapter on the advantage of *sūrat* Yāsīn.[214]

10. A chapter on the virtue the *kalima Allāh Akbar,* when recited three times with *yā rabbanā wa ilāhanā wa sayyidanā anta mawlānā fanṣurnā 'alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn.*[215]

11. A chapter on the virtue of the following: *haṣṣantukum bi al-ḥayy al-qayyūm al-ladhī la yamūtu abadā wa dafa'tu 'ankum al-sū'a bi alfi alfi lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh al-'aliyy al-'aẓīm.*[216]

12. A chapter on the saying of *alḥamdulillāh al-ladhī an'ama 'alaynā wa hadānā 'alā dīn al-islām* and continued by an explanation of the virtues of various types of *basmala.*[217]

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[214] Among the advantages of *sūrat* Yāsīn is the assurance based on the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet (pbuh) that: "Whoever enters the grave yard and recites *sūrat* Yāsīn, God will lighten the torture of the inhabitants of the grave by that time, and the reciter will be granted as many good deeds as the people of that graveyard." Kiyai Romly refers to Tafsīr Jamal (this work cannot be identified). He also quotes from another *ḥadīth*: "Whoever recites *sūrat* Yāsīn once, the reward is equal to perform the recitation of the entire Qur'ān (*khatm* al-Qur'ān) ten times. Kiyai Romly also refers to Tafsīr Hamāmi (this work cannot be identified). See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 27.

[215] The virtue of saying *Allāhu akbar* three times, *yā rabbanā wa ilāhanā wa sayyidanā anta mawlānā fanṣurnā 'ala al-qawm al-kafirīn*) is based on the meaning of the *ḥadīth*: "Whoever recites *takbīr*, (as it is in a war of *sabīlillāh*//defending God's religion), this *takbīr* on the doomsday will have great value before God and heavier than the weight of sky and earth. Whoever in a war recites the *takbīr* and *tahlīl* with a strong voice, that person will get contentment from God and will be included in the group of the Prophet Muhammad and the Prophet Ibrahīm and other Prophets." Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 27-28.

[216] Among the advantages of this formula, it is stated that there was a Prophet who was looking at his people on an event where in a very short time, 70.000 people died, then Allah sent the revelation to his prophet to recite that formula. It is stated in the Kitāb Fath al-Malik al-Majid that if one recites often this *kalima,* will avoid the disease of *'ayn* (a sort of frustration/absent mindedness etc.) See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 28.

[217] Among the virtues of the *kalima al-hamd lillāh al-ladhī an 'ama 'alaynā wa hadānā 'alā dīn al-Islām,* Kiyai Romly refers to the Qur'ān *sūrat* Ibrāhīm 7: "If ye give thanks, I will give you more, but if ye are thankless, lo My punishment is dire." Muḥammad Marmaduke Pickthall, The Glorious Qur'ān Text and Explanatory Translation, 249. As for the virtues of some types of *basmala*, Kiyai Romly refers to Imam Suyūṭī in his Al-Mirjan: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās said that the Prophet Khiḍr and the Prophet Ilyas meet every season of *ḥajj*, then when they depart they perform *du'ā*, together with the above formula. After that 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās said that whoever recites tha *du'ā'* every

13. A chapter on the virtues of the formula, *sa'altuka ya ghaffār 'afwa tawbatan wa bi al-qahr yā qahhār khudh man tahayyalā..*[218]

14. A chapter on the virtue of the saying, *wa 'aṭṭif qulūb al-'ālamīn bi asrihā 'alayya wa albisnī qabūlan bishalamhat, naruddu bika al-a'dā'a min kulli wijhatin wa bi al-ism narmīhim min al-bu'd bi al-shatat.*[219]

15. A chapter on the advantage of the following formula: *yā jabbār ya qahhār yā dhā al-baṭsh al-shadīd khudh ḥaqqanā wa ḥaqq al-muslimīn mimman ẓalamnā wa al-muslimīn wa ta'adda 'alaynā wa 'alā al-muslimīn.*[220]

As he comes to the end of the work, Kiyai Romly adds the *lafẓ* of *Sayyid al-istighfār.*[221] He then closes by saying that all the formulas mentioned in the foregoing are to be recited as *istighātha*, and that regardless of their advantages,

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afternoon three times, Allāh will save one from drowning, burnt, theft, evil disturbances and oppression as well as from poisonous animals. Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 29-30.

[218] Among the advantages of this formula is whoever performs the *dhikr* with the *kalima yā ghaffār* after Friday prayer 100 times, the signs of acceptance and forgiveness from God will appear. Whoever recites the *dhikr* with the *lafẓ yā qahhār*, will lose his admiration towards everything except God, as well as purify one's heart from all attachment to the world. Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 30-31.

[219] Among the advantages of this formula is whoever always recites the first part of *ḥizb* above, every day and night seven times, that person will obtain nobility, one's *du'ā'* will be accepted and every one who knows that person will be happy with him. If one recites the second part of the above *ḥizb* in front of one's enemy three times, the latter's mouth will be locked (he will find it difficult to speak), and his legs will shake with fear. Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 31. Kiyai Romly also refers to Manba' Uṣūl al-Hikma.

[220] Among the virtues of this *kalima* is when it is recited while the sun rises or in the middle of the night, this will destroy the oppressor. See Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 31-32.

[221] The *lafẓ* of *sayyid al-istighfār* is the following: *Allāhumma anta rabbī lā ilāha illā anta khalaqtanī wa ana 'abduka wa ana 'alā 'ahdika wa wa'dika mastaṭa'tu a'ūdhubika min sharri mā ṣana'tu abū'u laka bi ni'matika 'alayya wa abū'u bidhanbī faghfirlī fa innahū la yaghfir al-dhunūba illā anta.* This can be recited after obligatory prayers. Kiyai Romly explains that regardless of all the virtues mentioned above, the verses of the Qur'ān are closely related to the *dhikr* towards God and the existence of the *Istighātha.* Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 33.

their aim is to remember God (*dhikrullāh*), referring to *sūras* al-A'rāf (7:180), al-Ra'd (13:18), al-Isrā' (17:110) and Ṭāhā (20:8).

In addition to the Qur'ān, Kiyai Romly bases himself on several other works, for example, the *Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār* of Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī (d.1301/1884),[222] *Irshād al-'Ibād ilā Sabīl al-Rashād* of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Malībarī (d. 928/1522),[223] the *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn* of Muḥy al-Din Abī Zakariyya Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Dīn (631-676/1233-1278), the *Kitāb al-Adhkār* of Al-Mālik Al-Ashrāf Abū al-Naṣr Qā'itbāi? (d. 901/1405),[224] the *Al-Mujarrabāt* and *Kitāb Al-Ḥaqā'iq* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Ḥasani al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486 or 895/1490),[225] *Shams al-Ma'ārif al-Kubrā, Manba' Uṣūl al-Ḥikma, Tafsīr Jamāl, Tafsīr Hamamī*,[226] and *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* of Abū Layth Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī (d.c.a. 373/983),[227] the *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb* of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī (d.1322/1914), and

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[222] C. Brockelmann, GAL II, 489, Supplement II, 746.

[223] C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 311-312, 604.

[224] C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 152. The author only mentions *Al-Adhkār*. Another possibility is Adhkār al-Adhkar li al-Nawawī of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505). See also his GAL Supplement I, 685.

[225] C. Brockelmann, GAL II, 252, Supplement II, 356.

[226] Brockelmann assigns a work with the title Shams al-Ma'ārif wa Laṭā'iff al-'Awārif, written by Muhy al-Din Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Alī al-Qorashī al-Būnī (d.622/1225). See GAL I, 497, Supplement I, 798, 910. Bruinessen states only that the works Shams al-Ma'arif, and Manba' Uṣūl al-Hikma were written by the same author, without identifying the latter. See his Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah di Indonesia, 169. Thus the last two works, these could not be identified.

[227] C. Brockelmann GAL I, 196.The dates given for al-Samarqandī's death vary between 373, 375, 383 and 393 A.H.

the *Durr al-Manthūr fī Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* (d.911/1505).[228] Finally, the author quotes from the *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d.1111), particularly the three *ḥadīth*s at the end of the work that represent, in his eyes, "pearls of wisdom: "*manizdāda 'ilman wa lam yazdad hudan lam yazdad min Allāh illā bu'dā*"; "*Ashadd al-nās 'adhāban yawm al-qiyāma 'ālimun lam yanfa'hullāh bi 'ilmih*"; and "*Allāhumma innī a'ūdhubika min 'ilmin la yanfa' wa qalbin la yakhsha' wa 'amalin wa du'ā'in la yusma'*".[229]

As was stated earlier, Kiyai Romly's son Kiyai Haji Musta'in Romly also wrote a work entitled *Al-Risālat al-Khawāṣiyya.* The content of this work is mostly similar to the *Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah* of his father, except that some of the formulas are left out of the later work and a few new sayings are listed at its end. However, in almost all of his chapters, he cites the works that he refers to, although most often without page numbers. The sayings that are not listed in the *al-Risāla al-Khawāṣiyya* are the formulas of the prayer (*du'ā'*) of the Prophet Yūnus (a.*s.): lā ilāha illā anta subḥānaka innī kuntu min al-ẓālimīn,* before *yā laṭīf;*[230] the formula *yā raḥmān yā raḥīm,* after *yā laṭīf* and the *ṣalawāt Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad qad ḍāqat ḥīlatī adriknī yā Rasūlullāh* after the saying *astaghfirullāh innahū kāna ghaffārā.*[231] The formulas that are not mentioned in the *Risāla,* among others are: *wa*

[228] In addition to the title mentioned above, C. Brockelmann mentions another, Tarjūmān al-Qur'ān fī Tafsīr al-Musnad. See his GAL II, 145, and also his GAL Supplement II, 178.

[229] Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 40.

[230] Compare Mustain Romly's Risāla page 14-15 and Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 34-35.

[231] Compare Mustain Romly's Risāla page 18-19 and Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 35.

'aṭṭif qulūb al-'ālamīn bi asrihā 'alayya wa albisnī qabūlan bishalamhat, naruddu bika al-a'dā'a min kulli wijhatin wa bi al-ism narmīhim min al-bu'd bi al-shatat.[232] However, these formulas are listed both in the sub-chapter of the *Risāla* entitled *al-istighātha bi haḍrat rabb al-bariyya* as well as in *Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah.*[233] The new items are *du'ā' khataman* and *du'ā' khuṣūsiyya.* This work, according to the colophon, was completed on Sunday 15 Rabī' al-Awwal 1381 A.H or August 17, 1961, while the *muqaddima* was written on 6 Muḥarram 1381 or June 19, 1961. The copyist of the work is Muhammad Muhaymin Nadhir.

c. General comments on Kiyai Romly's works

Kiyai Romly's discussion on *talqīn* and *bay'a* does not seem very clear in terms of the distinction between the two, in contrast to what we see in some other TQN authors. On the other hand, he only explains the processes and the formulas that should be recited by both the *murshid* and the *murīd,* whether they recite them together or one after the other. From his two pages[234] of explanation one might conclude that there is no difference between the *talqīn* and *bay'a.*

Like Shaykh Sambas and Kiyai Muslih, Kiyai Romly explains the procedure of the practice of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* as well as that of the *Naqshbandiyya* in separate chapters. This also occurs in his treatment of the sayings of *ahl al-ṭarīqa.*[235] As for the 20 types of *murāqabāt,* like Kiyai Muslih, Kiyai Romly does not always

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[232] Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 35-36.

[233] Musta'in Romly, Al-Risālat al-Khawāṣiyya, 68-69. See also Romly Tamim, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 34-37.

[234] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 2-3.

[235] For comparison, see Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3-5, Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik, 45-86, and Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 4-10.

cite exactly the same verses of the Qur'ān as Shaykh Sambas. His explanation, however, remains the same. In the section on the *khataman* of the TQN, unlike others, Kiyai Romly mentions seven advantages of *khataman*.[236] Such a description is neither found in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas nor in other works of Shaykh Muslih.

Regarding the list of the *silsila* of the TQN, Kiyai Romly traces the line back via his father Kiyai Tamim to Kiyai Cholil, who in turn was initiated by Shaykh Aḥmad Hasbullah ibn Muḥammad of Madura, who was a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. After this point, the names in ascending order are the same as in the *silsila* of the TQN of Rejoso and of Suryalaya. Concerning the smallest and the greatest number of the Naqshbandī *dhikr khafī* to be performed, Kiyai Romly differs from the other Shaykhs in stating explicitly that the minimum should be 5,000 and the maximum 25,000 in one day and night. In the chapter on *tafakkur*,[237] where he explains its advantage and its levels may be considered to be unique in its treatment.[238] Again, unlike the works of other *kiyai*s, Kiyai Romly's *Tuntunan Amal Istighotsah* [Ara. *istighātha*] constitutes a detailed guide for additional (non-obligatory) practice for the members of the TQN, while his work *Thamarat al-Fikriyya* is mostly a repetition of Shaykh Sambas' *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* except for a very few differences, as explained above.

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[236] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 32.

[237] *Tafakkur* means, meditation, contemplation. The most elaborate explanation of the doctrines of *fikr* or *tafakkur* in Islam is found in al-Ghazālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn vol. 4. *Bāb al-Tafakkur.*

[238] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 36-39.

Chapter IV

The Growth and Organization of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* of Suryalaya

1. The Historical Development of the TQN in Suryalaya and its Various Roles in Society.

a. The Early History of *Ṭarīqa* practices in the Tasikmalaya region

Ṭarīqa practices in Tasikmalaya -- the region in which Suryalaya is located -- were initially developed in the eighteenth century by Shaykh Abdul Muhyi ['Abd al-Muḥyi], who is credited with the dissemination of the *Shaṭṭāriyya* order in the region.

Shaykh Abdul Muhyi was born in Mataram in about 1650 A.D/1071 A.H. His mother, R. Ajeng Tanganijah, was a descendant of Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, while his father Sembah Lebe Wartakusumah was a descendant of King Galuh of Mataram. Shaykh Abdul Muhyi first learned Islamic teachings from his parents and then from the *'ulamā'* of Ampel when his family later moved there. When he was 19 years old, he went to Acheh and studied with Abdurrauf Singkel ('Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Sinkilī) for eight years (1090-1098 A.H/1669-1677 A.D.).[1] Abdurrauf, the author of *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufarridīn,* was a disciple of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī of Medina who had initiated him into the *Shaṭṭāriyya.*[2]

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[1] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan (Pamijahan, 1997), 11-12.

[2] G.W.J. Drewes "Introduction" in The Nine Saints of Java, xxx. See also, Aliefya M. Santrie, "Martabat Alam Tujuh," in Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia, ed. A. R. Hasan (Bandung: Mizan, 1990), 111.

At the age of 27, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi went to visit the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in Baghdad and stayed there for two years. He then travelled to Mecca with his teacher, Abdurrauf, to perform the *ḥajj*. When they were in the Masjid al-Ḥarām, his teacher received an inspiration that Abdul Muhyi had to return home and find a certain cave in Java and stay there. In addition, he noticed one afternoon in the same mosque that the light illuminated his disciple's face. All this he kept secret at the time, though when they went home in 1677, Abdurrauf asked his disciple to leave for Gresik to find the cave. As soon as Abdul Muhyi's parents heard this news they were happy but they suggested to him that he get married prior to leaving for Gresik. Shaykh Abdul Muhyi then married Ayu Bakta bint Sembah Dalem Sacaparana.[3]

During his search for the cave, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi passed through a village by the name Darma, in Kuningan, and stayed there to teach for seven years (1678-1685). He then continued to Pamengpeuk (South Garut) and stayed there for another year (1685-1686). By that time, he was 36 years old. He kept on looking for the cave, staying four years in Lebaksiuh (1686-1690) and teaching. According to one source, the cave he was searching for was in the place where Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.1166) had performed *tawajjuh*, in order to receive Islamic/mystical knowledge from his spiritual teacher, Imām Muḥammad al-Sanūsī.[4] In Lebaksiuh, he

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[3] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan, 15-16.

[4] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan, 15, 18, 21-22. It is unlikely that this is the Sanūsī who founded the Sanūsī Sufi order in the nineteenth century and who died in 1859; see Knut S. Vikor, Sufi and Scholars on the Desert Edge: Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī and his Brotherhood (London: Hurst & Company, 1995), 120. However, the modern Sanūsī's popularity in Indonesia may lead TQN followers to see a connection.

planted rice in the hope that the harvest would match what he had sown, neither more nor less, for that would be a sign as to where the cave could be located. He went to the eastern part of Lebaksiuh village. From the mountain on which the village of Cilumbu was built, he looked down on the beautiful scenery at its base, full of flowers and trees as well as water falls set against the mountain backdrop. He was invited to go down the hill and to perform the *tafakkur* (he later called the mountain "Gunung Mujarod", a place to illuminate the self and to bring peace to the heart). One day he noticed that his rice plants had grown and matured and yielded as much as he had planted. He was happy and thanked God for the clear indication of the whereabouts of the cave for which he had searched for over twelve years.

He was 40 years old when, according to this account, he one day walked a bit further to the east of the hill and he heard the sound of small birds coming out of a large opening in its side. The cave of Pamijahan was inside the mountain. It was large, covered with many bright stones, with fresh water pouring out of it between slippery stones.[5] Shaykh Abdul Muhyi and his family moved in and thereafter disseminated from that location the teaching of the *Ṭarīqa Shaṭṭāriyya.* Although he eventually moved to Bojong and then to Safarwadi (where he built a mosque), he never left the cave entirely. Among his closest disciples were Sembah Khotib Muwahid (buried in Panyalahan), Eyang Abdul Qohar (who stayed in Pandawa), Sembah Dalem Sacaparna (his father-in-law) and Sembah Dalem Yudanagara (the brother of his father-in-law). Rinkes adds to this list Bagus Nurjain of Cherbon.

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[5] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan, 21.

Shaykh Abdul Muhyi was married first to Sembah Ayu Bakta, had two daughters (Dalem Bojong and Media Kusumah) and two sons (Dalem Abdullah and Pakih Ibrahim), and he also married[6] Sembah Ayu Tangga, and had three children -- Sembah Siti, Sembah Ajeng and Sembah Muhammad.[7]

In addition to Islamic knowledge, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi was also an expert in the art of reciting the Qur'an, *'ilm al-ḥisāb*, medicine and agriculture. For this reason, he was much reknowned, especially among rulers, such as the kings of Banten, Demak, Cirebon and Mataram. One day a delegation came from Mataram, led by Kingabihi who brought a letter from the Sultan Adipati Ngalaga. The Sultan requested Shaykh Abdul Muhyi to come and teach his children, promising in return to give him a charter to the land facing Pamijahan. Later, when the Dutch came to occupy the Sukapura area, they sent a delegation to the Shaykh asking for its surrender and demanding that tax be paid every year. He refused to do so, arguing that the area had already been granted by the Sultan of Mataram until the time of his grand children, and refusing point blank to pay taxes to the Dutch because they were not Muslim and it would therefore be *ḥarām* to do so. He passed away on Monday, 8 *Jumāda al-Awwal* 1151 A.H./1730 A.D., after performing the *fajr* prayer. He was 80

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[6] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan, 28. Rinkes uses different names for Ayu Bakta, i.e., Sembah Dalem Abdul and for Media Kusumah, i.e., Sembah Madi Kasuma. See Rinkes, The Nine Saints of Java, trans. H.M. Froger, ed. Alijah Gordon Froger (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Royal Institution, 1996), 6.

[7] Rinkes, The Nine Saints of Java, 6

years of age and was buried in Safarwadi, Pamijahan, Karangnunggal, Tasikmalaya district.[8]

In Pamijahan, to the south of the main tomb, there are also located the graves of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's wives, Nyi Mas Ayu (Patimah), Sembah Ayu Winangun and Sembah Ayu Tangga, as well as of one of his daughters, Sembah Bagus Muhyi Al-Din Ajidin.[9] Among Abdul Muhyi's close friends buried there are Shaykh Mansur ibn Sultan Abdul Patah Tirtayasa, a descendant of Sultan Hasanuddin ibn Sultan Gunung Jati, and Shaykh Ja'far Ṣiddīq. One source mentions that three of them often performed *jamā'a* prayer together in Pamijahan, as well as in Banten and Mecca, which latter they were able to access --as true mystics -- through the cave of Pamijahan.[10]

A story in a similar vein tells of how one day when Shaykh Abdul Muhyi and Haji Mansur were in Mecca, they wanted to go home to Java as quickly as possible, and challenged each other to a race. Shaykh Mansur went through the earth while Shaykh Muhyi went below the sea. In the course of his journey, the latter felt cold and stopped to have a smoke. Suddenly his surroundings became dark, so he stopped, but the smoke did not disappear. Then when he remembered that smoking is reprehensible (*makrūh)*, he repented and the darkness disappeared. From that time onwards, he renounced the habit and forbade smoking to all his pupils.

[8] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan, 35-38. The place name Pamijahan is of recent date: before Abdul Muhyi arrived there, it was called Safar Wadi [*Safar* meaning road, *Wadi* valley, in Arabic].

[9] Rinkes, The Nine Saints of Java, 5.

Consequently, until the present day, smoking is not allowed inside the boundary of the village of Pamijahan out of respect for the Shaykh.[11]

Shaykh Abdul Muhyi might well be considered an "all around man", for in addition to having a reputation for holiness, he was always eager to try to solve everyone's difficulties.[12] This reputation continued on after his death, for even today his grave is a place of pilgrimage. My husband and I in fact visited his tomb, escorted by one of the *wakil talqīns* [*talqīn* agents] of Abah Anom, Kiyai Haji R. Abdullah Syarif ['Abd Allāh Sharīf] and a loyal disciple of Abah Anom, Major General (retired) Sukriya Atmaja, his wife and some others. And yet it appears as if Shaykh Abdul Muhyi was more of an individual success, to judge by the long interruption in *ṭarīqa* practices in this region between his death and the coming of Abah Sepuh (whom we are about to meet in the next sub-chapter).

b. A Profile of Abah Sepuh, Founder of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya

Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya was established by Shaykh 'Abdullah Mubarok ['Abd Allāh Mubārak] ibn Nur Muḥammad, better known as Abah Sepuh, in 1905.

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[10] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan, 23, 43. In the map of the cave of Pamijahan on page 47 of this source, in addition to directions to Mecca, there are indications of the way to Surabaya, Cirebon and Banten.

[11] A.A. Khaerussalam, Sejarah Perjuangan Syekh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Pamijahan, 32-33. See also Rinkes, The Nine Saints of Java, 9. But Rinkes' account has it that the race was between Java and Mecca. Rinkes also mentions some of the Shaykh's miracles on p. 8-10. A similar story, where Haji Mangsur's name is given as Pangeran Dakar and that of his fellow was Shaykh Karang. See G.W.J. Drewes, "Short Notice on the Story of Haji Mangsur of Banten," Archipel 50 (1995): 122. Saintly miracles, however, are often similar: take for example what is said regarding the rescue of a drowning pupil by Shaykh Kholil of Bangkalan (one of Abah Sepuh's teachers) and also by Tuan Meurasah, as told by Snouck Hurgronje. See The Achehnese, vol.1, 217-218.

[12] Rinkes, The Nine Saints of Java, 3,4.

Born in 1836, in the village of Cicalung, Bojongbentang, in the Pagerageung district of Tasikmalaya, West Java, he was appointed in 1908 as *khalīfa* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* by Shaykh Tolhah [Ṭalḥah] of Cirebon, having originally been initiated into the TQN by Shaykh Abdul Karim ['Abd al-Karīm] Banten during his period of study in Mecca.

Abah Sepuh's formal Islamic education began in the Pesantren Sukamiskin, located in Bandung district. In this *pesantren,* he studied *fiqh* and the sciences of Arabic linguistics (*'ilm ālāt,* e.g., *naḥw, ṣarf,* etc.). Then he studied *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqa* doctrine with Shaykh Tolhah in Cirebon for twenty-three years. In accordance with his teacher's suggestion, he visited Shaykh Cholil [Khalīl] in Bangkalan, Madura.[13] Following this, he established Pesantren Godebag, which he later moved to Suryalaya at his teacher's suggestion. He was appointed as Shayhk Tolhah's representative in 1900, in a ceremony at the latter's house in Trusmi, Cirebon.

Shaykh Tolhah was a disciple of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas. His father Kiyai Tolabuddin [Ṭalab al-Dīn] was the son of Kiyai Sayidin and the grandson of Kiyai Radfuddin, and headed a *pesantren* that was located in the village of Tengah Taim on the side of the main road connecting Cirebon to Bandung. Kiyai

[13] Soebakin Soebardi,, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Suryalaya in West Java," in Spectrum: Essays presented to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana on his Seventieth Birthday, ed. S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), 219-220. This author mentions that Abah Sepuh was educated in a *pesantren* in Sukamiskin, near Bandung and continued his education in Bangkalan, on the island of Madura, then studied the TQN's teachings with Shaykh Tolhah [Ṭalḥah] of Kalisapu near Cirebon. S. Soebardi does not mention the name of his teacher in Bangkalan. However, people generally understand that it must have been Shaykh Cholil [Khalīl] of Bangkalan. Zamakhsyari Dhofier states explicitly that Kiyai Abdullah Mubarak of Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya was Shaykh Khalil's student. See Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kiyai in the Maintenance of the traditional Ideology of Islam in Java" (Ph. D thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1980). This thesis has been translated into Indonesian and reprinted several times under the title Tradisi Pesantren Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 92, and has recently been published in its original language by Arizona University Press, 1999.

Tolabuddin and his father, Kiyai Muji (Ki Buyut Muji), were, for their part, important figures in the *Shaṭṭāriyya* order. Shaykh Tolhah first taught at Pesantren Rancang, then in succession at Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin, Cirebon (west Java), Pesantren Lirboyo and Gresik, (east Java), eventually returning to his father's *pesantren* in Cirebon.

Unang Sunardjo tells us that Shaykh Tolhah and Shaykh Cholil [Khalīl][14] of Madura were re-initiated by Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm of Banten, along with Shaykh Yasin of Kedah, Shaykh Muḥammad Ma'rūf ibn Abdullah Khatib of Palembang and Shaykh Muhammad Ismail of Bali.[15] Shaykh Tolhah acted as a *khalīfa* in the eastern part of west Java, while the western half was left to the supervision of Shaykh Asnawi of Caringin.

After teaching there for a while, Shaykh Tolhah went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and stayed on afterwards in order to study the Islamic sciences under Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas. When he returned home, he was appointed as *khalīfa* of the

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[14] Concerning his biography, see Arifin Junaidi, "Kiai Khalil: Misteri dari Bangkalan." Amanah No. 42, (12-25 Pebruari), Supplement, (1988): i-vii, and some observations by Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai, 91-92.See also Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "The Pesantren Architects and Their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850-1950)" (Ph. D thesis University of California, Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 166-187. Kiyai Cholil's grave is located in Bangkalan, and is one of the major shrines in Madura Island, visited by people throughout Java in particular. Because of his great reputation, several *ṭarīqa* leaders claim him as their spiritual teacher. One of his descendants, however, Kiyai Haji Abdullah Schal, whom my husband and I met in person on April, 1999, insists that he never joined any *ṭarīqa*. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Tarekat and Tarekat Teachers in Madurese society," in Across Madura Strait The Dynamics of an Insular Society, ed. Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995), 95.

[15] Unang Sunardjo, Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah Abad kedua Puluh (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1995), 15-16. Muhammad Ismā'il ibn al-Marḥūm 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Bālī al-Fānī was the copyist of the manuscript of the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas; see Fath al-'Arifin (Surabaya: Bungkul Indah, n.d.), 11.

Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya in Cirebon and its surroundings. This took place in 1876, when he was fifty-one years old.

With the permission of his father, he established his own school in Begong in 1879, the first *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya pesantren.* The *pesantren* was constructed of bamboo, with a roof of coconut leaves (*rumbia),* set on a high platform in order to protect the building from both the floods of the Kalisapu River and wild animals. There is no information as to when exactly Shaykh Tolhah went to Mecca for the second time, though we know he stayed there for a considerable period. On his return home, passing through Singapore, he decided to teach there for a while. During this time, the *pesantren* moved to a village close to Balai Desa Kalisapu, on the side of the main road between Cirebon and Indramayu. This was done because of the huge flood in Begong. It was in this place that Shaykh Tolhah later established a mosque on some *waqf* land given by his disciple H. Abdul Syukur ['Abd al-Shukūr], calling it Masjid Khalwat (Khalwat Mosque/Mosque of Seclusion). In 1979, the mosque was renovated by Abah Anom and inaugurated by H. Aang Kunaefi, the governor of West Java.[16]

In 1888, there took place the famous peasant revolt of Banten. Since the disciples of Shaykh 'Abdul Karim were involved, the Dutch decided to keep an eye on Shaykh Tolhah, as he was a member of the same group. Shaykh Tolhah was arrested and put in prison but then released, for there was not enough evidence to prove any crime. In order to avoid confrontation, Shaykh Tolhah chose at this time to work on behalf of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Trusmi. In 1897, the

village leader of Trusmi summoned Shaykh Tolhah to the Islamic court in Cirebon. He accused the Shaykh of usurping the rights of the village leader of Trusmi to manage the local archeological investigation into Prince Trusmi (the first son of Sunan Gunung Djati) and the estate of the prince of Cakra Buwana / Ki Kuwu Cirebon (the uncle of Sunan Gunung Jati). Fortunately, the decision was rendered in favour of Shaykh Tolhah. He won the case, because he was a valid descendant of Prince Trusmi.

In Trusmi, Shaykh Tolhah maintained good relations with Sultan Kasepuhan X, Sultan Atmaja, who appointed him as his personal advisor. In addition, the district head (*bupati*) of Kuningan was initiated in 1890 into the order, and he also asked the *shaykh* to teach his employees. From that time on, many *kiyai*s and officials were taught and/or initiated by Shaykh Tolhah. One of his more prominent disciples was a young *kiyai* of Tasikmalaya, Abdullah Mubarok bin Nur Muhammad (Abah Sepuh). At first Shaykh Tolhah had appointed his eldest son, Kiyai Malawi to be his successor, but the latter asked permission to go to Mecca and to stay there for several years to study. When he returned, he requested not to be appointed as a *khalīfa* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Nashbandiyya* because he had been involved in the Kedongdong revolt in the district of Cirebon in 1890. Because of his ongoing problems with the Dutch authorities, he reasoned, the development of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* might be jeopardized under his leadership. For the sake of the order, therefore, Shaykh Tolhah instead appointed his pupil Abah Sepuh of Tasikmalaya to be his *khalīfa* at a ceremony held in his house in Trusmi in 1908.

[16] Ibid., 18. At the time, Kiyai Jahuri (Shaykh Tolhah's brother by the same father) was the head of

Shaykh Tolhah passed away in 1935, and was buried near the grave of Sunan Gunung Djati. By the time of the end of his life, he had 18 sons and 8 daughters from his marriages.

The father of Abah Sepuh was Raden Nur Muhammad, also known by the names Nurpraja and Eyang Upas. His mother's name was Mrs. Emah. Abah Sepuh's brothers (by the same mother) were K.H. Moh. Hasan, Eyang Alleiyah, H. Azhari and K. Zenal, while those by the same father were K.H. Oleh, Eyang Ita, H. Nur, Karsih, Muhammad, and Muhari. Abah Sepuh's father enjoyed an elevated socio-economic status in his village of Cisero, a sub-district of Tarikolot, by virtue of his good character, his role as a security guard at the sub-district level, and the fact that he was from a large and well-to-do family. He thus began learning Islam from his own parents, as well as how to recite the Qur'ān and to perform the daily prayers. He also began the study of *uṣul al-dīn* and *fiqh* under their direction. In addition, Abah Sepuh had a passion for the subjects of agriculture, fishing and hunting. He liked to perform *ṣalāt jamā'a,* and *ṣalāt sunna* and to recite praises to God and *ṣalawāt* to the prophet. He seemed to possess a strong interest in learning and a zeal for practising Islam.

Prior to his departure for Cirebon, the young Abah Sepuh (known at the time as Kiyai Mubarok) had often visited Pamijahan (located 50 kilometres to the south of the town of Tasikmalaya), where, as we have seen, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's tomb is located. In Pamijahan he dreamt of seeing a shaykh in Cirebon. Accompanied by his colleague, Madraji, he went to Cirebon and met Shaykh Tolhah,

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the *pesantren.*

and became his disciple in the Pesantren Begong, Kalisapu, Cirebon.[17] Already a student of *taṣawwuf* on his arrival, he made the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* his particular specialization under the instruction of Shaykh Ṭolḥah and Shaykh Kholil of Madura.

It was in about 1890, when he was 54 years of age, that Abah Sepuh first formed in Tundagan, an Islamic circle (*pengajian*). Nevertheless, we do not know whether this circle was intended to teach Islamic practices in general or whether it was a centre for disseminating the practices of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* according to the "Kiyai's own practice," since he did not receive his appointment from Shaykh Ṭolḥah until 1908. The Islamic circle eventually moved from Tundagan to Cisero and finally in 1901/02, to Godebag village located on the upper side of Citanduy River. The location is close to a very active street -- a shortcut between Ciawi and Cirebon via Panimbangan, Panjalu, Kwali and Kuningan, very strategic in terms of travel. It was in 1905, in this village (Godebag) that he finally established Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. It was not long afterward that he was appointed formally as leader of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* by Shaykh Ṭolḥah, in around the year 1908, when he was 72 years of age.

The response given by the community to his circle was relatively widespread and positive. However, then as always, there were different views on the teachings of the *ṭarīqa*, especially on the part of those who distrusted them, not the least of whom were the Dutch colonial officials. Nevertheless, the greatest challenge to

[17] Unang Sunardjo, Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah Abad Kedua Puluh, 22-23.

ṭarīqa practices and to Abah Sepuh came not from the Dutch but from a part of the community that believed that *ṭarīqa* activities were an unwelcome innovation (*bid'a*). This accusation, however, became weaker over time due to the patience and the sincerity shown by Abah Sepuh and his followers -- a tradition that has been continued by Abah Anom up to the present. Nevertheless, at the beginning of its dissemination by Abah Sepuh, the TQN ran into many obstacles.

In 1907, Shaykh Ṭolḥah came on a visit to observe the activities of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya and to show his pride in his disciple, Abah Sepuh. In one of his moments of insight, Shaykh Ṭolḥah declared that Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya would one day become the centre of the development of *Ṭarīqa Qādiriya wa Naqshabadiyya*, and ensure its prosperity in the future.[18]

The dissemination of the TQN from Cirebon to Suryalaya was also strengthened by the bonds of marriage established between the son of Shaykh Tolhah, Raden H.K. Munadi, and the daughter of Abah Sepuh, H. Sukanah. What was originally a relationship between a teacher and a student thus became one of family ties.[19]

In the political arena, Abah Sepuh was appointed as an advisor to the district head of Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, and Bandung from 1910 to 1930 and again as an advisor to the Indonesian Army Council in the war for independence -- 1945-1949, a post that he continued to hold until 1956. One important point that should

[18] Achmad Sanusi, "Abah Sepuh dan Pembentukan TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, (Tasikmalaya: Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah, 1990), .99.

[19] Juhaya S. Praja & Zaenal Abidin Anwar, "Pengaruh TQN Pondok Pesantren di Dalam dan di Luar Negeri," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 198.

be mentioned here is that Abah Sepuh had for a long time disseminated the TQN in secret, as it was prohibited by the Dutch at the time; indeed, he was even put in prison for such activities. He also prevented the assassination of the *Bupati* (head of district) of Ciamis by the communists in 1926, and later refused to cooperate with Japanese colonial officials during their occupation of Java in the Second World War. Indirectly, together with Hājjī Dahlan Mahmud, he assisted the Indonesian army against the Dutch after the country gained its independence (1945-1950), and successfully persuaded R.A.A. Wiranata Kusumah to surrender and transfer his loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia. He also opposed the revolt of the DI/TII by Kartosuwiryo.[20]

The title of Abah Sepuh seems to have been bestowed on him in 1952, when he was 116 years old. By this time he had already prepared his fifth son, Abah Anom, to succeed him as leader of the order. From that time onward, TQN disciples called them Abah Sepuh (old father) and Abah Anom (young father). Abah Sepuh had a number of other titles and names, for example, Ajengan Godebag, Kiyai Godebag, and Shaykh Mubarak. For his security and health, Abah Sepuh at that point moved to Tasikmalaya, where he lived out his days in the house of his disciple, Ḥājjī O. Sobari. He passed away on January 25, 1956, at the age of 120.[21]

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[20] Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 90 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya: Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1995), 15. R.A.A. Wiranata Kusumah was the head of Pasundan (*wali negara* Pasundan), a kind of a "toy country" that was founded by the Dutch in west Java. See also Achmad Sanusi, "Abah Sepuh dan Pembentukan TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," 101-104. See also Unang Sunardjo, Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah Abad kedua Puluh, 28-30.

[21] Achmad Sanusi, "Abah Sepuh dan Pembentukan TQN Podok Pesantren Suryalaya," 104. According to a book written by Abah Sepuh's Daughter, Mrs. Didah Rosidah, Abah Sepuh passed away on

During his lifetime Abah Sepuh was married to a succession of wives, but only one at a time. By his first wife Jubaedah [Zubayda of Tasikmalaya], he had a daughter, Siti Sufiah, and by his third wife Siti Juhriyah of Ciawi, he had a total of eight children: Siti Sukanah, Muhammad Malik, A. Mahmud Abdullah, H. Sa'adah, Abah Anom, Nur Wasi'ah, Didah Rosidah, and Siti Sumayah Juhriyah. By his fifth wife, Mrs. Enok he had Noor Anom Mubarok. By contrast, Abah Sepuh had no children from his second wife, Mrs Mulki of Tasikmalaya, nor by his fourth, sixth and seventh wives. By 1995, Abah Sepuh's progeny included 52 grandchildren.[22]

c. The Establishment and Early Development of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya

The general pattern in the history of Sufism is that wherever the followers of *ṭarīqa* become numerous, a *zāwiya* or a *khānaqa,* is usually established. Some of these developed into centres of economic activities, education and even became political centres. In Indonesia, the first centres of the dissemination of Islam, especially in Java (e.g., in Ampel and Giri), tended to be extensions of the Indian *zāwiya* system. These later developed into the *pondok*, or the *pesantren* system, as it is known today. However, the fact is that not every *pesantren* functions as a centre

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January 1, 1956. See Didah Rosidah Mubarok, Riwayat Abah Sepuh (Syekh H. Abdullah Mubarok bin Noor Muhammad) Pendiri Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Tasikmalaya Jabar (Tasikmalaya, 1986), 33.

[22] Unang Sunardjo, Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah Abad kedua Puluh, 41-42. Instead of A. Mahmud Abdullah, Sunardjo mentions H.A. Dahlan. Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 95 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, (Tasikmalaya: Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 2000), 17. See also, Achmad Sanusi, "Abah Sepuh dan Pembentukan TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 95.

of a *ṭarīqa* movement; rather, it is chiefly an institution for Islamic learning.[23] The case of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya is different, however, in that, since its establishment, its primary function has been that of a *ṭarīqa pesantren.*

The complex of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya is located in a beautiful valley, flanked by two mountains, Mount Cakrabuana and Mount Sawal. Behind it flows the river of Citanduy, the natural boundary between the regencies of Ciamis and Tasikmalaya. The *pesantren* is situated in a fertile area and it enjoys a cool climate. For many years, it was at the center of the territory dominated by the forces of the Darul Islam movement, led by Kartosuwiryo, who took refuge in the region in the 1950's. Pesantren Suryalaya is located 9.5 kilometers from the main Bandung-Tasikmalaya road when turning north about 30 kilometers before Tasikmalaya. This side-road leading to the *pesantren* and the nearby town of Suryalaya passes through busy, densely populated villages, and although the road is not sealed in places, is still traversible by vehicles.[24]

At present, on entering the *pesantren* complex of Suryalaya, one finds a group of houses centered around a large two-floor mosque, named Nurul Asror [Nūr

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[23] Nurcholish Madjid, "Tasawuf dan Pesantren," in Pesantren dan Pembaharuan, ed. Dawam Rahardjo, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974), 104.

[24] Soebakin Soebardi, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Suryalaya in West Java," in Spectrum: Essays presented to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana on his Seventieth Birthday, ed. S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), 218. For recent accounts of the Darul Islam movement in west Java, see C. van Dijk, Rebellion Under the Banner of Islam The Darul Islam in Indonesia (Leiden: The Hague-Martinus Nijhoff, 1981); Hiroko Horikoshi, "The Darul Islam Movement in West Java (1948-1962): An Experience in the Historical Process" in Indonesia 20, (1975): 59-86; Karl Jackson and Johannes Moeliono, "Participation in Rebellion: The Darul Islam in West Java" in Political Participation in Modern Indonesia, R. William Liddle ed. (New Haven: Yale University, (1973): 1-57; and Pinardi, Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo (Jakarta: Aryaguna, 1964). The full address of the *pesantren* is Tanjungkerta village, sub-district Pagerageung, district Tasikmalaya. P.O. Box 1 Panumbangan Tasikmalaya.

al-Asrār]. On the left side, in front of the mosque, there is a house in which the present head, Abah Anom, and his family reside. The minaret of the mosque, adorned with a pinnacle carrying the word "Allah," written in Arabic script is brightly illuminated by turbine-generated electric lights at night, shining in the midst of the dark valley. The bright word of Allah is seen as a symbol of the light of purity in the hearts of men, the essence of the *pesantren*'s teachings.

In addition to school buildings, there are also two dormitories, one for boys which is located close to the school buildings and the office of the legal foundation (yayasan), and another for girls located behind the *kiyai*'s house. In a separate location there is the large campus of the Institute of Islamic Studies Latifah Mubarokiyah. In addition to rooms for lectures, the campus has a huge, versatile hall that can be utilized for conferences, meetings, exhibitions, or even indoor sports activities. There is also a library and a mosque in the complex of the institute. All the activities of the *pesantren* itself are directed towards its objective, which is to give instruction and training in the practice of the TQN based on the principles and the main goals formulated by Abah Anom. In brief, these are as follows: *taqarrub*, or approximation to Allah; securing the contentment of God (*marḍātillah),* i.e., the path blessed by Allah; acknowledgement and love of God (*ma'rifa* and *maḥabba)*; and intuitive and direct perception of God.[25]

The history of the development of the *pesantren* of Suryalaya, according to Abah Anom, has seen both good and bad times. The bad times included the Dutch

[25] Abah Anom, "Miftah al-Sudur," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution; and Abah Sepuh, Tanbih, in K.H.A.Sahibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin, Tanbih dan Azas Tujuan Thoreqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pesantren Suryalaya, 1976).

colonial period, as mentioned above, and also the period in which the *pesantren* was the victim of what Abah Anom calls 'slander'; namely, the accusation that the *pesantren*'s teachings deviated from the true teachings of Islam. These slanders were also repeated in the post-independence period. However, one cannot deny that due to the approach of the current *shaykh*, Abah Anom, the *pesantren* had achieved considerable success, not only through the development of its branches throughout the archipelago but also by its dissemination overseas, and especially with its program for rehabilitating youth involved in drug and narcotic misuse or in other cases of juvenile delinquency.

The *pesantren* has also attracted the attention of researchers who want to learn more about its activities. Beginning with Soebakin Soebardi of the Australian University, Canberra in 1973, this has continued with studies done by students of the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Padjadjaran University of Bandung, the Institute for Teaching and Education (IKIP) and Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

The various activities of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya also obviously receive much support from the local community, and from all strata of society: farmers, traders, intellectuals, and bureaucrats, even high officials of government. When Abah Anom is asked why the TQN attracts so many followers, his answer is that it does not deviate from Islamic teachings based on the *Qur'ān*, *Ḥadīth*, *Ijmā'* (consensus of *'ulamā'*) and *Qiyās* (reasoning analogy). He also uses the metaphor of sugar, explaining that it is not sugar that seeks the ant but the ant that seeks the

sugar. On the other hand, he also acknowledges other reasons; e.g., the compassion and attention extended to disciples (*murīd*); the order's encouragement of cooperation; the importance of mutual help and exchange of advice; and respect for higher ranking people and love for those of lower status.[26] According to the *pesantren*'s records, during 1994 alone some 11,000 people visited the *pesantren.* If a quarter of the number consisted of old *ikhwān*, this means that about 8,000 new *ikhwān* are initiated every year into the TQN of Suryalaya.[27]

With regard to its objectives, the *pesantren* has taken on a number of activities and roles to attain its aims, either through the formal educational system (beginning with kindergarten through university), or through the use of wide-spread non-formal educational methods, which include the activities of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya,* as well as other social services including Pondok Remaja Inabah and many others, which will be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter.

The raison d'être of the establishment of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya can be seen in its contribution to the spiritual development of the people of the region. Abah Anom's later decision to build Pondok Inabah to rehabilitate young drug addicts in addition to conventional Islamic education was an even more practical demonstration of the *pesantren*'s objectives. It is evidence not only of

[26] Personal interview with Abah Anom, Suryalaya, February-March 1999.

[27]Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 90 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 23. Unang Sunardjo's estimate of the total number of the *ikhwān* of TQN in 1995 was 2,5 million. See his work entitled Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah Abad kedua Puluh, 36.

Abah Anom's deep love of his country but also of his spiritual commitment to responding to the needs of society.

2. A Profile of Abah Anom, the Current Head of the Pesantren Suryalaya

a. Abah Anom's Early Life and Education

In Suryalaya, the teachings of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* were developed by two figures, Abah Sepuh, whom we have just met, and his son and successor, K.H.A. Shohibuwafa Tajul 'Arifin, better known as Abah Anom. The former explained the order's doctrines to his disciples through speeches in mosques and informal gatherings at people's homes. Therefore, it is not surprising that the teachings of the *ṭarīqa* were not meticulously recorded during that period. This has not been the case with his son, however, for Abah Anom has written down and developed the teachings gradually and over time, collecting them in a book entitled *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* (The Key to the Hearts). According to the author, the objective of this work is to convey to disciples the theory and practice of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya,* in order to achieve tranquility in worldly life and victory in the hereafter.[28]

The title Abah Anom, a Sundanese phrase meaning "Young Father/ Young *Kiyai*", was bestowed upon him because he was still young when he received the title of *kiyai.* Born on January 1, 1915 in Suryalaya, West Java, he was the fifth child

[28] The printed edition of Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr is included in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah Sejarah, Asal Usul dan Perkembangannya, Harun Nasution ed. (Tasikmalaya: Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah, 1991), 257.

of Abah Sepuh, the founder of Pesantren Suryalaya. His mother was Ḥajjah Juhriyah. Abah Anom has yet another name according to his sister Didah, whom I interviewed in March 1999, i.e., Mumun Zakarmudji (H. Shohib) [Ṣāḥib], a fact that she relates in her biography of their father.[29] He entered Dutch elementary school in Ciamis between 1923-1929, then went on to attend secondary school in Ciawi, Tasikmalaya (1929-1931). At the age of eighteen he was already serving as a *talqīn* agent[30] for his father, Abah Sepuh. He later studied the different Islamic sciences in many *pesantrens* in west Java; for example, in Cicariang (district of Cianjur), then in Pesantren Gentur and Jambudipa, then in Pesantren Cireungas, Cimalati (district of Sukabumi) where he acquired a knowledge of *ḥikma* and *ṭarīqa,* as well as of the art of physical self-defense, known as *silat.* Abah Anom also practiced spiritual exercises (*riyāḍa)* under the guidance of his father. He also often visited (*ziyāra)* the graves of saints while studying in Pesantren Kaliwungu, Kendal (Central Java). Later on, he went to Bangkalan, accompanied by his older brother, H.A. Dahlan and Abah Sepuh's representative, K.H. Paqih [Faqīh] for Talaga Majalengka.[31]

Abah Anom married Euis Ru'yanah in 1938 at the age of twenty-three, then in the same year went to Mecca accompanied by his nephew Simri Hasanuddin and stayed there for 7 months to pursue further studies. He studied *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqa*

[29] Didah Rosidah Mubarok, Riwayat Abah Sepuh (Suryalaya, 1986), 17.

[30] *Talqīn* literally means instruction. Here it means that Abah Anom represented his father in initiating new disciples.

[31] Unang Sunardjo, Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, 43.

with Shaykh Romly of Garut, a representative of Abah Sepuh who dwelt in Jabal Qubaysh, near Mecca. On his return in 1939, he helped his father with the teaching at Pesantren Suryalaya and later assisted him even further during the war for independence (1945-1949). In 1953, he was appointed to lead the Pesantren Suryalaya and to act as Abah Sepuh's representative.

During the period 1953-1962, Abah Anom was active in helping the Indonesian Army Council resist the Kartosuwiryo rebellion. During 1962-1995, he rendered further assistance to the government in the Suryalaya region in the sectors of agriculture, education, environment, social, health, cooperation and politics. He earned much praise from government circles as a result, winning awards from agencies such as the Satya Lencana Bhakti Social (Indonesian Award for Social Dedication) and the Kalpataru (an award given to those who make an outstanding contribution to preserving the environment), etc.

Abah Anom also succeeded in disseminating the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* in Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and Thailand. Since 1980, he has established to date twenty-two Pondok Inabahs for the treatment of substance abusers; over this 20 year period these centers have cured some 9,000 young people of drug addiction. Pondok Inabahs were also established by him in Singapore and Malaysia.[32]

[32] The success of Abah Anom is noted by Martin van Bruinessen in his article, "L'Asie du Sud–Est," in Les voies d'Allah: les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam des origines à aujourd'hui, ed. Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Fayard, 1996), 284.

From his marriage with Mrs. Euis Ru'yanah (who, sadly, passed away in 1978) he had thirteen children: Dudun Nursaidudin,[33] Aos Husni Falah, Nonong, Didin Hidir Arifin, Noneng Hesyati, Endang Ja'far Sidik, Otin Khadijah, Kankan Zulkarnaen, Memet Ruhimat, Ati Unsuryati, Ane Utia Rohyane, Baban Ahmad Jihad and Nia Nur Iryanti. By his second wife, Yoyoh Sofiah, whom he married in 1978, he has had one son, Ujang Muhammad Mubarok Qodiri, born in 1986.[34]

Abah Anom's succession to the leadership of the Suryalaya *pesantren* in 1956 was a smooth one. He had been carefully groomed by his father for many years prior to that time. Almost immediately after he took up this post, however, security became a major concern when Suryalaya came under attack from the DI/TII (Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia) movement of Kartosuwiryo. This insurgency, which extended over a period of twelve years (1950-1962), was especially dangerous, as Kartosuwiryo knew that Abah Anom and his elder brother H.A. Dahlan (a chief village of Tanjung Kerta) opposed the movement. In fact, they and their followers even took up arms in the struggle, receiving assistance from Indonesian National Army Batallion 309. Among those still alive who fought alongside them are H. Dudun Nur Saidudin (Abah Anom's son) and H. Anta, one of Abah Sepuh's disciples (whom I interviewed).[35] In 1962, Abah Anom received an award from the Regiment

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[33] Dudun Nur Saidudin, is one of the three persons mentioned in the letter of decree of Abah Anom Number 211.PPS.X.1998, concerning the management of the *pesantren*. The other two names are K.H. Noor Anom Mubarrak B.A. and K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar, all of whom I met in person, while pursuing my research in Suryalaya, February-April 1999.

[34] At present, his name has changed to Ahmad Masykur Firdaus. See Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan Ulang Tahun ke 95 PP Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti, 2000), 17.

[35] Unang Sunardjo, Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, 32-33.

Gunung Djati Batallion 329 for his contributions to regional security. Another award was given to Abah Anom for his efforts in the agriculture and irrigation sectors, and yet another award was presented to him in 1961, by the Governor of west Java, Mashudi, for his pioneering work in utilizing modern technology in agriculture.

In the period 1962-1966 (just prior to the New Order era), the Suryalaya *pesantren* received as guests many high-ranking officials, intellectuals and public figures. They showed their respect to Abah Anom for his successes despite the challenges and difficulties he had faced, and for anticipating various signs of progress in conjunction with the changing situation of the country. In order to ensure that it could continue to achieve such goals in future, the Pesantren Suryalaya established in 1961 a foundation named Yayasan Serba Bakti. This was, in fact, undertaken at the suggestion of H. Sewaka, Governor of West Java for the years 1947-1952, and minister of defense for the period 1952-1953, who was at the same time an *ikhwān* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*.[36]

The Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya has played a significant role in furthering educational, political, social and economical reforms in the region. It has advanced the efforts undertaken by the *pesantren* in these areas. It reflects the personality of Abah Anom, a leader who possesses a broad intellect, a great deal of knowledge and very deep piety. He has experienced difficulties in his

[36] Unang Sunardjo, Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Pusat Pengembangan Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, 34.

life but he is patient, courageous and very humble.[37] He is consistent and loyal to the legacy of Abah Sepuh and is a hard-working leader.

b. Abah Anom's Views on the Role of the *Ṭarīqa* in Society

Abah Anom has very definite views on the topic of the social role of Sufism. He criticizes western orientalists who have pursued research on Sufism for various deficiencies in their observations, arguing that *taṣawwuf* is a difficult subject and one not to be touched upon by those who do not fully recognize Islam. Some aspects of *taṣawwuf*, for example, such as knowledge and spiritual exercise (*riyāḍa*), require an investment of the self in the form of a taste (*dhawq*), or feeling of religiosity -- in this case, the sense of being Muslim. According to Abah Anom, those scholars who do not believe in the truth of Islam can easily be misled in their interpretations.

Abah Anom's point of view is understood and echoed by W.C. Chittick, for example, who sees it as particularly applicable to western scholars' studies on *dhikr*. Chittick observes that the latter usually "neglect the centrality of its concept in the Qur'ān where the term is employed"[38] and instead emphasize more the physical, bodily movements and techniques of concentration performed by various Sufi orders, even though such activities have not always been of primary interest within the Sufi tradition itself.

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[37] This attitude has been recognized by those who have met him, especially by important figures who later become his *talqīn* agents, such as K.H. Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul and K.H. Zezen Zainal Abidin Zayadi Bazul Asyhab.

[38] William C. Chittick,"*Dhikr*," in E R, vol. 4., 341.

This mistake is likewise commonly made by Muslims who only want to know what *taṣawwuf* is. Abah Anom bases his definition on *sūrat* Yūnus 64 and a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh): "All life in this world should become a life of the hereafter." An explanation of the above verse and *hadith* is offered by Shaykh 'Abd al- Qādir al-Jīlānī: "All wealth is your servant while you should be a servant of God the Almighty.[39]

Abah Anom has a very broad understanding of the role of the TQN, of the relationship between society, religion and state, and of *'ilm al-kalām, fiqh* and *taṣawwuf.* While the core of his teachings may be found preserved in his work *Miftāḥ al Ṣudūr,* and his explanation of the *wird,* so characteristic of the practice of TQN, in another of his works (*'Uqūd al-Jumān*), his views on how to behave in a society, in a nation and in a state are to be found in his *Tanbih dan Azas Tujuan Thoreqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah,* where he refers constantly to the *Tanbīh* of Abah Sepuh.

The *Tanbih* is a religious admonition that was given by Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom on February 13, 1956 in the form of commandments (*waṣiyya)* that were to be transmitted to all *ikhwān,* men and women, old and young. Abah Sepuh said:

> We are the place where people come with their questions on the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya,* and we present with full sincerity a *waṣiyya* to all disciples, which is to be careful in everything, and not to perform acts that are against the rules of religion and country. Obey both of these appropriately -- that is the attitude of a human being who is firm in his belief, more precise and

[39] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin (Abah Anom), "Speech of the Elder of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution (Tasikmalaya: Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah, 1990), ix-x.

> able to manifest his willingness to serve both religion and country and show obedience to God. These acts show themselves as proofs of the command of religion and country. Understand O disciples, and do not be tempted by bad desires, or influenced by the temptations of the devil. Be aware of the wrong path that goes against the order of religion and country in order to avoid being interested in the whispers of devils that always creep stealthily into the depths of our hearts."[40]

For Abah Anom, the TQN provides the best path towards achieving these ideals. He points to the goals that are always recited after *ṣalāt*: *Ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'tinī maḥabbataka wama'rifatak*, meaning, "O my God, it is only you whom I strive for and you whose will I seek; give me ability to love you and know you". This *du'ā'* is recited by the *ikhwān* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* twice during daily spiritual exercises after the five obligatory prayers. He then identifies three significant meanings behind this *du'ā'*: first, closeness (*taqarrub)* with God Almighty, meaning to make oneself closer to God through worship until there is no veil between the worshipper (*'ābid)* and the One who is worshipped (*ma'būd)*, or between the creator (*khāliq)* and the creatures (*makhlūq)*; second, facing towards the path that is willed by God both within worship and outside it, for in every action, a human being should follow the orders of God and refrain from what He prohibits; and third, the love and knowledge of God Almighty, i.e., the sense of love for, coupled with clear knowledge of, God, "the essence to Whom nothing is similar/ *laysa kamithlihi shay'*," the love that consists of strength of spirit and honesty of heart. If love grows, wisdom will appear, along

[40] Abah Sepuh, Tanbih in K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin, Tanbih dan Azas Tujuan Thoreqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah, 8-9.

with other qualities, making people truly honest in both inwardly and outwardly. One will be able to act justly, and to assign a thing in its own place. From the transmission of love will come a feeling of love toward all creatures, as well as, for example, love of other countries and their nations and religions.[41]

From the above, we may surmise that Abah Anom recognizes that the TQN is not the only way to achieve the objectives mentioned above, and we would be correct, for he also respects other *ṭarīqas*.[42] This can be seen also in his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, where he makes many references to the *Shādhiliyya* and *Kubrawiyya,* in addition to Qādiri teachings and the works of Naqshbandī Sufi teachers.[43]

Certain qualifications are likewise required of a *murshid*, including: that he be intelligent in ways that attach him to the Prophet (pbuh); that he be a religious scholar (*'ālim*), who is able to guide people; that he avoid loving the world and its glory; that he train himself, among other things, to eat less, sleep less and not speak unless it be necessary; that he perform more *ṣalāt*, *ṣadaqa* and fasting; that he behave with a good character, being patient, grateful, surrendering himself only to God, certain, generous, full of contentment (*qanā'a)*, kind, humble, honest, shy

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[41] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin, Tanbih dan Azas Tujuan Thoreqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pesantren Suryalaya, 1976), 5-7.

[42] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 134.

[43] Abah Anom, Miftah al-Sudur, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 278. In my interview with him, he said that he knows well K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, the *murshid* of *ṭarīqa Idrīsiyya* Cisayong, Tasikmalaya as well as K.H. Musta'in Romly, the *murshid* of the TQN of Peterongan Jombang, east Java. He also knew of the JATM (N) when this *ṭarīqa* organisation was led by the latter (personal interview, Suryalaya, March 1999).

(*ḥayā'*), true to his promise, punctual, polite, etc.[44] This *murshid* is to serve as an example second only to the Prophet (pbuh) through the *silsila* of *nūriyyāt* (the chain of inner attitude/light), as opposed to the *silsila* of the *dhurriyyāt* (the chain of physical genealogy). The ideal *murshid* is a light (*nūr)* of the lights of the prophets. He must be followed, however, as he seldom comes into existence and may be hard to find -- a task even more difficult than locating "the red sulphur."[45]

The *Tanbih* also defines the ideal relationship between human beings, stating that an *ikhwān* should demonstrate certain social virtues (which are derived from purity):

> 1.Towards the people who are higher than us, in terms of their inner or outer state, we have to show respect. This should be done by living together in harmony and showing mutual respect.
> 2.Towards those who are on a similar level with us in all matters, do not engage in dispute; on the contrary, one should maintain an attitude of humbleness, working together for the sake of the order of religion and country. Do not promote quarrels and disputes so as to avoid the consequences mentioned in His saying: "*'adhābun alīm*/ the great disaster" meaning eternal sadness, from the life in this world through to the hereafter. (in which body and soul suffer).

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[44] Muḥammad Haqqī al-Nāzilī, Khazīnat Al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār (Semarang: Usaha Keluarga, n.d.),194,

[45] The belief put forward by alchemists was that red sulphur could transform silver into gold: this is the sense in which Ibn 'Arabī uses the term in the *Tadbīrāt ilāhiyya*, ed. Nyberg, 219. The expression is often used in Sufi vocabulary as a metaphor indicating the excellence of the spiritual level attained by a saint. Ibn 'Arabī himself is often referred to by his disciples as *kibrīt al-aḥmar* (*kibrīt-i aḥmar*). 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d..973/1565) used the expression as the title for one of the works he devoted to the teachings of the Ibn 'Arabi (*Al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar fī Bayān 'Ulūm al-Shaykh* al-Akbar, Cairo, 1369 A.H. in the margin of the *Yawāqīt wa al-Jawāhir*). In a quotation from the *Kitāb al-Isrā'* (The Book of the Journey by Night) used as an epigraph to this book -- Ibn 'Arabī says: "Tell me, friend, which place you want me to take you to..." – The answer is the city of the Messenger, in search of the station of Radiance and the Red Sulphur. The pilgrim sets out in search of 'the city of the Messenger' which is none other than the 'inheritance' reserved for whoever attains to the Station of Muhammad. See Claude Addas, Quest for the Red Sulphur The Life of Ibn 'Arabī, trans. Peter Kingsley (Cambridge: The Islamic Text Society, 1993), 4, 112. There may be an allusion here to the alleged Tradition,"the believer is rarer and more precious than red sulphur." For an explanation of this prophetic tradition, see Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shirwānī, Kashf al-Ma'ārif (Tehran, 1971), 11. See also Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondmen from Origin to Return, 491.

> 3.Towards people who are of a lower condition than us, do not insult them or do anything bad to them, and do not be arrogant. Rather, one should be sympathetic in order that they feel happy, not scared or wild as if they feel their heart rending. On the contrary, they should be guided with gentle advice that will make them aware that they should walk on the path of truth.
> 4.Towards the poor (*faqīr miskīn*), one should be gentle, kind, nice and generous, which shows our heart's awareness. Try to feel it yourself, how sad you would be if you were wanting. Therefore, do not be unconcerned, but be happy with your own state, for their being poor is not their own will, but is the *qudra* (power) of God.[46]

Tolerance towards other religions is also counseled, based on the example given by the prophet (pbuh). Abah Sepuh furthermore states that religious matters depend entirely on individual religions, for *sūrat* al-Kāfirūn (109:6) says that, "your religion is yours, my religion is mine." In his eyes, therefore, should not be a matter of dispute, since "we are obliged to live in peace and harmony, showing mutual respect but not interference."[47]

The concept of the chain of pearls (*untaian mutiara*) of Abah Sepuh -- a vision of mutual respect -- has also been adopted and put into practice by Abah Anom. This advises believers "not to hate the current *'ulamā'*, not to find fault with other people's teachings, not to observe other peoples' students, not to stop working although feeling hurt by people, and one must be merciful to people who hate one."

For Abah Anom, loyalty to the doctrines of Islam entails unconditional obedience to the state. It therefore comes as no surprise that Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya has supported the legitimate government of Indonesia ever since its establishment. It is the Sunni position that to establish a country is an obligation

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[46] Abah Sepuh, Tanbih, in K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin, Tanbih dan Azas Tujuan Thoreqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah, 9-10.

[47] Ibid., 11-12.

based on the *sharī'a,* although how to establish is a matter for human reason. Therefore, obedience to a legitimate government established by one's fellow believers is an obligation.[48]

The Pesantren Suryalaya thus continuously reminds its students (*santris*) to love the country and the nation. This view is upheld, for example, every August 16, when the *pesantren* performs the ceremony of *tahlilan* and offers special *du'ā'* (and even *ṣalāt sunna shukr),* for the blessing (*ni'ma)* of independence.[49]

The *Tanbih* states: "Let us hope that the head of state will steadily increase his glory and greatness. So that he can give protection and guidance to the whole people in an atmosphere of peace, justice and prosperity, outwardly and inwardly."

Abah Anom has tried to implement in practice the advice of the *Tanbih.* People may observe that in the *pesantren* there are no signs of anti-establishment feeling or of opposition on the part of Abah Anom either to the radical understanding of Islam or to traditional Islam. His *pesantren* is open to anybody who seeks the peace of Islam. The *ikhwān* wear ordinary clothes, not uniforms, nor do they walk about with rosary beads in their hands. By contrast, some *pesantrens* in Banten and Cirebon still advocate non-co-operation with the ruling power, both local and central. In Banten, a small *pesantren ṭarīqa* located in a very isolated area

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[48] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1990), 139.This does not of course mean blind obedience, for the obligation did not apply at all during the era before independence. That is why, in both eras, PP Suryalaya was regarded with such high respect as a religious institution. Its commitment to Golkar during the New Order, however, can be seen from the perspective not only of Sunni political theory but also from that of immediate political consideration.

[49] This is stated in the *maklumat* of Abah Anom number 29.PPS.VIII.90. See Yusuf Hamzah and Ayat Hidayat, "Lampiran II Organisasi dan Kelembagaan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 381.

not far from the town of Pandeglang, requires permission in advance to visit, and there white Sufi clothes and a black cap (*pici*) are obligatory for a visit to the *kiyai*.[50]

Abah Anom is furthermore very strict about observance of the *Tanbih*. It is a key part of the guidance the TQN gives to its *ikhwān* and it reflects the Sunnī point of view in many ways. Abah Anom tries to develop mutual understanding between himself, the *ikhwān* and the government. This is very important for the maintenance of the *pesantren*.[51] From the government's perspective, also, the *pesantren* plays an essential role, for in light of the great influence of Abah Anom, they want to ensure peace and stability in the region, especially in Tasikmalaya, Banten, Garut and the surrounding areas in west Java. Under Dutch and Japanese rule, the *ṭarīqa* in these districts served as the focus of rural protest and political extremism.[52]

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[50] Soebakin Soebardi, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Suryalaya in West Java," 231-233.

[51] This does not mean that his policy always agrees with the government's. One can cite many occasions on which he has shown his independence, such as when he withdrew his support for Soekarno and instead poured his energy into trying to rehabilitate the ex-Communists who wanted to return to the Islamic path. His efforts were respected by Jawatan Rohani Islam Kodam VI Siliwangi and the Governor of west Java. See Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 123. Another example, at the end of the New Order era, was that Abah Anom did not explicitly ask the *ikhwān* of the TQN to follow him in voting for Golkar. This political attitude was a dramatic reversal of his advice before the previous election. Azra comments that, actually, Abah Anom's political choice for Golkar was not his "own" decision but rather the result of macro-political conditions which "forced" him to do so. By these conditions he is referring to the excessive dominance of Golkar, especially in the general elections preceding that one (personal interview with Azyumardi Azra, Montreal, October 4, 2000).

[52] For the Banten Revolt see Sartono Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888 its Conditions, Course and Sequel A Case Study of Social Movement in Indonesia ('S Gravenhague-Martinus Nijhoff, 1966). The Cimareme Revolt in 1918 is better known as the Revolt of the Sarekat Islam (section B), see Holt (1972: 71-125). The Sukamanah uprising in Singaparna was led by K.H. Zainal Mustafa against Japanese Military Government in 1944; and Kartosuwiryo's Darul Islam in East Priangan near Tasikmalaya in 1948. On November 6, 1972, the Indonesian government awarded K.H. Zainal Mustafa the posthumous title of National Hero (Pahlawan Nasional) see Kompas, January 24, 1973. See Soebakin Soebardi, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Suryalaya in West Java," 233.

c. The Perception of Pesantren Suryalaya

Abah Anom's work is often discussed in the various mass media, such as *Bandung Pos, Kompas, Pelita, Sinar Harapan, Monalisa, Femina* and many others.[53] They usually report on Abah Anom's public speeches, in which he expands on his views regarding life and faith. In one report, the *Bandung Pos* related his message that the progress of the world is impossible unless there is provision for life in the hereafter; while by the same token, happiness cannot be achieved if worldly life is neglected -- both aspects should be in balance.[54] Troubles in life, with all its anxieties, as well as straying from the faith -- all of which are experienced by every human being -- can only be solved by returning to the path that is willed by God. One of the most effective ways to achieve this, according to Abah Anom, is through the process of *talqīn* and *tawajjuh dhikr*.[55]

> The *Bandung Pos* for August 13, 1983 carried a story about how Abah Anom
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> > Once caught a thief then released him with the stolen goods and even asked him to come back once every month to receive a living allowance from him. On another occasion Abah Anom hugged a drug victim tightly, despite the youth's dislike for him and even hatred. Abah Anom does this because he believes that drug victims are people who need personal attention as well as Islamic teachings.

Concerning this figure, see Harry J. Benda, The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Japanese Occupation 1942-1945 (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1958), 160; Momon, Pemberontakan Sukamanah terhadap Imperialisme Jepang di Pulau Djawa [The revolt of Pesantren Sukamanah against Japanese Imperialis at Java] (B.A.) thesis, IKIP (Bandung), (1968), 36-39; and Sjarief Hidayat, Riwayat Perdjuangan Kiai Hadji Zainal Mustafa [Account of Kiaji Hadji Zainal Mustafa's struggles] (n.p.: 1970), 115-116.

[53] Arief Ichwani AS., "Berbagai Pandangan dan Berita tentang TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 235.

[54] Bandung Pos, October 31, 1980.

[55] Kompas, August 12, 1983.

In a 1985 issue of *Pelita* a columnist wrote:

> In performing his job as head of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Abah Anom holds to the principles of modern management by sharing power and tasks with others who are capable and understand how to perform their tasks. That is why he has appointed *talqin* agents in various areas to work together with the branch committees of Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya on questions of formal education and also with the head of Pondok Inabah to heal drug victims.[56]

In the same year, *Sinar Harapan* reported that although Abah Anom has cured many victims of drug addiction, he always appears very simple and very humble before everyone. When a group of Indonesian artists were expressing their admiration for his works, with his sincere smile he said: " This place simply functions to heal our brother's mental sufferings."[57]

In 1986, the *Bandung Pos* quoted Abah Anom as saying that he had been offered a position as professor in the field of *taṣawwuf,* but had refused the offer. His attention by that time was entirely focused on the establishment of a system of Islamic higher education in his *pesantren.*[58]

Comments on the activities of Abah Anom are not only to be found in newspapers but also in many magazines, among others, *Monalisa,* in which one journalist wrote of how Abah Anom has a simple personality though it makes one

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[56] Pelita, August 12, 1985.

[57] Sinar Harapan, September 8, 1985.

[58] Bandung Pos, February 26, 1986.

tremble, and that he is a charismatic leader, whose calmness and kindness gives the impression of one endowed with great spiritual strength.[59]

Another monthly magazine, *Femina,* carried the story of the experience of the head of Pondok Remaja Inabah I Cibeureum, K.H. Anang Syah, who, when he wanted to resign, went to Abah Anom. When he sat before Abah Anom, the latter all of a sudden called to his favorite cat, and it did exactly what he ordered it to do. Anang Syah thereupon changed his mind, reasoning that if a cat can carry out simple orders, why couldn't he? Eventually he returned to his post and returned to the task of helping delinquent youth.[60]

The visitors who come to Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya come as individuals or groups, and often number in the hundreds and even thousands, every single day. The *pesantren* is open 24 hours, and the mosque, Nurul Asror, located in the *pesantren,* is a popular destination. Arif Ichwanie makes and collects notes on the impressions of visitors. Their views can be divided into the following categories: opinions on Abah Anom, views concerning the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya as a whole, reactions to the Inabah and statements regarding education in both its formal and informal aspects at the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.

Regarding the figure of Abah Anom, a visitor from Singapore, Abdul Ghaffar ibn Ibrahim spoke of how impressed he was by the performance of Abah Anom. He had the feeling that Abah Anom functions almost like a parent, for he

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[59] Monalisa, October 25, 1985.

[60] Femina, June 3, 1986.

showed him the way that is favored by God and demonstrated how one should act in this world; he expected that he would come see him again and ask for his *du'ā'*.

Another visitor from Malaysia, Mohammad Sa'ad ibn Dihman, who had heard about Suryalaya through a friend, came there to meet Abah Anom, and was impressed by his hospitality and remarkable record service.

Mohammad Alam ibn Haji Ahmad of Sabah, Malaysia spoke of how he was grateful to Abah Anom for his advice, which would serve as his guiding principles for the rest of his life and into the hereafter. He felt more peaceful and more courageous about facing the problems of life, for he felt closer to God.

Even some famous Indonesian artists, such as Titiek Puspa, Eddy Sud and Muchsin Alatas, were impressed by Abah Anom's personality, especially his guidance in helping them not only to know themselves, but also to know God in a real way. Once an artist from Jakarta asked Abah Anom whether he could continue his career as an artist while he was an *ikhwān* of TQN. Abah Anom answered that he is not only allowed but that he should continue to do so, for it is his profession. He reminded him however "when you are singing, your heart should always be making *dhikr* towards God."[61]

In trying to continue his father's work, Abah Anom is aware of the many blessings (*baraka*) he has inherited from him, especially his father's spiritual power, which is guarded and strengthened by this *baraka*. The tomb of Shaykh Mubarak in the *pesantren* complex is in fact, regarded as a holy tomb and an important factor in

[61] Buddy Munawwar Rahman dan Asep Usman Ismail,"Cinta Tuhan Di Tempat Matahari Terbit, Tarekat Qaddiriyah-Naqhsyabandiyah di Suryalaya," Ulumul Qur'an 8 (1991): 102.

the continued existence of, and support for, the TQN of Suryalaya. Apart from the spiritual power inherited from his deceased father, Abah Anom possesses strong personal magnetism. In addition to that, he has mastered Islamic law (*fiqh*), theology (*'ilm al-kalām*), and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), the three most important branches of Islamic knowledge. He is skilled at giving sermons in his regional language, which is Sundanese.[62] He is also fluent in *Bahasa* Indonesia and Arabic.

To disseminate and to further the progress of the TQN, Abah Anom relies also on his family, especially his children, and his nephew. Many of them play an important role in the committee structure of the Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. In a personal interview, he expressed the hope that they would bring a special sense of commitment to achieving the objectives of the TQN.[63]

In addition, among his *talqīn* agents, Abah Anom is known as a figure who is familiar with the *Kitab Kuning* (Islamic classical works), which he diligently reads and puts into practice.[64] One may notice this familiarity from the references he makes in his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*. We shall also see, in the next sub-chapter of this

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[62] There are some Sundanese books published by the Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, for example: Bidayatussalikin (Diajar Ngambah Ma'rifat Ka Allah) (Tasikmalaya), 1982 written by K.H. Syihabuddin Suhrowardi; and Bayanutasdiq (Ngajelaskeun Dina Kabenerannana Ma'rifatna Ahli Hakekat) written by K.H. Syihabuddin Suhrowardi (Tasikmalaya, 1975); See also the Sundanesse text Sinar Hate written by Ny. H. Djoehriah Besman bint H. Abdullah Mubarok (*Ibu* Yoeyoe), Abah Anom's sister (Bandung: Kembang Sepatu, 1988).

[63] Suryalaya, personal interview, March 1999.

[64] This fact is noted by K.H. Zezen Zainal Abidin Zayadi Bazul Asyhab. I was fortunate at one time to be able to witness the latter fulfilling the request of Abah Anom to read a certain work of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilani. If I remember correctly, the book was al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya. According to Kiyai Zezen, Abah Anom's decision to ask such a thing is unpredictable. "It is just like an alarm clock, if it is not the time to ring, it will not." This event was also witnessed by Maj. Gen. (retired) H. Sukriya Atmaja and my husband, Mohamad Asrori Cholil. Suryalaya, March, 1999.

thesis, the key role that the *kitab kuning* play in the curriculum of study in the Pesantren Suryalaya.

Abah Anom's writings will also be examined later in this thesis, particularly his works: *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr li al-Tabarruk fī Ṭarīq al-Rabb al-Ghafūr al-Majmū' min Kalām al-'Ulamā' al-Kibar*, in Arabic; *'Uqud al-Jumān*; *Akhlāq al-Karīmah/Akhlāq al-Maḥmūdah Berdasarkan Mudawamatu Dzikrillah* and *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja*. The last three books are in the Indonesian language.

Abah Anom, as can be seen from the above, is a very strong and charismatic leader, having inherited many good qualities from his father Abah Sepuh. His own spiritual achievements have won a positive response from a wide audience, not only in his own country but also overseas. His genuine concern for all strata of society is reflected in his policies to establish a foundation (Yayasan Serba Bakti), his decision to share responsibilities with *talqīn* agents and to establish various social institutions within the *pesantren*. These also show his patriotism and national pride, as well as his adaptability to the challenges facing modern Indonesian society in general and Muslim believers in particular. His writings show a deep understanding of Islamic teachings and reflect his efforts to implement them in practice. As the elder (*sesepuh*) of Pondok Pesantren, Abah Anom plays different roles. He is consulted by committees at all levels of the Yayasan Serba Bakti, he is directly responsible for certain sections within the latter, he is the head and the chief resource person of the Pesantren Suryalaya and all its activities in general and perhaps most importantly, he is the *murshid* of the Suryalaya branch of the TQN.

3. The Educational Role of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* in Suryalaya

Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya offers formal as well as non-formal education to all members of Muslim society, both locally and in more distant locations. Its formal education system ranges from kindergarten to the university level, whereas the non-formal network reaches out to specific groups as well as to the current and potential disciples of the TQN.

a. Formal

The formal educational role of the *pesantren* began in 1957, with the foundation of the *Madrasah Diniyah Awwaliyah* (Elementary Religious School). Yet it was only with the establishment of the Yayasan Serba Bakti in the early sixties[65] that the pesantren was able to expand its educational network. The first step came in 1963, when the *Sekolah Menengah Islam Pertama* (Junior Islamic High School) was established, while in the same year the *Perguruan Tinggi Dakwah Islam* (Higher Education in Islamic *Da'wa*) program was launched by Lieutenant General Sudirman (father of Basofi, the ex-governor of East Java) and by Drs. Sholahuddin Sanusi (ex-rector of IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies) Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung). In 1967, the *Pendidikan Guru Agama* (Islamic Teacher Education) program was established, as well as the *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (Secondary Religious School) by formal council decision.

To complement its Islamic high school system, Suryalaya established the more secular-oriented *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior High School) in 1970

[65] The *Yayasan* was established as a legal entity, on March 11, 1961; see Yusuf Hamzah, "Sejarah dan Organisasi Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya serta Perkembangannya," in Materi Pendalaman Thoreqat Qoodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah bagi Ikhwan TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya Yayasan Serba Bakti Pusat, 1994), 6.

(presently called SLTP Islam Serba Bakti), and the *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (Senior High School) in 1976, which was later transformed into *Sekolah Menengah Umum* (General High School) in 1994 (at present called SMU Serba Bakti). Another institution founded during this early period was the kindergarten of H. Euis Siti Ru'yanah, which was started in 1978.[66]

The demand created by graduates of the lower level *madrasas* led to the founding of *Madrasah Aliyah* (Higher Religious School) in 1980, while the *Madrasah 'Aliyah Keagamaan* (MAK/Higher Intensive Religious School) Serba Bakti was founded in 1994. The *Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah* (IAILM/the Institute of Islamic Studies Latifah Mubarokiyah), established in 1986, provides the highest level of education offered at the *pesantren*. One of the founders of the latter was General (retired) Dr. Yoga Soegama, the ex-chief of the Army of the Republic of Indonesia; it is currently headed by Dr. Juhaya S. Praja.

In addition, on September 5, 1999, a new school was established, *Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Ekonomi* (STIELM), offering higher education in economic matters. There is also the *Pengajian Traditional* (Traditional Islamic Circle), attended by students from the schools operated by Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (including male and female students from *Madrasah Tsanawiyyah*), SLTP Islam, *Madrasah 'Aliyah*, *Madrasah 'Aliyah Keagamaan*, and SMU, as well as students of IAILM who live in

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[66] Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 90 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya: Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1995), 16-17, 24-25.

the Pesantren Suryalaya. The *Pengajian* consists of six levels and one supplementary class that is called the Special Class for Beginners (Kelas Khusus *Mutaqaddimīn*).[67]

Thus a student wishing to pursue a formal education today under the auspices of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya can enroll in one of three streams: The *Madrasah* system; the Islamic High School system; and the Secular (General) High School system. The *madrasah* system, as we have seen, includes the MDA, MTs, MA and MAK, and offers students a curriculum that consists mainly of topics in the Islamic sciences. In the Islamic High School stream, which includes at the moment only the SMIP, the students concentrate more or less equally on topics of Islamic learning and secular subjects. Finally in the Secular or General High School (which includes SMP, SMA (or SMU)), mainly secular subjects are studied, but with a certain amount of Islamic subjects. Only after this level one can continue to the higher levels, i.e., to a university or the Institute (IAILM). [68]

b. Non-formal

In terms of non-formal education, Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya decided in 1965 to cooperate with *Jawatan Rohani Islam Kodam* VI Siliwangi (Islamic Section of the Military-Command Kodam VI Siliwangi), and took the lead in teaching

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[67] Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan Ulang Tahun ke 95 PP Suryalaya, 52-54, 56.

[68] Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan Ulang Tahun ke 95 PP Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti, 2000), 37, 42, 47. The data we have for the total number of students for the year 2000, is as follows: For SLTP Islam, 185 students (93 male and 92 female); for the Madrasa Tsanawiyya, 254 students (134 male and 120 female); the SMU 171; the MAK 68 students (31 male and 27 female); and the IAILM 356 students (256 male and 100 female). See Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan Ulang Tahun ke 95 PP Suryalaya, 54-56. Unfortunately, we do not possess complete data on the number of teachers teaching in PP Suryalaya.

Islamic subjects to ex-members of the Indonesian Communist Party. What is more, Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya has been rendering assistance since 1971 to another government institution[69] by rehabilitating young drug addicts and juvenile delinquents through the use of a certain *ṭarīqa* method[70] designed to help these addicts overcome their dependencies. In 1980, a separate facility was built for this purpose in the village of Cibeureum, Ciamis, 15 kilometers from Pesantren Suryalaya, later called Pondok Inabah. However, as the main function of the Inabah is a social one, we will look more closely at it in the next sub chapter.

Closely tied to its educational efforts is the *pesantren*'s *da'wa* program, where the responsibility at the lowest level is entrusted to the *muballighs* or preachers, who teach Islamic learning and practices to the people in the towns and countryside. Above them are the *wakil talqīn* (*talqīn* agents), the personal representatives of the *murshid.* They are empowered to perform the initiation on behalf of the *murshid.* The *muballighs* and *talqīn* agents have regular meetings with the *murshid*, K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul al-'Arifin at the *pesantren* once a month, every eleventh day (of the *hijra* calendar). They are also introduced to, and trained in, the new techniques or approaches of *da'wa.* Special training for *muballigh*s and *talqīn* agents from overseas is also held in Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam.[71] Although we do not have any information on how many *muballighs*

[69] The name of the institution is Badan Kordinasi Pelaksana Instruksi Presiden (Bakolak Inpres No.6 tahun 1971).

[70] In other words, this *tarīqa* method can be referred to as a type of "spiritual education." For a theoretical discussion of a "spiritual pedagogy" in the medieval context, see Hermann Landolt, Nur al-Dīn Isfarāyinī Le révélateur des mystères, 37-38. .

[71] Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 90 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 21.

are active on behalf of the Pesantren Suryalaya, we do have a list of the *talqīn* agents (see Appendix 5 of this thesis).

At the head of this structure is, of course, the *murshid,* [72] who is currently Abah Anom (K.H.A Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin). With all of his responsibilities, his chief task is that of *murshid* of his order and thus of the *pesantren*'s extensive network of *da'wa*, aimed at current and potential members of the TQN. His assumption of the leadership of Pesantren Suryalaya was preceded by a ceremony where a *khirqa (*mantle/sufi cloak) was bestowed upon him by the previous *murshid* of *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*, Abah Sepuh. His duty is to ensure the continuance of the TQN's teachings and practices, so as to enable the *ikhwān* to become closer to God.

The *murshid* is assisted in performing his tasks by a number of personnel, including the *talqīn* agents and other officials. Of particular importance is the foundation committee *(pengurus yayasan)* whose members are entrusted with assisting the *murshid* in looking after the administration and management of all formal activities of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. At present, there are 46 branches of the foundation throughout the country. Each branch is responsible for its own activities, while maintaining a very close spiritual link to its center.

Finally, there are lecturers and teachers in the various educational institutions run by the Pesantren (through its foundation), who are essential to the *da'wa* effort. Indeed, the ultimate goal of the entire system is to guide the *ikhwān* or

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[72] Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 90 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 22.

the members of the TQN in fulfilling their duties not only as disciples but also as Muslims. Their numbers over the entire period of the Pesantren's existence have been estimated by one source as approaching six million.

The frequent references in the above to "*talqīn*" are an indication of its importance to *ṭarīqa* practice. *Talqīn* is a type of instruction given to those who request it and who have the intention to learn the *dhikr* correctly. The *dhikr* itself is regarded as identical to that spoken by the prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), which he transmitted to his companions, the *'ulama* and the saints. Those who have inherited the knowledge of *dhikr* perform it as a means to come closer to God. Whoever has participated in the *talqīn* process of the TQN and has been initiated into the order, he or she is obliged to practice its teaching as recorded in Abah Anom's work *'Uqūd al-Jumān,* which outlines the daily practice (after obligatory prayers), weekly guidance (*khataman*) and monthly practice (*manakiban*).[73]

The dissemination of the TQN is thus achieved less through formal education than it is via informal education provided to ordinary people (*'awāmm*). According to Abah Anom, this process consists in preaching the message of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* by calling upon people to adopt the path of the TQN, providing concrete examples, making it a priority to perform good deeds, seek knowledge and then put it into practice *('ilm 'amaliyya),* and practice with knowledge (*'amal 'ilmiyya*). Abah Anom trains *muballighs* for this purpose and has instilled in them both ability and sincerity. These individuals and other loyal disciples spread the message of the

[73] Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 90 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 23. The nature of *talqīn* and the content of *'Uqūd al-Jumān*, written by Abah Anom, will be discussed below in chapter five.

order throughout the country, while upholding the *Tanbih (waṣiyya)* of Abah Sepuh as well as the three continuous spiritual exercises mentioned above.[74] Formal education, however, is also essential to achieving the objectives of the TQN, for at the very least, a *muballigh* should have a full Islamic education as his background, especially in order to understand the teaching materials that were mostly written by earlier scholars in the central Islamic lands.

c. Pesantren

The emergence of the *pondok pesantren* -- often simply called *pesantren* (traditional Islamic boarding school) -- in Indonesia, especially in the rural areas, predate considerably the country's achieving its independence. The religious schools often attracted the attention of the Dutch authorities due to its militancy. Nevertheless, they continued their educational role until the post-independence era, proving adaptable to social and political changes. This has not decreased its significance; on the contrary, it has continued to grow even stronger. Since its establishment the *pesantren* as an institution characterizes flexibility and has been able to answer the needs of society and to adjust by developing itself, such as by extending its curriculum to include not only *madrasa* institutions, but also (as in the case of Pesantren Suryalaya, general schools and higher education. The *pesantren* forms, however, part of an educational system that still maintains its traditional way of teaching and sources, as we shall see below.

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[74] Suryalaya, personal interview with Abah Anom, March 1999.

Like other *pesantrens* in Java (and in Indonesia generally), Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya has the basic elements of such an institution, i.e.: a head of the *pesantren*, called the *kiyai*; the students, known as *santris*; the mosque, where students and teachers pray in congregation; the *pondok* (dormitory) for students; and a curriculum based on classical Islamic texts. Another feature is that the advancement of the students is determined by the level of difficulty of the texts read during a given reading session. These sessions activity usually take place in the mosque or in a hall within the *pesantren*, between *'asr* and *maghrib* time or after *'ishā'* prayer. Every student or *santri* who stays in the *pesantren* and its surroundings is obliged to follow this activity.[75] Certain *pesantrens* in Java emphasize different Islamic sciences, such as *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, or *tafsīr*, but almost all *pesantrens* read the standard texts of the various Islamic disciplines. In the case of Pesantren Suryalaya (a *pesantren ṭarīqa)*, the disciplines of *akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf* are emphasized, in addition to others. The instructional process in the *pesantren,* called *sorogan* (in central and east Java), or *badungan* (in west Java), or *halaqah* (in Sumatra), consists in someone holding the book before the teacher, and as the teacher reads and explains the text, the students listen and take notes.

[75] This is the *pengajian tradisional* typical of a traditional *pesantren*, of which Pesantren Suryalaya is a prime example. In the modern *pesantren,* on the other hand, the *santris* study in a classroom, while the reading of classical Islamic texts is not as dominant as in the traditional *pesantren.* This is supplemented by individual lessons and general lectures. Thus in the modern-style pesantren the role of the *kiyai* seems to have decreased, as he is no longer fully in charge of setting the curriculum or how many hours are to be spent on a certain book. The *pengajian traditional* in Pesantren Suryalaya has in fact, adopted some of their innovations of the modern *pesantren*, for while its curriculum is still dominated by classical Islamic works, it has a gradation of classes.

The following list of some of the classical Islamic works studied in the pesantren of Suryalaya is indicative of the importance attached to the study of the religious sciences:[76]

In the disciplines of *Akhlāq* and *Taṣawwuf*, the following works are read:

1. *Nūr al-Ẓalām*[77] of Imām Nawawī al-Bantenī.
2. The *Sanūsī*[78] of Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490).
3. *Sullam al-Tawfīq* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ṭāhir Bā'alawī (d.1275/1855).[79]
4. The *Jurūmiyya* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir.[80]
5. *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb* of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī (d. 1322/1914).
6. *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifat Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya* of Abū al-Mawāhib 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Sha'rānī (d.973/1565).
7. *Jawhar al-Tawhīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d.1041/1631).[81]

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[76] For the complete curriculum of each class of the traditional Islamic circle and a list of the teachers, see Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan Ulang Tahun ke 95 PP Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti, 2000), 54-56.

[77] This work is a commentary on *'Aqīdat al-'Awāmm* of Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī al-Makkī, who was active around 1864. See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 990. A Malay version of this work was written by Ḥamza ibn Muḥammad al-Qadahī (of Kedah, Malaysia), a Javanese translation by Bisri Mustofa of Rembang, Central Java, and a Madurese one by Abdul Majid Tamim of Pamekasan. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 252.

[78] The Sanūsī [*yah*] is the more substantial commentary on Umm al-Barāhīn (also called Al-Durra), written by Sanūsī himself.

[79] Two widely read commentaries on the Sullam are Mirqat Su'ūd al-Taṣdīq of Nawawī al-Bantenī and Is'ad al-Rafīq by his contemporary and colleague in Mecca, Muḥammad Sa'īd Bā-Baṣīl. Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 248. Martin includes Sullam in the list of *fiqh* works.

[80] This work was mentioned by Abah Anom in our personal interview in March, 1999. Brockelmann does not provide any information on it, however.

[81] A commentary on this work is Tuhfat al-Murīd of Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī. An anonymous Malay scholar and two Javanese *'ulamā'*, Saleh Darat of Semarang and Ahmad Subki Masyhadi of Pekalongan,

8. *Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq* of Shaykh Muḥy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ 'Abdullāh ibn Mūsā ibn Jenkidost al-Jīlānī al-Ḥanbalī (d.561/1167).[82]
9. *Minhāj al-Asrār.*
10. *Khazīnat al-Asrār wa Jalīlat al-Adhkār* of Muḥammad al-Ḥaqqī al-Nāẓilī (d.1301/1884).[83]
11. *Manba' Uṣūl al-Ḥikma* of Muḥy al-Dīn Abū'l 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qorashī al-Būnī (d.622/1225).
12. *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* of K.H. Ṣāḥib al-Wafā Tāj al-'Ārifīn (Abah Anom).
13. *Sirr al-Asrār fī mā Yaḥtāj ilayh al-Abrār,* a popular later Qādirī manual.
14. *Al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī wa al-Fayḍ al-Raḥmānī* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.
15. *Al-Ḥikam wa Ma'āhā ba'ḍ al-Mukātabāt wa al-Munājāt* of Ibn 'Aṭa' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d.709/1309).[84]
16. *Kifāyat al-Atqiyā' wa Minhāj al-Aṣfiyā'* of Sayyid Bakrī ibn Muḥammad Shaṭṭā al-Dimyāṭī (d.1893).[85]

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wrote extensive commentaries in their regional languages, which are commonly known by the same title, Jawhar al-Tawhīd. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 252.

[82] Brockelmann GAL Supplement I, 777.

[83] Brockelmann, GAL II, 489 and Supplement II, 746.

[84] This work is a well-known collection of Sufī aphorisms, of which numerous translations and commentaries are available in Indonesia. Among others, the Hikam Melayu (anonymous), the Sharah Hikam by Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nāfidhī al-Rindī and the Malay-language Tāj al-'Arūs by 'Uthman al-Pontiānī, as well as a Javanese Hikam by Saleh Darat of Semarang, and various modern Indonesian versions, especially the four-volume commentary by the Achehnese K.H. Muhibbuddin Waly. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 258-259.

[85] This work is a commentary on *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī (d.928/1522), written in 914/1508-9. Al-Dimyāṭī says in his introduction that in commenting on the poem he based himself to a large extent on a *sharḥ* entitled *Maslak al-Atqiyā' wa Minhaj al-Asfiyā'* written by the poet's own son., Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz. See my MA thesis, "Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawī al-Bantenī's Salālim al-Fuḍalā'" (Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill

17. *Al-Minaḥ al-Saniyya 'Alā al-Waṣiyya al-Matbūliyya* of al-Sha'rānī.

18. *'Iqd al-Himam*.

19. *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazāli (d.505/1111).

In the study of *Fiqh*, furthermore, students read the following works:

1. *Safīnat al-Najā* of Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Samīr.[86]

2. *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512).[87]

3. *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn* of Sayyid Bakrī ibn Muḥammad Shaṭṭā al-Dimyāṭī (d.1893).[88]

4. *Kifāyat al-Akhyār* of Taqī' al-Dīn Dimasqī (d.829/1426).[89]

5. *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* of Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī (d.771/1370).[90]

6. *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn ilā Janna Rabb al-'Ālamīn* of al-Ghazālī.[91]

University, 1992), 56. Nawawī al-Bantenī also wrote a commentary on Hidāyat, entitled Salālim al-Fudalā', which is printed in the margins of Sayyid Bakri's Kifāyat.

[86] Nawawī al-Bantenī wrote a commentary on this work, entitled Kāshifat al-Sajā (Cairo 1292, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1305; Būlāq 1309). See Brockelmann, "al-Nawawī," in E I 2, vol. 7, 885.

[87] *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* is a commentary onTaqrīb al-Ghāya wa al-Taqrīb, also known as *Mukhtaṣar,* written by Abū Shujā' al-Iṣfahānī d.593/1197 (?); see Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 246. Nawawī al-Bantenī has annotated Fath al-Qarīb, which was printed under two different titles, Al-Tawshīh (Cairo 1305 A.H. 1310) and Qut al-Ḥabīb (Cairo 1301, 1305, 1310 A.H.), although in Indonesia this annotation was printed under the title Tawshīh 'alā Ibn Qāsim Qūt al-Ḥabīb al-Gharīb by Maktaba wa Maṭba'a Toha Putra, Semarang, no date.

[88] This work is a commentary on Fatḥ al-Mu'īn of al-Malībarī; another commentary exists, written by 'Alwī al-Saqqāf (d.1916) and entitled Tarshīḥ al-Mustafīdīn, 2 vols. 'Alwī was a younger contemporary and colleague of Sayyid Bakrī in Mekka. See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 743.

[89] Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (GAL) 2nd edition. Vol. 1. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1943-1949), 392.

[90] This work is one of the major texts on the foundations of Muslim law. The current printed edition also contains, besides this text, the *sharḥ* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, glosses thereon by Bannānī, and further glosses (*taqrīr*) by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sharbīnī. Zakariyyā Anṣārī summarized the *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* in his *Lubb al-Uṣūl,* also studied in Indonesia. Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 250.

[91] A commentary on this work was written by Ihsan ibn Muhammad Dahlan of Jampes Kediri (d.1952), entitled Sirāj al-Tālibīn.

7. *Al-Riyāḍ al-Badī'a fī Uṣūl al-Din wa Ba'ḍ Furū' al-Sharī'a* of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Ḥasab Allāh.[92]
8. *Sullam al-Najāt* (*Sullam al-Munājāt*) of Nawawī al-Bantenī (d.1875).[93]
9. *Bājūrī.* [94]

In their study of the auxilliary sciences (*'ilm al-ālāt*), e.g. *naḥw* (grammar), *ṣarf* (inflection), etc., students in the *pesantren* read the following works:

1. *Ajurrūmiyya* of Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Dāwud al-Ṣanhājī ibn al-Ajurrūm (d.723/1322).[95]
2. *'Imriṭī* (*Al-Durra al-Bahiyya*) of Sharaf ibn Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī al-'Imriṭī.
3. *Mutammima* of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ru'aynī al-Ḥaṭṭāb.
4. *'Ashmāwī* (a commentary on the *Jurūmiyya*) by a certain 'Abd Allāh 'Ashmāwī.
5. *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik.[96]
6. *Kaylānī* of 'Alī ibn Hishām al-Kaylānī.
7. *Yaqūlu.*

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[92] This work belongs to the group of texts introduced to Indonesian Muslims by Nawawī al-Bantenī. The work has been printed only in the margin of the *sharḥ* written by the latter, entitled Al-Thamar al-Yanī'a. See GAL II, 501; GAL Supplement II, 813. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 249.

[93] This work is a commentary on the Safīnat al-Salāh of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Ḥaḍramī.

[94] Perhaps his *Hāshiya* on Fatḥ al-Qarīb, or another work entitled Tuhfat al-Murīd of Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī (d. 1277/1860/1).

[95] This title is usually referred to as Al-Muqaddima al-Ajurrūmiyya. Nawawī al-Bantenī wrote a commentary on this work, entitled Kasf al-Murūṭiyya 'an Sitār al-Ajurrūmiyya.

[96] A commentary on this work was written by 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Āqil, entitled *Ibn 'Āqil;* another commentary on *Alfiya* was written by the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Mecca, Aḥmad Zaini Dahlan, entitled Dahlan Alfiya.

8. *Laṭā'if al-Ishāra.* [97]
9. *Jawhar al-Maknūn (Al-Jawāhir al-Maknūna fī al-Ma'ānī wa al-Bayān wa al-Badī')* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Akhḍarī (born 920/1514).[98]
10. *Al-Amthila al-Taṣrīfiyya li al-Madāris al-Salafiyya* of Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm ibn 'Alī of Jombang.

In the subject area of *ḥadīth*, the following works are studied:

1. *Ta'līm al-Muta'allim li Ṭarīq al-Ta'allum* of Burhān al-Islām al-Zarnūjī (d.cir. 600/1203).
2. *Mukhtār al-Aḥādīth* of Aḥmad al-Hāshimī Bak.
3. *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām* of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d.852/1449).[99]
4. *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn* of Shaykh Muḥy al-Dīn Abī Zakariyyā.[100]

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[97] Brockelmann mentions the works under this title dealing with other Islamic sciences, for example, *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and *taṣawwuf.* However, there is one that might fit the description, with the title mentioned by Abah Anom as part of *'ilm al-ālāt*, Latā'if al-Ishārāt fi Asrār al-Falak wa al-Hurūf al-Ma'nawiyya, written by Muḥy al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qarashī al-Būnī d.622/1225. See Brockelmann, GAL I, 498 and Supplement I, 911.

[98] Brockelmann, (GAL) Supplement II, 705-706. The same title often refers to a *sharḥ* on this work by Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī (1101-1177/1689-1763. See GAL II, 371, and for further glosses by Makhlūf al-Minyāwī, which are widely available in Indonesia. The Jawhar was translated into Javanese by K.H. Bisri Mustofa of Rembang. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 243.

[99] This work has been translated into Javanese by A. Subki Masyhadi of Pekalongan and into Indonesian by Bisri Mustofa of Rembang, and partially also into Malay. A commentary on this work exists, entitled Subul al-Salām, written by Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Kaḥlānī (d.1182/1769). See Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 255; Brockelmann, GAL II, 67-70.

[100]There are two different Javanese translations of this work by Asrori Ahmad and Ahmad Subki Masyhadi as well as Malay and Indonesian translations of this work. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," 255.

5. *Irshād al-'Ibād ilā Sabīl al-Rashād* of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Malībarī.[101]
6. *Al-Iqnā' fī Adwiyat al-Qilā'* of Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Hādī. [102]
7. *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* of Abū Layth al-Samarqandī Naṣr ibn Muḥammad (d.373/983).
8. *Ḥadīth Arba'īn* of Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī. [103]

On *Tafsīr,* the following works are read :

1. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d.911/1505) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī.
2. *Tafsīr al-Munīr fī Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl al-Musfir 'an Wujūh Maḥāsin al-Ta'wīl* of Imām al-Nawawī al-Bantenī.[104]
3. *Tafsīr al-Marāghī* of Aḥmad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī.
4. *Tafsīr al-Manār* of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā'.
5. *Tafsir Ṣāwī* of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī.
6. *Tafsīr Aḥkām.*[105]
7. *Tafsīr Jamāl.*

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[101] There is a recent Javanese translation of this work by Misbah ibn Zayn al-Mustafa.

[102] Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 947.

[103] Nawawī's Arba'īn are used in many pesantrens for the less advanced santris. A commentary on this work was written by Aḥmad ibn Ḥijāzī al-Fāshanī.

[104] Another name of this *tafsīr* is Marāh Labīd li Kashf Ma'nā [al] Qur'ān al-Majīd. See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 814. See also Brockelmann, "Al-Nawawī," in E I 2, vol. 7, 885.

[105] Tafsīr al-Āyāt al-Ahkām was written by Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī d.1028/1619. See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 520.

Finally, there are certain texts that form the basis of the practice of the TQN, such as: *'Uqūd al-Jumān, Akhlāq al-Karīma* and *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* of Abah Anom; the popular later Qādirī manual *Sirr al-Asrār*; *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kurdī; *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifa Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī; *Jāmi' Karāmat al-Awliyā'* of Yūsuf al-Nabhāni (d.1931); and *Al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya* of Abū 'l Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin ibn 'Abd al-Mālik ibn Ṭalḥa ibn Muḥammad al-Qushayrī (d.465/1072).[106]

The above list of works provides at least a partial glimpse into the curriculum of the Pesantren Suryalaya. They are, in some ways, typical of the literature studied in the various *pondok pesantrens* of Indonesia. Nevertheless, I found that there were more classical Islamic works, especially on *taṣawwuf,* in the library of the Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah of Suryalaya than in the collections of other *pesantren*s that I have visited.

Abah Anom has written on some of the important considerations that lie behind the teaching philosophy in Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. Instructors are encouraged to keep in mind that teaching is not merely an intellectual activity but one that also involves spiritual dimensions. For example, it is important to avoid the attitude and the appearance of dispensing knowledge; instead, a teacher should try to foster an atmosphere of closer communication with the students, by emphasizing a feeling of brotherhood and sometimes also acting as a parent, protector or loyal friend who will help the student either in joy or in sorrow. A teacher should be aware

[106] Suryalaya, personal interview with Abah Anom, March 1999. Some works are unable to be identified.

of his or her responsibility, not only in terms of sharing knowledge but also in social life. Thus the psychology and behavior of the students are important, as is motivating them to worship and encouraging them to seek more knowledge. Above all, teachers should be sincere in performing their duties.[107]

I myself observed this when Abah Anom performed the task of *talqīn*, implanting the *kalimat al-tawḥīd* (*lā ilāha illā Allāh)* and the *lafẓ al-jalāla* (*Allāh*) in and throughout the subtle centers of the disciples.[108] The activity clearly represented the starting point of the spiritual education, or the educational role of the TQN, in a real sense. In the course of the ceremony, Abah Anom mentioned the name of each *laṭīfa,* especially when he moved from one to the next and explained the function of every one of them,[109] describing how one should focus one's mind to approach God

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[107] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin, "Amanat Sesepuh PP. Suryalaya Pada Acara Pembukaan Penataran Tenaga Pendidik dan Staf di Lingkungan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya" (typescript of speech delivered in Suryalaya, 1 November, 1996), 5-6.

[108] This *talqīn* event was similar to the one that I also witnessed in Rejoso, east Java. In the TQN, the process of implanting the formulas is performed for all new disciples without exception, young or old, male or female. The five subtle centers are *laṭīfat al-akhfa, laṭīfat al-khafī, laṭīfat al-sirr, laṭīfat al-rūḥ* and *laṭīfat al-qalb.* Mir Valiuddin writes that the early Sufis knew of the *laṭīfa* of *qalb* and of *rūḥ* only, some of them had told us of *laṭīfa-i-sirr.* Ahmad Faruqi al-Sirhindi (d.1624) informed us of the five *laṭāīf* in the human breast, which are *laṭīfat al-qalb, laṭīfat al-rūḥ, laṭīfat al-sirr, laṭīfat al-khafī* and *laṭīfat al-akhfa.* See Mir Valiuddin, Contemplative Disciplines in Sufism (London: East-west Publication, 1980), 63. See also our own discussion in chapter three, above.

[109] There is a certain way to pronounce the *kalima al-ṭayyiba,* and that is with the *dhikr* in the middle of the body, and then the right side and finally on the left side of the body. These three spots are where demons (*shayāṭīn*) attack human beings. Abah Anom refers to a *ḥadīth* that says that "*Shayṭān* attacks human beings in three points: first in the middle of the body, second on the right side and third on the left side of the body. When *shayṭān* enters the heart, he will influence one's mind, one's remembrance and one's behaviour." That is why while reciting the word *lā,* the movement starts from the navel at the center of the body then goes up to the head; then when reciting the word *ilāha,* the movement is from the head down toward the right side of body; then the recitation of *illā Allāh* moves it to the left side of the body, (see the diagram below). When the word *Allāh* is implanted, Abah Anom asks students to touch the place where the heart is located (on the left side of the body) two fingers below the left breast. While performing the *dhikr* in silence through the *laṭā'if,* Abah Anom advises them that "in life we are trapped into wrongdoings, mastered by the attitude of greed, oppress people and are heedless to God ..." His words are said very softly, touching the heart, making many people sob and even cry. Abah Anom also says that *dhikr jahr* is done 165 times after the five

through such an activity. He constantly reminds initiates of how forgetfulness and heedlesness of God are a constant danger, and how it is only by remembering Him that one realizes one's faults and becomes willing to return to Him. He also quotes a number of verses and *ḥadīth*s concerning the importance of *dhikr* to one's spiritual education and its development and explained in detail that *dhikr* could be a means to avoid temptations, as we shall discuss in chapter five of this thesis.

It is in such a manner that the educational role of the TQN proceeds on a daily, weekly and monthly basis. The *ikhwān* of the TQN are encouraged to attend the *manakiban* (monthly spiritual meeting) in Suryalaya (every eleventh day of the month according to the Hijri calender) or somewhere in its vicinity, on a regular basis to maintain the spirit of TQN education.

Abah Anom appears to be very concerned about the role of Indonesian Muslims in society. He realizes that, despite the presence of thousands of *pesantrens*, mosques, *madrasas*, *majlis ta'līm* and other forms of Islamic education in Indonesia, they have as yet not been able to provide society with a "cool dew", as he puts it, soothing the impulse to commit crime, to prevent the circulation of illegal drugs, robbery, etc. On one occasion he advised students graduating from IAILM Suryalaya (in particular), to put into practice the motto of the institute," *'Ilmu*

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obligatory prayers, or at least three times in an emergency situation instead and replacing it in another spare time, while *dhikr khafī* is done non-stop, while breathing, through the movement of eyes, movement of hands, by the legs while walking, and while working. In this regard, Abah Anom does not specify that the drug-addicts are possessed by *shayāṭīn*. However, it is understandable that when one's heart is forgetful of God, it will allow *shayṭān* to enter and damage it. Therefore, one should always remember God in one's heart, and *dhikr Allāh* is the best way to achieve this.

Amaliyah Amal Ilmiyah," ("practical knowledge, wise-action")[110] in the sincere hope that this objective can be realized.

Abah Anom also extended his advice in a 1997 speech to the alumni of the Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah of Suryalaya, in which he reminded them that human resources need to be developed through education, particulary in the fields of science and technology. He emphasized the fact that the spirit of nationalism and patriotism may be inspired by, as well as based on, a strong belief in God and a genuine sense of piety, and expressed the hope that the alumni of the IAILM might bring many benefits to others, continue to develop their knowledge and put this into practice. He also said that alumni should be able to consider carefully, and contribute to the progress of the IAILM and be self-reliant in life.[111]

Sound advice of a similar sort was given by Abah Anom to instructors in the pondok Inabah system. In a 1985 speech, he reminded them that the task of Inabah trainers is not only a social one but also a kind of worship offered to God Almighty. Therefore, to serve as a guide for youth, one should be sincere and have the intention to perform *'ibāda.* In helping others, one should never calculate the reward. Allah will make it easier if one helps others with sincerity and broad-mindedness. Also, in order not to deviate from the path, one should constantly perform *dhikrullāh.* The most important thing is, when guiding youth, to refer to his

[110] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin,"Sambutan Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya pada Acara Wisuda Sarjana IAILM Tahun 1998" (typescript of speech delivered in Suryalaya, 10 December, 1998), 2-3.

[111] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin,"Sambutan Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya pada Acara Silaturrahmi Alumni IAILM Tahun 1997" (typescript of speech delivered in Suryalaya, 4 September 1997), 2-3.

book, *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja* -- nothing more and nothing less. For it is ultimately through careful application of TQN methods that the task of the Inabah will be completed.[112]

To the *wakil talqīn*s of TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Abah Anom regularly sends his *maklumat,*[113] some of them emphasizing that every *wakil talqīn* should perform his task while being fully aware of his deep responsibility, which consists in guiding the *ikhwān* of the TQN both in terms of practice (*'amaliyya*) and knowledge (*'ilmiyya*) and performing the *talqīn dhikr* for Muslims who need it but are unable to come to Suryalaya, due to sickness or other problems. As a *wakil talqīn* of the TQN, one should serve as an example in word, attitude and behavior for the community in general, and for the *ikhwān* of the TQN in particular. A *wakil talqīn* should internalize and put the *Tanbih* into practice, including the "chain of pearl" (*untaian mutiara*) in daily life.[114]

Abah Anom also describes the main task of the regional committees of the Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, which is to work together with the central committee of the *pesantren* in order to help the Elder (*sesepuh*, i.e. Abah Anom) implement his policy. Another task is to guide the *ikhwān* in practicing the

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[112] K.H.A. Shohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, "Amanah Sesepuh PP Suryalaya pada Acara Pertemuan Pembina Inabah PP Suryalaya" (typescript of speech delivered in Suryalaya, 12 March, 1985), 1-2. Abah Anom's work Ibadah sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja explains the curriculum of Inabah that will be discussed in the following sub-chapter

[113] A sort of bulletin sent out by Abah Anom to all ikhwān of the TQN, which contains his policy, or reminders, suggestions, and advice concerning issues facing the order or involving national development.

[114] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin,"Maklumat Number 118.PPS.V.1996" (internal bulletin, Suryalaya, Muharram 10, 1417 A.H./May 28, 1996), 1. By "chain of pearl," Abah Anom is referring to Abah Sepuh.

TQN, whether on a daily, a weekly (*khataman*) or a monthly basis. Realizing the fact that the *ikhwān* of the TQN are heterogeneous, an attitude of maintaining unity and the benefits of mutual assistance is emphasized (as is mentioned in the *Tanbih*).[115]

Abah Anom has spoken in particular about how important it is to maintain unity within the Yayasan Committee. According to him, the *Tanbih* of Abah Sepuh does not insist that there should be complete unanimity on all issues debated within the committee. On the contrary, to respect and preserve differences is a characteristic of the large family of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. They are a strength, not a weakness, since they lead to a more harmonious life. Abah Anom seems to be very concerned with the recent situation in the country, but especially due to the establishment of so many political parties, fearing that this might create confusion within the community. However, he personally believes that he is still on the right path of the *Tanbih*, since this insists on unwavering loyalty to the legitimate government, which was formed constitutionally. He also stated after the general election of 1999 that, "it is our obligation to support and obey the new legitimate government."[116] This message is very important with regard to providing political education to the *ikhwān* of the TQN. Nevertheless, Abah Anom has of his own choice remained with Golongan Karya.

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[115] K.H.A Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin, "Sambutan Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya pada Acara Silaturrahmi dan Musyawarah Pengurus Korwil Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya Propinsi Jawa Barat" (typescript of speech delivered in Bandung, March 20, 1999), 3.

[116] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin, "Amanat Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya pada Rapat Pleno Pengurus Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya" (typescript of speech delivered in Suryalaya, 12 Desember, 1998), 6-7.

It is hard to say qualitatively, or to explain to what extent the educational role of the TQN has achieved its objectives. The measurement is relatively abstract; even quantitatively speaking, there are no available observations or statistics on how many people have come to Suryalaya to receive *talqīn* and become one of Abah Anom's disciples. I heard one informal estimate of there currently being approximately two and a half million members[117] of the TQN of Suryalaya. It is also clear that the TQN's overall educational role in Suryalaya, upon close observation, extends well beyond the central pondok to its branches elsewhere in Indonesia and overseas. The role of the *murshid*, *talqīn* agents, the *muballighs*, the formal educational institutions of Suryalaya, the Pondok Inabah's activities, the practices of daily, weekly and monthly spiritual exercises -- all tend to focus on creating better Muslims for the sake of God. It is a theme that was constantly repeated in my interviews, meetings and conversations by the officials as well as the *ikhwān* and *akhawāt* of the TQN in Suryalaya, Jakarta, Surabaya, and Lampung. I heard similar responses in all of these places and it was clear that people felt more peaceful and strengthened by the brotherhood and welcomed the opportunity to share love and help. The teaching to remember God at all times motivates one to feel secure in His protection and helps one to avoid doing wrong, for God always watches, not only when one is in the middle of remembering Him but also when one is entirely heedless.

If we observe the administrative system of the *pondok*, it appears to be very professionally managed. The organizational structure of the committee of Pondok

[117] This approximation was made in 1995. Unang Sunardjo, Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 36.

Pesantren Suryalaya-Yayasan Serba Bakti for the period 1994-1998 can be seen in Appendix 7. Here the role of the Elder (Abah Anom) is very clear. He is at the apex of the entire structure and fully in charge. For example, all *talqīn* agents' appointments are written up and approved by Abah Anom himself (see below, Appendix 5 for a list of these appointments), while the instructor of the Pondok Inabah is also personally appointed by him (see Appendix 6 for a list of these as well). This is understandable for, as in all *pesantrens*, the *kiyai* has the same task -- that of acting as a *murshid* to all members of administrative committees. Abah Anom's relationship to the second layer of the structure on the other hand is primarily one of instruction; the various elements of this second layer are independent of each other, obliged only to coordinate their activities. Through the committee for internal affairs, the instructions of the Elder are translated to the third level of the hierarchy, with additional, special guidance being furnished to the Cooperation unit, perhaps because this institution has many outside connections and therefore needs more advice. Coordination at this level is also very important, as to avoid any overlaps in implementing programs in the field. The Entrepreneur unit is especially concerned with matters connected to funding; e.g., how to raise funds, how to create joint projects with companies, etc. In this way, its task is different from that of the treasurer, further down in the structure, who functions as a money manager; i.e., by tracking expenses; he is, moreover, in charge of the institution known as the Baitul Mal. People sometimes donate charity to this institution but sometimes also directly to Abah Anom, (who in turn passes it on to the Baitul Mal) as well as to so-called 'eternal' funds (*dana abadi*) deposited in the bank for

investment purposes only and not for routine expenses. Further down in the structure of the organization, we see that the chairman of the Yayasan has four vice-chairs beneath him, as well as secretary and a treasurer with his staff. All the sections in the Yayasan structure are under the responsibility of vice-chairpersons, as indicated in the diagram in Appendix 7. The education section is divided into two: i.e., formal and non-formal (Appendix 8). It is also interesting to note that the section responsible for youth is under vice-chair III, whereas that of the Inabah is under the responsibility of vice-chair IV. This is perhaps in order to give more flexibility to the Inabah, which has specific needs, whereas the youth section is more general in its duties. In terms of the *Yayasan* committee's activities in various areas, they are autonomous but always under the guidance of the central committee. At the time these data were collected, there were 46 branches of the Yayasan committee throughout the country (see the list below, Appendix 10).

Although Abah Anom has not yet decided who is to succeed him as *murshid* or elder (Ind. sesepuh) of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, in his letter of declaration (no.211.PPS.X.1998) he explicitly mentions[118] the names of three individuals who

[118] The three names are: K.H. Noor Anom Mubarok BA, Abah Anom's younger brother; K.H. Zaenal Abidin Anwar, Abah Anom's nephew, and Dudun Noorsaidudin, Abah Anom's son. The first two figures are *talqīns* agents. Noor Anom was appointed as *wakil talqīn* in 1987, and also served as vice chair I of the committee of the Yayasan, coordinating education and Ibu Bella. Zainal Abidin Anwar was appointed as *wakil talqīn* in 1990, and served as vice-chair II, and is responsible for daily matters involving the Pesantren and the sections of science and *da'wa*. Dudun Noorsaidudin is responsible for internal affairs as well as household. These positions and responsibilities are mentioned in the list of committee members of Yayasan Serba Bakti Pusat PP Suryalaya for 1994-1998. Kharisudin Aqib, in his book, Al Hikmah Memahami Teosofi Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah (Surabaya: Dunia Ilmu, 1998), 121, mentions the name of K.H. Agus Hilmi *(talqīn* agent of east Java) after Abah Anom in the *silsila* of the TQN of Suryalaya, though this might mislead the reader, for the latter's successor has not yet been determined. Indeed he is only one of the *talqīn* agents. Suryalaya sources cite his name as K.H.M. Helmy Ahmad Basyaeban, appointed in 1994. But, in the new edition of Aqib's book, this controversial issue is erased.

will cooperate in managing and developing the Pondok Pesantren after him (see Appendix 7). Due to his old age and chronic sickness, this is probably a wise decision; nevertheless, the question of his successor to the mastership remains unresolved.

It seems reasonable to expect that anyone succeeding to Abah Anom as *kiyai* should have mastered the Islamic sciences. Otherwise, his leadership will end up being administrative in nature only. It is commonly the case that in other *pesantrens* "the available leadership is often unable to balance the progress and the development of the pesantren [itself],"[119] a situation which arises due to the decline of the *kiyai*'s charisma on the one hand, and an increase in the activities and programs of a *pesantren* on the other. In addition to leadership, and knowledge of Islamic sciences, a *pesantren* needs to be well-managed. This relates to the management of people, money and goods, no easy task even in the best-run institution. In the case of Suryalaya, the Pondok Pesantren and its large family are fortunate to have Abah Anom, and seem to be relatively prepared to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

As we observe from the organizational structure of the *pesantren* (Appendix 7), the leadership has been brought up to date by the establishment of the yayasan (a legal foundation), whereby the *kiyai*, though the highest leader of the *pesantren*, is not directly involved in practical matters but rather oversees the institution's

[119]Abdurrahman Wahid, "Beberapa Pemikiran tentang Kepemimpinan dalam Pengembangan Pesantren," a speech given to the Latihan Tenaga Pembina Pondok Pesantren, held by the Department of Religious Affairs of Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 2-12 October 1978, p. 9.

internal and external policies. Religious policy and decisions, however, are his special responsibility.

From the information above, we may summarize that the educational role of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya is extremely important. The establishment of various educational institutions within the *pesantren* motivates the community to pursue further studies. The curriculum of *pesantren* indicates that the traditional element of *pesantren* remains there, while the *madrasa*s and higher education reflect the *pesantren* as an agent of change. The foundation of Pondok Inabah shows Abah Anom's deep concern with the future generation of the country and it reveals his courage to develop and implement the teachings of the TQN in society.

4. The Social Role of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* of Suryalaya

Among the social programs of the Yayasan Serba Bakti of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya are those aimed at helping orphans and the elderly, decreasing poverty and rehabilitating youth (the latter especially through the Pondok Remaja Inabah).[120] In addition to education and other programs, the Yayasan is also involved in projects directed towards women, youth, the mentally ill and cooperatives (*koperasi*).[121]

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[120] Personal interview with Abah Anom, Suryalaya, March 1999. As a matter of fact, this method of healing as I mentioned earlier, also forms a part of the spiritual education of the TQN.

[121] These activities are cited by Abah Anom's personal secretary, Yusuf Hamzah, who adds that the social programs, for example, are designed to serve and help the guests who come to Suryalaya either for *ṣilaturraḥm* or research or to learn to practice the *dhikr* of the TQN. See Yusuf Hamzah, "Sejarah dan Organisasi Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya serta Perkembangannya," in Materi Pendalaman Thoreqot Qoodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah bagi Ikhwān TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Tasikmalaya (Suryalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pusat, 1994), 13-14.

In this section, we will look at some of these efforts, although the Inabah in particular stands out, not the least because it draws on so many aspects of the *pesantren*'s educational and religious resources.

The Establishment of the Inabah and its Unique Role

Since 1971, Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya has been increasingly entrusted by parents with the task of rehabilitating and educating their young who have become involved in juvenile delinquency. Many of them have even abused drugs, narcotics and the like. Obviously, as practitioners of deviant behavior, they need to be given special treatment, different from that offered to normal youth.[122] Under the pioneering guidance of Abah Anom, a special institution, later called the Pondok Remaja Inabah (which people simply refer to as Inabah),[123] was developed for this purpose, complete with a curriculum based on the Qur'ān and the *sunna* of the Prophet (pbuh), designed to inculcate the teachings of the TQN. The Inabah operates as a community apart, and yet at the same time, it functions to rehabilitate youth so as to allow them to reintegrate into society at a later date. The location of Pondok Inabah for male youth is located about twelve kilometers from Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya and is isolated from the surrounding communities. It consists of the instructor's residence, his/her assistants' residences, the youth dormitories, a place for prayer (*muṣalla*), a dining room, a living room, a kitchen and a yard for sports activities. The Pondok Inabah for female youth (founded in 1981) is located about

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[122] Emo Kastama, Inabah (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya, 1994) (the second report), 26.

[123] Juhaya S. Praja , "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1980), " in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 171

ten kilometers from Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya and is relatively similar to that of the male Inabah.[124]

Records show that, in 1978/1979, there were 99 youth registered in the Pondok Inabah. By the end of that year, two thirds were reported cured and returned to their parents, while one third remained to continue the process of healing. Their parents' occupations varied: 31 youth came from army households, 27 from civil servant families, 34 had private entrepreneurs for parents and seven even came from families with a religious background. They also came from various ethnic groups, such as Sundanese, Javanese, Minang, Batak, and others.

On December 28-29, 1980, a conference was held at Suryalaya on the topic, "Penanggulangan Bahaya Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja." (Tackling the Danger of Narcotics and Juvenile Delinquency). This conference gave formal recognition to the program, officially bestowing on it the name Pondok Remaja Inabah (or simply Inabah, which means "return to the true way of God," chosen by Abah Anom from the Qur'ān). The method of the Inabah was recognized as an original, genuine, and Indonesian creation, developed as an alternative treatment for victims of narcotics and juvenile delinquency. It was acknowledged, however, that the curriculum had to be updated and more computerization introduced. Regulations, moreover, had to be established regarding the mutual

[124] The conference proceedings and recommendation are summarized by Kastama in his Inabah (the second report), 76-77.

relationship between the Inabah, parents and government institutions, while the Inabah itself also required physical improvements.[125]

When the program was first instituted in the 1970s, victims of drug addiction or other mental/emotional disturbances were allowed to live and study alongside the other *santris* (*pesantren* students). But when it became clear that the former caused problems for the latter, Abah Anom decided to establish a separate Pondok for the troubled youth (there are, as we have noted, two Pondok Inabahs at Suryalaya, one for male youth led by a male instructor, and another for female youth, led by a female instructor).[126] In each case, the instructor has a variety of roles to fill: that of a teacher, a manager, a fundraiser, a facilitator between the patients, the parents and the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, as well as public relations expert with local government and security institutions (police). The instructor and his/her assistants are, in effect, on the job 24 hours a day; their dedication is obviously unquestionable. In a sense, though, their function resembles that of a nurse, for Abah Anom is effectively the doctor both functionally and psychologically, and their charges depend on Abah Anom.

There are various reasons why parents first consult with Abah Anom about their children. Some of them want their children to study in a *pesantren* setting, feeling that a knowledge of, and appreciation for, their religion will help them in

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[125] Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 27.

[126] I had the opportunity to visit both Inabahs. Inabah I for male youth is located in the village of Cibeureum, district Panjalu, twelve kilometers away from Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. The temperature is cool, between 18 to 22 degrees Celsius, about 900 meters from sea surface, having enough good water from the mountain. The Inabah II is for female youth, and is located in the Ciceuri village, Ciomas, about ten kilometers distance from PP Suryalaya. The temperature is between 18-24

their future life. Another motive is when a son or daughter is not getting along very well with his/her siblings, or becomes too easily upset, etc. Occasionally parents will avoid telling Abah Anom the full story of their children's problems, especially if they are in trouble with the security services or the police. Often those youth sent to Abah Anom are already at a critical stage, meaning that the family and local authorities have given up. They come mostly from big cities, especially Jakarta, where their parents were too busy in their civil service or commercial occupations to pay sufficient attention to their children. Sometimes the police bring the youth along with an authorized letter from the parents to Abah Anom. Whatever the circumstances, Abah Anom will accept the youth, and send him to the Inabah.

At present, there are twenty-two Pondok Inabahs in operation throughout Indonesia, all of them having been established for the purpose of rehabilitating youth. This is testimony to the methods of Abah Anom, who is considered a pioneer in the use of *dhikr* in the treatment of these victims. Some Pondok Inabahs are not active, although, as can be seen from the list in Appendix 6, the reason is that because fewer youth are sent there, and so they are not operating for reasons of efficiency.

My husband and I had the pleasure of visiting the original Pondok Inabah I, and met K.H. Anang Syah, its head, at the time. I watched the youth in their activities and interviewed some of them regarding their daily life in the *pondok.* I also had the opportunity to visit Pondok Inabah II, which caters to young women

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degrees Celsius, about 900 meters above sea level. In every Inabah, in addition to a chief instructor, there are several assistants and some servants carrying out support functions.

and is run by Mrs Rosliana Gaos.[127] Physically speaking, the youth looked healthy, for, after all, most of them came from well-off families; however, mentally and emotionally speaking, they are suffering. They appeared, moreover, to range considerably in age -- from twelve to forty years. They were very shy with us at first; however, with the help of the head of each *pondok*, I was able to talk to some of them freely.

The Inabah's treatment program seems to be based on two theoretical foundations: first, general psychological theory; and second, Islamic theory, whereby Abah Anom teaches inmates certain methods of the TQN consisting of Sufi practices such as *talqīn, dhikr, mandi malam/mandi taubat* (taking a bath at night/bath of repentance), the concept of reward and punishment, and the theory of group-living. This approach may acknowledge implicitly the possibility (suggested indirectly by Abah Anom in his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, see his explanation discussed below in the following chapter) that the drug addict or juvenile delinquent may be possessed by *shayāṭīn*, or at least involved in a spiritual struggle against evil forces.

As Dr. Emo Kastama explains it, psychologically, one's behaviour is a reflection of one's spiritual activity. This assumption can be explained as follows.

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[127] Her husband is K.H. Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul, one of Abah Anom's *talqīn* agent. I stayed over-night in the *pondok* and at the same time there was a *manakiban* held there. From my conversation with the two leaders of the Pondok Inabah, it seems to me that to lead female youth is more challenging. Mrs. Rosliana tells me that sometimes she feels frustrated, exhausted and discouraged, but for the sake of the task given to her by the *murshid*, she realizes that she needs to be more patient, courageous and sincere. She has often been invited to lecture on her experience in handling the youth in her *pondok*. Ajengan Gaos is a very influential kiyai: he often gives lectures in the Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah on *taṣawwuf* and also to various *manakiban* ceremonies in Jakarta, Surabaya, and other cities in various provinces as well as in Malaysia. He also helps the *pesantren* by contributing to its formal education program and invites students from surrounding villages to study there.

First, everyone tends to want to repeat experiences that are comforting, while at the same time distancing oneself from what is displeasing. This theory is put into action at the Inabah with a reward and punishment approach, which helps one to focus on performing expected behaviour. Second, one's behaviour depends upon different level of stimulants, so that one's response varies in accordance with the degree. The higher the intensity of stimulants, the greater the response one will experience. Third, everyone has his or her own integrated identity, such that similar stimulants given to two different persons will result in different responses. In practice, the Inabah instructor has to pay attention to each patient's specific attitude, but with an eye towards group harmony.[128] This general theory in psychology is widely accepted, and applies in the case of most healthy adult human beings. And yet, while it is not always sufficient in itself, nevertheless, this general theory does lend itself to the specific Islamic approach adopted at the Inabah.

The reward and punishment approach is also well-known in psychology. It is an important stage in raising the self-consciousness of youth, in making them aware of their function in life. Reward takes the form of praising them when they perform their prayers, *dhikr* and other activities in a sincere way. Punishment, on the other hand, is meted out when one refuses to perform prayers or *dhikr* or take a bath, and in the case of fighting with or injuring another patient or his belongings. The punishment is in conjunction with the level of one's violation of Inabah rules and depending on one's physical condition. For example, the instructor may verbally admonish him, or even go so far as to shave the offender bald or dunk him in a

[128] Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 28-29.

narrow pool. Certainly the punishments that are administered do not endanger one's physical or mental well-being.

Teaching the patient to live as part of a group is also a vital part of the healing process. The lifestyle in Pondok Inabah reflects that of a big family. The youths may develop friendships with one another, including with the instructor and his/her family. They all eat the same food, although the patients eat with their peers and not with the staff. Moreover, although they come from various ethnic groups and different social, educational, and cultural backgrounds, the youth in the Inabah soon learn how to associate with other in harmony.

As for Islamic theory, several practices are implemented as part of the overall cure. The first is *talqīn,* which provides the foundation for the rest of the treatment. It is in fact, the first step in healing that an Inabah patient undergoes. *Talqīn* is performed by Abah Anom or his *talqīn* agent, and is designed to help the youth regain an awareness that he stands before God. Prior to the initiation, Abah Anom converses with the patient and asks him questions in order to ascertain his condition. Abah Anom usually suggests that the addict be placed in the Pondok Inabah.[129] *Talqīn* usually takes place after the *fajr* prayer on the first day the patient is susceptible. Abah Anom begins by asking the patient whether he or she is ready, then he explains the benefit of *dhikr*, and the importance of repentance and performing good deeds. The *talqīn* ceremony, and especially Abah Anom's advice

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[129] Arief Ichwanie AS, "Berbagai Pandangan dan Berita tentang TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 241-242. The procedure of *talqīn* performed by Abah Anom for these youth is identical to that performed on behalf of other members of the TQN.

afterwards, inevitably touches one's deepest feelings, and brings one into a greater state of self-consciousness. It reminds one also of the harm that one has been causing. This state is very helpful for youth as a starting point and allows the healing process to begin.

The second stage of the cure is *dhikr,* taught to all youth in the Inabah. This consists both in voiced *dhikr* (reciting out loud *lā ilāha illā Allāh)* and silent *dhikr* (repeating *Allāh, Allāh* constantly in the heart). These affect the various aspects of human consciousness: mind (cognitive power), feelings (affective power) and the will to act (conative power), as well as the movement of the body (psycho-motor abilities). In this way, all consciousness is united toward the pineal heart. The youth will gradually experience the benefits of *dhikr,* for instance: receiving more pleasure from it than from morphine and the like; gaining freedom from restlessness, nervousness, and anxiety; and sensing a growing firmness of the soul, and especially the courage needed to face the challenges of life. Much of this appears to be the result of gaining a sense of detachment from worldly concerns; i.e., the perception that the world is insignificant, and that only God is the greatest, the most absolute. The movement of *dhikr* through the body also gives exercise to the heart and the lungs as well. The silent *dhikr* likewise functions as a spiritual control, helping one avoid the temptation to commit sin.

Abah Anom's system developed out of his belief in the practical experience of Sufi masters, and due to his faith that *dhikr Allāh* contains enlightenment, special characteristics and secrets that can cure the hearts of Muslim believers. This belief is based on God's saying in the Qur'ān: "Remember me, I'll remember you." This is

understood to mean that when one remembers God, the curtain of heedlessness will be removed; one will be both the *dhākir,* and the one remembered. The benefits of *dhikr* for the youth residents (*anak bina*) in Pondok Inabah are, at least on one level, reflected in the large numbers of those who have been cured.

According to Abah Anom,[130] one who performs *dhikr* demonstrates *shukr* (gratitude) towards God. This is based on the *ḥadīth* which states, *idhā dhakaranī shakartanī* (when you remember Me, you are thankful to Me). Abah Anom continues by explaining that if one worships with joyfulness (*ni'ma*), the taste of the sweetness of worship will be experienced. Therefore, *shukr* can be shown through *dhikr*, or in other words, *dhikr* is a sign of *shukr*. If one does not do the *dhikr*, one will not remember the Giver (God) and His mercy will be forgotten. If one does not perform the *dhikr*, this means that one is not thankful (*wa idhā nasītanī kafartanī* -- when you forget Me, you are unthankful to Me).[131] Then one will be confused, for everything is shocking to the one who forgets God. In order to remember God, Abah Anom reminds everyone, especially the youth, that ablutions should be done properly, and that the *dhikr* should be performed out loud -- not shouted, and not said too fast, but step by step in order to be able to enjoy the reciting of *lā ilāha illā Allāh.* (reciting the formula in the correct way in order to produce the lights of *dhikr* that will shine within the *dhākir).* Nor should one perform it while daydreaming. True *dhikr* will soften the heart hardened by laziness, lies, fighting etc., though it should be

[130] Abah Anom's lecture on July 13, 1993 as quoted by Emo Kastama

[131] In Miftāḥ al-Sudūr Abah Anom explains this similar issue by referring to the verse of the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Baqara (2:152), *washkurulī wa lā takfurūn....* see Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 306.

remembered that *shayṭān* is always trying to tempt one even while performing good deeds.[132] The practice of *dhikr* is placed therefore at the center of the curriculum of the Inabah, beginning in early morning, and after the five daily prayers every single day. [133]

Abah Anom bases his curriculum on at least 10 verses of the Qur'ān: *sūrat* al-Rūm (30:41), al-Zumar (39:23), Āl-'Imrān (3:14, and 135), al-Nisā' (4:9), al-A'rāf (7:16-17), Yūnus (10:57), al-Ra'd (13:28) and al-Isrā' (17:82). In addition, he cites the following prophetic traditions in support of his approach: [134] (1) "To perform *dhikr Allāh* is a strong sign of *īmān* that can destroy hypocrisy and serve as a castle against the temptation of devil and as a shield from the heat of hellfire"; (2) "Integrate your faith, fortify your certitude with the recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*"; (3) "Remembering God can be a remedy for healing all inner diseases"; (4) "Indeed for all affairs there is a cleanser, the cleanser of the heart is *dhikr Allāh*"; (5) "Stay away from your devil with the recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* Muḥammad Rasūlullah, for the devil feels sick [at heart] with [hearing] that sentence, just as you feel sick [at heart] when you have many people and burdens upon [your back]"; (6)

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[132] For an explanation of how the temptations of *shayṭān* are supposed to interfere in the activities of human beings, see Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī al-Baghdādī (d.597 A.H.), Talbīs Iblīs (Cairo: Al-Idāra al-Ṭibā 'at al-Munīriyya, 1368 A.H.).

[133] More detailed information can be obtained from Abah Anom's work entitled, Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja. (Tasikmalaya: Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1985). This work is also published in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 398-409. This process of healing is taught as part of the curriculum in every Inabah in particular, and can be practiced by the *ikhwān* of the TQN in general, as stated by Abah Anom in the preface to the same work.

[134] Abah Anom, as quoted by Emo Kastama from a paper presented by Abah Anom to a discussion panel on the danger of narcotics and alcoholic abuse in Depok, Bogor, January 27, 1985. In fact, in his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* we find that Abah Anom quotes more than a dozen Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth* relating to the virtues of *dhikr*.

"There is no body that is exempt from facing the devil"; (7) "*Lā ilāha illā Allāh* is my castle, whoever recites it, he enters my castle; therefore he is secure from my punishment (*ḥadīth qudsī*)"; (8) "The *dhikr* is performed by the *dhākir* with pleasure, until he is able to see all the amazing miracles, and all great secrets. There is no reward for reciting the *dhikr lā ilāha illā Allāh* except God will unveil one (of the wonders) ..."; (9) "The greatest of what I recite as well as that recited by the prophets prior to me is *lā ilāha illā Allāh*"; (10) "Whenever one recites *lā ilāha illā Allāh* truly, although one's sinfulness be as great as the earth, one will be forgiven"; and finally (11) a long *ḥadīth* featuring a dialogue between the Prophet and his son-in-law 'Alī: "'O 'Alī, doomsday will not come as long as there are still people to recite *lā ilāha illā Allāh*,' which 'Ali (r.a.) questioned, saying: 'How should I perform the *dhikr*, O messenger of God?' The prophet said: 'Close your eyes, repeat after me 3 times what I said while I listen to you.' The prophet then recited *lā ilāha illā Allāh* 3 times with his eyes closed. He said it out loud and 'Alī listened to him. Then 'Alī recited *lā ilāha illā Allāh* in imitation and the Prophet listened to him."[135]

The standard curriculum of the Inabah was designed by Abah Anom with the main objective being that of worshipping God purely as His servants. This is why in addition to *dhikr*, prayer (*ṣalāt*) is central to the day's schedule. It includes the five obligatory prayers consisting of 17 *raka'āt* altogether, and the 29 types of *sunna* prayers, consisting of 79 *raka'āt* (ranging from 2 to 12 *raka'āt* for each, including the

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[135] Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 39-46. In fact, these *ḥadīth* are also mentioned in the Miftāh al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution (*Ḥadīth* no 1 see p. 267; no.3 on p. 306, 307; no.4 on p. 276; no. 6 on p. 311; no. 7 on p. 312, 313, and one similar to this on p. 316; a *ḥadīth* similar to no. 8, see p. 316; *ḥadīth* no. 9 p. 263 and p. 272; and *ḥadīth* no. 11 on Miftāh al-Ṣudūr p. 272-273.

twice repeated prayers of *sunna shukr al-wuḍū,' sunna tawba* and *sunna istikhāra),* with, in addition, the *sunna nawāfil* prayers, which come before and after *farḍ* prayers, and which may comprise as many as 16 *raka'āt* altogether. Thus in all, the total number of prayers comprises 112 *raka'āt,* day and night. The voiced *dhikr* recital of *lā ilāha illā Allāh,* repeated a minimum of 165 times, is furthermore performed after every obligatory prayer and as many times as possible before *fajr* prayer, while silent *dhikr* is done constantly all day long, along with eight types of daily *du'ā'.*[136]

In practice, the daily activities in the Inabah begin at 2 a.m, when someone goes around awakening the youth. The next step is to take a bath, accompanied by the reciting of *du'ā.'*[137] The bath is sometimes a struggle, since not everyone wants to take one at such an hour; however, the instructor simply keeps insisting until everyone has bathed. This is the bath of repentance, a practice that is repeated at least twice more in the day, before *ẓuhr* prayer and before *maghrib.* In effect, the

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[136] Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 127. In fact, there are 26 types of *sunna* prayer if we count every *qabliyya* and *ba'diyya* prayer as one type, and also 3 types of *sunna* prayers that are performed twice each: *Sunna shukr al-wuḍū'* (the first *sunna* prayer in early morning and the first *sunna* prayer before sleeping)*; sunna tawba* (done in the early morning and after *sunna awwābīn* in *magrib* time); and *sunna istikhāra* (done in the morning, *'ishrāq* time, and before sleeping). I did not have the opportunity to ask why only certain *sunna* prayers (those mentioned above) are done twice. In fact, in the case of *ṣalāt sunna shukr al-wuḍū'* and *taḥiyyat al-masjid,* though mentioned only once, these can be done more often. The *du'ā'* are to be recited on the following occasions: while entering and leaving the washroom, before and after eating, before and after sleeping and when meeting an *ikhwān* by saying *al-salāmu'alaikum waraḥmatullāh wa barakātuh.*

[137] One should recite the *du'ā'* before entering the washroom: "*A'ūdhubillah min al-khubuthi wa al-khabā'ith,*" and the *du'ā'* when coming out from the washroom:"*alhamdu lillāh al-ladhī adhhaba 'annī al-adhā wa 'āfānī ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh wa ashhadu anna Muhammadan rasūlullāh.*" See Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jīlānī, who explains this in Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq vol. 1, 24-25. The *du'ā'* for taking a bath of repentance is: "*rabbi anzilnī munzalan mubārakan wa anta khayr al-munzilīn,*" Abah Anom, Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja, 4.

bath is a shower, since flowing water is essential to the process. Then everyone goes to the mosque to pray. Newcomers are placed in the front line during prayer, amongst their fellows. The prayers are performed together under the leadership of the instructor or his/her assistant. They start by performing various *sunna* prayers, e.g., *shukr al-wuḍū'* (2 *raka'āt*), *taḥiyyat al-masjid* (2 *raka'āt*), *sunna tawba* (2 *raka'āt*), *tahajjud* (12 *raka'āt*), *tasbīḥ* (4 *raka'āt*), *witr* (11 *raka'āt*, or at least 3 *raka'āt*),[138] then they recite voiced *dhikr,* repeating as many as possible while waiting for the time of *fajr* prayer. Then at about 4.00 a.m., when the time comes for morning prayer, the *adhān* is performed by a youth who is nearing the end of his treatment, which is followed by recitation of *ṣalawāt Banī Hāshim.* Then they perform *sunna qabliya ṣubḥ* (2 *raka'āt*),[139] *li daf' al-balā'* (2 *raka'āt*),[140] and finally, the obligatory *ṣubḥ* prayer (2 *raka'āt*). This is followed by the recitation of the *dhikr, lā ilāha illā Allāh,* repeated 165 times. Afterwards, there is a short lecture after the *dhikr* on a topic that forms part of a 40 day cycle of lectures on a particular theme. At 5.30 a.m., the breakfast is ready. After that, at about 6.00 a.m., they

[138] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb (Beyrūt: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1993), vol. 2, passim. Concerning *ṣalāt shukr al-wuḍū'*, see page 148 of the latter source, where it is called, *ba'd al-wuḍū'*; on *taḥiyyat al-masjid* (the first activity to be done when one enters the mosque), 146; on *sunna tawba* (prayer of repentance), pages 146-147; on *tahajjud* (midnight prayer), page 146; on *tasbīḥ*, page 147; and on *witr,* page 145 of the same source. After performing *ṣalāt sunna tawba*, one should prostrate oneself to request God's forgiveness from all one's sins, to ask God to bestow one's good objectives, and one state one's gratefulness for all His favors. Concerning *ṣalāt tasbīḥ*, Abah Anom explains the procedure and provides the *lafẓ* of *tasbīḥ, subḥānallāh wa'lḥamdulillāh wa lā ilāha illā Allāh Allāhu akbar wa lā ḥawla walā quwwata illā billāh al-'aliyy al-'aẓīm.* See Abah Anom, Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja, 5-6. For *ṣalāt tahajjud* and *witr,* see also Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq vol.2, 80, 85 and 105. The author mentions specifically that *salāt al-witr* is done at the end of the night (*ākhir al-layl*), whereas for *ṣalāt tasbīḥ,* see page144.

[139] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol.2, 144. See also Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq, vol.2, 105,

[140] *Sunna* prayer *li daf' al-balā'* means the superogatory prayer to ward off an affliction (*balā'*).

perform the ablutions (*wuḍū'*) required for other *sunna* prayers: *sunna ishrāq* (2 *raka'āt*), *sunna li al-isti'āda* (2 *raka'āt*) and *sunna istikhāra* (2 *raka'āt*);[141] these prayers take about ten minutes. While waiting for the *ḍuḥā* prayers scheduled for 9.00 a.m, the youths can take a little rest and perform morning exercises, but soon they must perform ablutions in preparation for *ṣalāt ḍuḥā'* (8 *raka'āt*)[142] and *sunna kifārat al-bawli* (2 *raka'āt*).[143]

The period following this is reserved for various duties. Every youth is encouraged by the instructor to visit or meet Abah Anom once a week to seek his blessing, either on Tuesdays or Fridays, which they may do at this time of day. They are also usually asked to clean their bedrooms during this interval; even though the *pondok* has someone who is in charge of cleaning, this is designed to train youth to be responsible for their own rooms and belongings. A morning snack is also offered at this time, while the residents wait for *ẓuhr* prayer.

At about 11.00 a.m., the youths take another bath and perform ablutions for *ẓuhr* prayer. When the time of *ẓuhr* comes (about 12:00 noon), one of the youths performs the call to prayer, then they all perform *qabliyya ẓuhr* prayer (2 *raka'āt*)

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[141] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 2, 147. Concerning *ṣalāt istikhāra* (*ṣalāt* to ask guidance from God) see Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq vol. 2, 145; regarding *ṣalāt ishrāq*, this author refers to a *ḥadīth* from Ḥasan ibn 'Alī for a *ṣalāt sunna* when the sun rises. See the same source, page 94. *Ṣalāt sunna isti'āda* means *sunna* prayer of recovery

[142] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 2, 146. See also Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq vol. 2, 95, where it is explained that *ṣalāt ḍuḥā'* means *sunna* prayer, i.e., is the morning at about eight to eleven o' clock (*awwal al-nahār*). See also the *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Ḥākim and al-Ṭabarānī.

[143] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, in his Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 1, 64, mentions a *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Ṭabarānī regarding the importance of washing after urinating.

and the obligatory *ẓuhr* prayer (4 *raka'āt*), followed by *ba'diya ẓuhr* prayer (2 *raka'āt*).[144] Next the *imām* reads the *du'ā',* and then the voiced *dhikr* begins, which involves reciting *lā ilāha illā Allāh* 165 times. At 12.30 the youths have lunch together. Those who smoke often do so now, although they are allowed a maximum of only 6 cigarettes per day. Many choose to rest in the interval between lunch and mid-afternoon prayers, while some read and still others enjoy a family visit.

Then, at the time of *'aṣr* (at about 3.00 p.m.) after taking another bath and ablution, the call to prayer is made and the Inabah residents perform *ṣalawāt banī hāshim,* the *iqāmat* then the *qabliya 'aṣr* prayer (2 *raka'āt*),[145] the obligatory *'aṣr* prayer (4 *raka'āt*), and then *dhikr lā ilāha illā Allāh* another 165 times. After this, they enjoy an afternoon snack. At 5:00 p.m., they take yet another bath and when *maghrib* time comes (at about 6:00 p.m.), they perform the *sunna qabliya maghrib* prayer (2 *raka'āt*) and then the obligatory *maghrib* prayer (*3 raka'āt*). After that, the *dhikr lā ilāha illā Allāh* is said 165 times again, followed by another series of prayers: the *sunna ba'diya maghrib* prayer (*2 raka'āt*), the *sunna awwābīn* (6 *raka'āt*), [146] the *sunna tawba* (2 *raka'āt*), the *sunna birr al-wālidayn* (2 *raka'āt*), the

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Presumably reciting the *salāt kifārat al-bawl* the penalty one pays (*kifāra*) in the event that cleaning is not properly done according to *fiqh* (i.e. *istinjā'*).

[144] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 2, 145. See also Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq vol. 2., 105,

[145] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 2, 145. The author mentions that if one does 4 *raka'āt*, this belongs to *ghayr mu'akkad.*

[146] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 2, 145, 148. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī does not mention *awwabīn*, but rather *ṣalāt sunna* 6 *raka'āt* after *maghrib* prayer; see Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq, vol.2, 81,

sunna li ḥifẓ al-īmān (2 *raka'āt*) and the *sunna li shukr al-ni'ma* (2 *raka'āt*).[147] Next they listen to advice given by the instructor while waiting for the *'ishā'* prayer to begin.

Then when *'ishā'* time comes (at about 7:00 p.m.), once again, one of the youths calls them to prayer, in which the residents perform the *qabliya 'Ishā'* prayer (2 *raka'āt*), and the *'ishā' farḍ* prayer (4 *raka'āt*), after which they pronounce the *sunna ba'diya 'ishā'* prayer, and then finally recite *dhikr lā ilāha illā Allāh* 165 times.[148] At about 7:20 p.m., they have dinner, after which, before retiring at about 9:30 p.m., the *pondok*'s residents must perform their ablutions. Thus further *sunna* prayers are performed, including the prayers: *sunna shukr wuḍū'* (2 *raka'āt*), *sunna muṭlaq* (4 *raka'āt*), the *sunna istikhāra* (2 *raka'āt*) and *sunna ḥājat* (2 *raka'āt)*;[149] in this latter *ṣalat,* after the *fātiḥa* in each *rak'a,* they recite *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (*sūra* 112) eleven times. Finally, just as he lies down, the youth should place his hand under his cheek and recite, *bismika Allāhumma ahyā wa bismika amūt*[150] and *yā laṭīf* until he falls asleep. On awakening, he should recite the *du'ā'* for after sleep: *alhamdulillāh al-ladhī aḥyānā ba'da mā amātanā wa ilayh al-nushūr.* Similarly, before any meal, he

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[147] *Sunna birr al-wālidayn* means superogatory prayer for the sake of both parents; *sunna li ḥifẓ al-īmān* means superogatory prayer to preserve the faith; and *sunna li shukr al-ni'ma* means superogatory prayer to be gratitude of God's favor.

[148] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 2, 145. *Qabliya 'ishā'* belongs to *ghayr mu'akkad.*

[149] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, vol. 2, The last three *sunna* prayers are listed on pages 149, 147, 148. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jīlānī explains *salāt al-ḥājat* in Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq vol. 2, 148, and Al-Ghazālī, in his Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 1, 213.

[150] Various versions of *du'ā'* before sleeping are quoted by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, in his Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq vol. 1, 29.

is to recite *Allāhuma bāriklanā fīmā razaqtanā wa qinā 'adhāb al-nār*, then afterwards say *alhamdulillāh al-ladhī aṭ'amanā wa saqānā waja'alanā muslimīn.*[151] The residents of the Inabah also have to express Islamic greetings when meeting someone, saying *assalāmu'alaykum waraḥmatullāh wa barakātuh,* to which the answer is *wa'alaykum al-salām wa raḥmatullāh wa barakātuh.* From the above account it may seem the number of *ṣalāt* is excessive, but it is not so much the amount as it is the fact that through this regimen the youth learns how to be submissive (*khushū'*) in the *ṣalāt*, and how to perform the *dhikr* according to the TQN's method.

One will note also how frequently the Inabah residents are required to bathe, starting with the so-called night bath (*mandi malam*), also called the "bath of repentance" (*mandi taubat*). Though called the "night bath," as we have seen, it is actually taken quite early in the morning. This and the later baths function as a preventive against sleepiness, the coldness of the night or of the water and laziness. There is a sound physiological principle behind this tradition. When the skin is exposed to cold water, the blood vessels at the surface of the body shrink, therefore allowing more blood to flow to the brain and to the internal organs. Thus it becomes a very effective hydrotherapy, refreshing the soul and body that have been affected by the poison of narcotics.[152] In general, the patients do not want to take a bath, but

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[151] Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jīlānī proposes a longer *du'ā'* after meals than Abah Anom does; see Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq vol. 1, 22.

[152] Su'dan, Penyembuhan Penderita Kecanduan Narkotika di PP Suryalaya (Jakarta, n.d.) quoted by PP Suryalaya (1987), 1-8. See also Emo Kastama, Inabah Suatu Metoda Penyadaran Korban Narkotika dengan Menggunakan Zikrulloh Thariqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat (The first report), 38. See also Emo Kastame, Inabah (second report), 88. Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Anbiyā' 83 and al-Ṣād 41-42 tell us about the healing of the

at the Inabah they have no other choice. It is also supposed to have a therapeutic effect on the nerves. In fact, at the Inabah, whenever a craving or addiction comes, especially in the case of new-comers, the latter are ordered to take a bath. This may be repeated once, twice or three times, depending on the level of addiction and also on the type of drug one has ingested.[153]

The practice also has its parallel in *fiqh*, where a bath of repentance is performed for a number of reasons: when one enters into Islam; after thinking or behaving like a *kāfir*, such as by rejecting the comfort offered by God (*ni'matullāh*); besmirching God's creation; as a cure for insanity; or as the first step in learning a new *ṭarīqa*. The Prophet says that whoever takes a bath in cold water, especially when the water is poured over the head, i.e., a shower bath or in a waterfall, he will be cured of mental disturbance.[154] The youths in the Inabah are therefore instructed to recite each time the *du'ā'* of the bath of repentance: "*rabbi anzilnī munzalan mubārakan wa anta khayr al-munzilīn*" (My Lord! Cause me to land at a blessed landing-place, for You are the Best of those who bring to [us] land).[155]

The Inabah curriculum may be seen to emphasize the 'ritual or practical' dimension of religion, which consists among others, "worship, meditation,

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Prophet Ayyūb (pbuh) using cold water for bathing and drinking. See Dr. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Diyāb and Dr. Aḥmad Qurqūz, Ma'a al-Ṭīb fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm (Damascus: Mu'assasa 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, 1983), 37-38.

[153] Emo Kastama Inabah (the first report), 64.

[154] Quoted by Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 91.

[155] This *du'ā'* is quoted by Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 31. And in fact, this is quoted from the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Mu'minūn (23:29).

sacramental rites and healing activities..."[156] The initiation, a sacramental rite, takes place only once while the practice of the bath of repentance, prayer (*farḍ* and *sunna*) and performing the *dhikr* are all done repeatedly and thus fall into the ritual and practical categories. The repetition of *dhikr* and prayers always takes place at a moment in human time, and in a set location, but Islamically it evokes a timeless, eternal God, unbound and unrestrained by spatial considerations. Abah Anom insists that *dhikr* reflects thankfulness for God's bounty, when one performs it, out loud or silently, 'the memorial of one's God quietens one's heart; and, in a mystical sense, one gains some kind of access to the presence of God by one's *dhikr*.'[157] In this way, the youths feel comfortable about practicing it and need to possess this opportunity and advantage.

The youths of the Inabah eat and drink plentiful, healthy meals based on an Indonesian menu. This menu reflects the standard of the Department of Health of Indonesia, which has decreed that a healthy diet consists of four basic food types (rice, vegetable, meat or fish and fruit) and then, ideally, a fifth type, dairy products (i.e., milk). Most Indonesians, however, cannot afford to buy the last-named, hence the saying 4 *sehat,* 5 *sempurna* (4 for health, 5 for perfection). The Inabah provides this menu and even vitamin B supplements. Residents also engage in some light sports, receive plenty of morning sunshine, and to a certain degree pursue a social

[156] Ninian Smart includes meditation as a ritual or practiced, arguing that it often has a strict pattern which embraces both the ritual and practical. See his Dimensions of the Sacred: An Anatomy of the World's Beliefs (London: Harper Collins, 1996), 10-11. Here he identifies the nine dimensions of a religion: the ritual or practical, the doctrinal or philosophical, the mythic or narrative, the experiential or emotional, the ethical or legal, the organizational or social, the material or artistic, the political and finally the economic. See also his The Phenomenon of Religion, (London: Macmillan, 1973), 42.

life, for they can interact with their fellow Inabah residents, their instructors and the families of the latter. They can also watch television and listen to the radio until 21:30, but they cannot make phone calls -- a policy designed to avoid uncontrolled conversations. Only five hours of the day are devoted to sleep, roughly from 21:30 p.m. to 2:00.a.m. This sounds difficult, but the *raison d'être* of the Inabah is to free the youth from drug addiction, which is literally a matter of life or death.

The overall healing process follows a certain pattern, and is gradual in nature.[158] In the first seven days, one's physical constitution usually shows improvement; this is vital, for physical health is essential if one is to follow the curriculum. After fourteen days in the Inabah, the youth are usually able to join fully in the programs, while after twenty-one days it is expected that all the symptoms of the addiction will have disappeared. At the same time, the appetite increases and the youth starts to enjoy the experience of *dhikr*. After 35 days, his physical body is healthy and clear of toxins; he is bathing regularly, performing *ṣalāt* in the proper way, reciting the *dhikr* steadily and socializing with his peers. On the 40th day, the youth is brought to Abah Anom to receive a final instruction and a statement of health, physical and mental. After this, the instructor hands the youth over to his parents. For those who want to continue to study in Suryalaya, various educational

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[157] Annemarie Schimmel, Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 147-148.

[158] The movement of healing is both physical and mental. As Abah Anom explains, outer sustenance (*rizq*) is achieved through the movement of the body (which becomes increasingly healthier), while the inner *rizq* is achieved through the movement of the hearts. See Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 306-307. On another page of the same source, he says "the hearts become alive." See p. 276, 269.

programs are available, while those who want to work can be sent to one of the trade schools run by the government in Bandung and Bogor, to learn a skill.

The 40 day program has a significance over and above the therapeutic level. It conforms with the Prophetic *ḥadīth*: "Whoever prays in congregation 40 days and nights continuously (not being arriving later than the first *takbīr* of the *imām*) with God's will, shall be free from hypocrisy and destructive behavior" (narrated by Ḥākim). Another *ḥadīth* says that whoever wakes up at night for 40 days continuously and worships God, he will be granted new thoughts and new ideas, and will realize his true self.

Every youth in the Inabah practices this routine every day. For serious cases, it will normally take between 40 days and 6 months or more to be cured.[159] Whatever the reason for the success of the program, the number of patients who are cured of various dependencies attests to its effectiveness.[160] This effectiveness has recently been measured in more quantitative terms.[161]

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[159] I Nurol Aen, "Lampiran II Inabah," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 410-411.

[160] Juhaya S. Praja , "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1980)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 173.

[161] Emo Kastama, Inabah (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1994), (the second report). Emo undertook two research projects, the first of which was most probably done in 1989 and the second in 1993. I have both of his reports; however, only the second report mentions the date. The first report is entitled Inabah, Suatu Metoda Penyadaran Korban Narkotika dengan Menggunakan Zikrulloh Thariqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat. Most of the data in the first report does not go beyond the year 1989, and the researcher mentions on page 79 of the second report, *Inabah*, that he had done explorative research four years earlier. From his conclusions in the first research project, we find that during ten years of healing, from 1981-1989, in ten Inabahs, the percentage achieved was 93,1% of youth cured (5,426 out of 5,825/5,925 (?) patients), while 212 persons were still in the healing process and 7 persons had passed away. These numbers were even more impressive than the results obtained in the hospital system in prior years. See his Inabah (the first report) p. 88. Emo Kastama's second report tells us that, from eight Inabahs taken as samples, the success rate was 83,91% of youth healed from June 1989 till July 1993 (2,284 out of 2,772/2,722 (?) patients), while 280 were still in the process of

In the Inabah no time is ever wasted. All activities are considered a form of worship. There is almost no spare time, such as occurs in a hospital. The youth are encouraged and in fact have little choice but to practice all scheduled activities. For some, at least in the beginning, this may be difficult, but gradually they get accustomed to it, and they start to enjoy taking a bath early every morning, and experiencing the pleasures of *ṣalāt* and *dhikr*. They enjoy healthy food in a natural environment, the whole social and religious atmosphere and the feeling of security and peace.

As was mentioned above, the process of healing lasts anywhere from 6 to 12 months, to less than 6 months, to a minimum of 40 days. Every case is different, although they may be grouped according to certain similarities. There is a fee involved which may seem expensive at first, but when compared to the cost of medical treatment in the Rumah Sakit Ketergatungan Obat/ Hospital for Drug Dependency (RSKO), it is not. In addition, the Inabah treats not only the physical body but also and most importantly the spirit, aiming at the rehabilitation of the mind and soul.[162] Some of course are sent to the Inabah for economic reasons, such as when their parents cannot afford to pay the higher fee for their hospitalization, while others just want to distance themselves from family and society. However the Pondok Inabah accepts them all. Kastama writes that when he asked whether the fee

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healing (10,29%), 235 had gone home before being totally cured (8,63%), 123 had run away without permission (4,52%), and 35 had passed away (1,29%).See Inabah (the second report), 129. According to this researcher, the total number of those who had been healed by 1990 amounted to 8000 persons.

[162] During the time of Kastama's research, the cost was ten thousand rupiahs per day, while during my research it was three million rupiahs per month, approximately ten-fold increase. This is the standard charge; however many of poor parents pay less.

for the Inabah could be postponed until later, as a sort of loan, the instructor (at Inabah III in this case) only smiled, saying that God had already provided for the youth's sustenance through the Inabah.[163]

It is Inabah policy never to give drugs in order to reduce dependency on a gradual basis, as is the practice in hospitals, even for the most desperate sufferers. It is not even allowed to give any drug that has psychotropic properties or that leads the youth to be sleepy. This type of youth has only a slight chance of returning to normal, but the effort is made nonetheless. [164]

The process of healing in the Inabah depends upon strict observance of the curriculum. A very high level of educational discipline is maintained. A certain degree of force is sometimes necessary, but never to the extreme suggested by some critics.[165] Sometimes just the threat that the police may be summoned without his parents' notice is enough to secure the cooperation of a youth.

In some cases, youths return to the Inabah after discharge. These ex-patients may have found it impossible to stay at home or to live in society. There are instances where the family has refused to allow the youth to continue practicing his

[163] Kastama mentions that there were two such cases in Inabahs III and VI, where the parents of the youth are generally quite poor.

[164] From 1981 to 1989, only 0,12% of victims passed away in the Inabah, while hospital data during the same period of time record a mortality rate of 1,17%.

[165] Certain media sources have reported that Inabah officials torture the youth under their care. In fact they do not have evidence for this accusation. The newspapers/magazines most involved in these accusations were Kompas, Tempo and Jakarta-Jakarta. See Emo Kastama, Inabah (the first report), 4-5. These media discredited the Pondok Inabah, saying that youth are tortured in the *pondok* and a girl passed away as a result of the treatment. Abah Anom did not offer any response except to advise the instructors of Inabah and the *ikhwān* of TQN to be patient, and even saying that "while we are doing good deeds, virtue is not always rewarded by human beings therefore we have to be patient for the sake of God who is the Mightiest and the All-knowing." See Juhaya S. Praja,"TQN pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya Pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 152.

faith as he had done in the Inabah.[166] According to some parents, on the other hand, the youth may expect them to behave like Inabah instructors in terms of worship and behavior. In such cases, it is not easy at all to maintain one's health. An additional problem that emerged during my interviews with some returnees was that former friends would renew contact with them and encourage or even force them to return to their old habits. Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya has in fact, developed some alternatives for such people; for example, some are allowed to continue their education in the *pesantren* and stay with other normal *santris*. I myself met an ex-patient from Malaysia, who presently studies at the Institute Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah (IAILM), Suryalaya.

Basically, there are two types of patients: drug addicts or other juvenile delinquents, and those suffering from psychosis or other mental illness. Prior to coming to the Inabah, many of the youth are hospitalized either in Rumah Sakit Ketergantungan Obat (the local hospital for drug addicts) or in Rumah Sakit Jiwa (the hospital for the mentally ill), or they are receiving treatment in consultation with psychiatric professionals.[167] Thus they have already experienced attempts at

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[166] When I did interview with some returnees, some of them said that their friends called and came to influence them to use drugs again; some of these "friends" even resented the fact that they were on the way recovery, and even threatened them.

[167] In addition, such treatments are also given in Wisma Parmadi Siwi, Dharma Wangsa, Dharma Sakti, Dharma Bakti, Dharma Jaya, Ongkomulyo, Yayasan Santikara, and under the psychiatric section in the Hospital for Army and for Navy, Drug Dependence Institute, as well as in all Public Hospitals in Jakarta. However, only PP Suryalaya provides a special treatment, with a non-medical, but religious approach.

healing through psychotropic, anti-depressive, antihistamine, or other such therapies.[168]

This thesis has not dwelled at any length on the patients themselves; however, a brief explanation might help the reader to gain an idea about their condition prior to their coming to the Inabah, the process of healing in this institution, and the long-term success of the program. Every youth has a different history of drug usage. This results in various levels of spiritual illness, ranging from the moderately to the extremely serious. In general, the characteristics of these youth are the following: they feel very distant from their parents, who find fault with them and are concerned with their behaviour; they also feel persecuted by the authorities. Then there are their feelings when under the influence of drugs, and the mentality bred by such abuse. Thus most of their remarks are lies; they regard other peoples' property as their own; and they are impervious to criticism, advice and punishment. But often when their feelings are touched by divine teachings imparted in a spirit of kindness and patience, they are able to discover their true identity. They come to realize that the pleasure gained through drug use is an artificial one, and that the pleasure of spiritual renewal is genuine.

The youth who are sent to the Inabah are worn out by life. They come from various places and backgrounds, and have different problems that have led to addiction or delinquency. For the Inabah, the priority is to effect a change in their behaviour (*akhlāq)* since without this, their efforts at physical improvement will be in vain. Due to this reason, religious teachings play an important role.

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[168] Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 106.

In addition, Abah Anom's program appears to address what PEMADAM (Persatuan Mencegah Dadah Malaysia/National Association for the Prevention of Dadah Malaysia Fighting Drug Abuse) has identified as the core problem with treating addicts. According to this group, it is one thing to cure the physical bodies of the victims, but another to cure their behavior. Of the two, the second is more important in the long run. To integrate all the psychological functions of a human being in the quest for perfection for the sake of God, one must unite the cognitive, affective, conative and psychomotor faculties in the inner heart of human beings.[169]

Inabah is an Indonesian term that is the equivalent of the Arabic *al-rujū' ilā Allāh, unīb ilā rabbikum* or *al-rujū' ilā rabbikum,* meaning return to God. This has particular significance not only for the addicts or the youth involved in juvenile delinquency, but for all those involved in treating them and in society around them, for all want to achieve a place in this world and in the Hereafter. For Abah Anom, the treatment program is no different in a sense from what is expected of all people, since human deviation and oppression can only be cured through repentance before God by practicing *dhikr Allāh. Sūrat* Āl-'Imrān verse 135 explains: "And those who, when they have committed *fāhisha* (illegal sexual intercourse) or wronged themselves by doing evil, remember Allah and ask forgiveness for their sin; - and none can forgive sins but Allah – and do not persist in what (wrong) they have done, while they know." *Dhikr* is considered as a tool that brings one closer to God by

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[169] Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 40-41. A quotation from PEMADAM (National Association for the Prevention of Dadah Malaysia Fighting Drug Abuse), published in February, 1991.

cleansing one's heart of *shirk* (idolatry) and filling one's heart with a belief in Him. *Dhikr* can result in the tranquility of heart and it can help one change one's behaviour, although this cannot be achieved except through discipline (*riyāḍa*) and struggle (*mujāhada*).

The role of the *sharī'a* is also very important to the process (though understated), for according to Abah Anom, the performance of *dhikr* of the tongue (*tawḥīd al-lisān*) will be of no benefit if one follows it with *shirk* in the heart.[170] Since the practice of *dhikr* only benefits the one who has benefited from *talqīn,* the way of the Sufi should be implemented by following the Qur'ān, the *Sunna,* and the traditions of the Companions of the Prophet, the *tābi'īn,* the *tābi' al-tābi'īn,* the *awliyā,'* the *'ulamā'* and *ṣiddīqīn.*[171] This applies as much to Inabah patients as it does to other disciples.

The whole process of spiritual healing can perhaps be summarized as internalizing the word of God. It is the Qur'ān itself as well as the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet (pbuh) that provide the raw materials for the practice, which rests firmly on the efficacy of "remembering God" (*dhikr*). Five daily ritual prayers are prescribed for Muslims, and the youth are obliged to perform them. Not only that, other *sunna* prayers that form the core of ordinary Muslim piety are expected of them. Among these, the *sunna* prayer sequence after midnight has a special importance. Although this may seem too demanding, those who seriously engage in this routine end up by

[170] Abah Anom, Miftah al-Sudur in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 314.

[171] Ibid., 314, 281-284.

looking forward to it enthusiastically. The enthusiasm that can accompany this kind of spiritual regimen makes prayer nearly a full-time occupation (it would be difficult, after all, to follow any other profession while adhering to a daily schedule that includes such lengthy prayer sessions plus extensive periods of *dhikr).* From this point of view, it is understandable that the youth be isolated in a place where he can pursue this kind of intense prayer routine without interruption. It is obvious from Sufi meditation manuals that every phase of ritual prayer has special qualities and that the effects of prayer may be felt at every level, from the spiritual and psychological to the physical and material. Of course, such spiritual practice can bring certain properties/benefits, although this is not the main objective of the regimen. For it is believed that the power of the word of God dictated in the Qur'ān to the Prophet and to the Sufi saints is more powerful than anything else in the universe. Sufi healers firmly believe that regardless of whatever system of healing may be applied, or how skilled the practitioner, it is God almighty who alone conceives, designs, and makes all formulations[172] available, and it is by His permission alone that they have an effect on human affairs.

The charismatic leadership of Abah Anom has been essential to the success of the Inabah. The curriculum of the Inabah appears to be emblematic of Abah

[172] There are various types of healing within the Sufi traditions, but they all come down to four different treatments: prayers, medicines (i.e., foods and herbal formulas for common ailments), certain ritual practices, and giving certain things up (e.g. abstaining from eating and drinking what is forbidden by Islamic teachings). In addition, Sufis have the knowledge of specific verses of the Qur'ān, and the names of various attributes of God, which are combined in particular ways to effect cures. This form of healing is called the science of *ta'wīdh* (from the verb *'ādha*, to flee to God for refuge); however, Sufis consider prayer to be the most superior form of medicine. For detailed information on *ta'wīdh* (the merciful prescription), see Ḥakim Abu Abdullah Ghulam Moinuddin, The Book of Sufi Healing (New York: Inner Traditions International, Ltd., 1985), 131.

Anom's principles and objectives as head of the TQN.[173] He is the locus of parents' hope, especially those whose children have become victims of drug addiction. Thus the establishment of Inabah, in the first place, served to answer the need of the society and was only later institutionalized as a program of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. Even later its functions were made subject to the Yayasan and legalized by a notary public. Eventually the government even came to support this activity for example by giving donations to improve the infrastructure and in administrative matters.

However, in the case of the involvement of youth in drugs, preventive action is also necessary. In addition to healing, the Inabah supports the government policy of exacting a heavy punishment for the distributors and of destroying marijuana fields, and the like. Nevertheless, a follow-up treatment after the Inabah program (or after programs offered in hospitals) are of vital necessity to help youth achieve a better future; therefore, individual files on the youth during their stay in Inabah are kept in order to prepare and anticipate their coming education and activities in society. In addition, the management of the Inabah is constantly being improved, such as in the new practice of taking daily notes concerning every youth at the

[173] The first objective is to be close to God (*taqarrub ilā Allāh)* because in fact God is near to every one. The second is to work for the sake of His contentment (*marḍātillāh*), or to achieve the way of life that is preferred by God. And the third is to achieve *ma'rifat,* which guides one in attaining love (*maḥabba*) for God. Abah Anom's charisma is demonstrated conclusively during *manakiban* every month when about between 5000-7000 people shake his hand and seek blessings and *du'ā'* from him. Most of them bring a bottle of water and he performs the *du'ā'* for two or three seconds above bottle, effectively blessing the water. I witnessed this practice during my stay at the Suryalaya Pesantren in early 1999, and further saw the water being treated with reverence. It is believed to confer blessing and health on those who drink it afterwards.

Inabah. Every instructor of the Inabah must also be periodically up-dated in Islamic knowledge. This is to avoid any dogmatic approach to managing the institution.[174]

Dr. Kastama concludes in his second report that the method of the Inabah should be considered as scientifically valid for the following reasons: The Inabah method is rational, as demonstrated by the daily activities in the curriculum. The Inabah method is systematic, relying as it does on a standard concept and a standard implementation. And finally, the Inabah method has been proven effective on empirical grounds, with a record of healing 80% successful, tested over 14 years (1979-1993). Psychologically speaking, the strict schedule of the Inabah that fills a youth's entire day prevents him from growing distracted. All of his attention is needed to fulfil the demands of the curriculum, especially in performing prayers and *dhikr*. The entire experience is quite foreign to the environment that led them into addiction in the first place and still threatens to draw them back in.

Pondok Inabah has been featured quite often in the mass media, such as in the *Bandung Pos*, for October 9, 1980, *Pikiran Rakyat* for August 1983, *Merdeka* for September 14, 1983 (among others). Almost all reports about the institution or its work have been favourable. The positive comments and feedback given by most newspapers have been collected and reviewed by Arief Ichwanie AS.[175] Moreover, despite its growing notoriety, it has, remarkably, avoided almost all controversy, coming in for criticism only for a short time in 1986, as mentioned above.[176]

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[174] Emo Kastama, Inabah (the second report), 130.

[175] Arief Ichwanie,"Berbagai Pandangan dan Berita tentang TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 248-249.

[176] According to Kastama those media were motivated by politico-religious jealousy.

Visitors also are impressed by the successful achievements of the facility. As time goes on, more people come from different parts of Indonesia to Suryalaya, and even from outside the country, e.g., Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Australia, Japan, Germany, the Netherlands, etc. Some come to join the TQN, others ask for guidance, while still others seek religious advice in the form of a *fatwa* -- and yet they all come from various social classes. As a consequence, to serve them better, the foundation has tried to raise the standards of service. It not only oversees education but also performs the *da'wa* by preparing *muballighs*. Furthermore, it strives to meet the economic needs of the *ikhwān* of the TQN, enhancing the role of women, and developing skill-training facilities, not to mention bringing improvements to the Pondok Inabah itself. Much of this is accomplished by the social sections of the Yayasan Serba Bakti, the long arm of the head of Pondok Pesantren, which has the responsibility of managing *da'wa*, education, Inabah and other projects that will be introduced below.[177]

Other social activities of Pesantren Suryalaya

The *da'wa* section[178] coordinates the *muballighs* in their role of managing TQN programs in their own particular districts. At present, there are some 2,000

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[177] Juhaya S. Praja , "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1980), "in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 130

[178] At present, the *da'wa* section of the Yayasan Serba Bakti Pusat is led by K.H. Zezen Zainal Abidin Zayadi Bazul Asyhab, one of the *wakil talqīns*. In addition, he is also a head of *pesantren* Darul Rahman in Sukabumi. With the help of Ustādh Wahfiuddin of Jakarta, my husband and I had the opportunity to go to Sukabumi and visit his *pesantren* as well as that *pesantren*'s agricultural project. Kiyai Zezen is an influential *kiyai*, and a formidable orator. He often gives lectures during

muballighs spread out among the branches of the foundation (Yayasan Serba Bakti) of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. They regularly and frequently come to Suryalaya on the eleventh of each *Hijra* month to receive guidance from Abah Anom and to discuss the problems that they face in their areas of local responsibility. To elevate the quality and broaden the minds of the *muballighs*, the Yayasan provides training to develop their abilities and skills. In 1973, the training was conducted in coordination with Dinas Rawatan Rohani Islam TNI Angkatan Darat Pusat in Jakarta.[179]

Non-formal education in Suryalaya includes courses in electronics, handicrafts, agriculture, typing, foreign languages, sewing, etc., while at the same time an emphasis is placed on adults learning how to practice *dhikrullāh*. The training for the *muballighs* is also an important program in the *pesantren*. They are expected to go to the *majlis khataman* and *manakiban* to guide the *ikhwān* of the TQN.

The Hidmat Cooperative (*Koperasi*) of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya

In 1973, Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya established a cooperative (koperasi) known as Koperasi Putra Bakti, to be managed by students (*santris*). However, to enhance its efforts and establish a more religious understanding as a starting point,

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manakiban in Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya, Jakarta and various other places as well. He is the translator of Sirr al-Asrār, a work attributed to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī from Arabic into Indonesian Language.

[179] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1980)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 130-131

in March 1979, the *pesantren* tried to reorganize it under a new name, Koperasi Primer Hidmat (an abbreviation for *Hidup Masa Thoriqat*). It serves not only students but also all the *ikhwān* of the TQN. The activities of the cooperative include managing a shop, a tea plantation, various services, preventing the practice of buying and selling rice and other crops such as cloves long before the harvest (a practice known as *ijon)* and a cow ranch. These cooperatives are to be found in 27 places in West Java and Jakarta.[180]

The main objective of Hidmat is to fulfill the economic needs of members of the TQN. It is managed with the assistance of the Department of Cooperation of the Republic of Indonesia. The benefits of the *koperasi* are sometimes also donated to the *pesantren* itself.

The other activities of the cooperative that are also significant include activities such as saving borrowing, managing plantations, and acting as agents for the sale or provision of pesticides, petroleum and telecommunications. The committee of the *pesantren* has tried also to introduce a mini-relay of the television network of the Republic of Indonesia in Pasir Palasari, with much success. To enlarge the audience, the mini-relay was moved to the top of Walen Kadipaten Ciawi Tasikmalaya, obviously requiring a huge budget.[181]

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[180] Yusuf Hamzah and Ayat Hidayat, "Lampiran III Organisasi dan Kelembagaan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 372-373.

[181] Sandisi, Metode Pendidikan Islam di Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, (Suryalaya Tasikmalaya, 1991), 19. Sandisi mentions that Putra Bakti was established in 1971,

Ibu Bella

Ibu Bella is an institution devoted to promoting activities for the female members of the TQN. Bella is an abbreviation of *Bener Bageur Lahir Batin,* a phrase in the Sundanese language which means women who have noble external and internal characteristics. Ibu Bella functions to coordinate women's activities, for example, by offering courses in cooking, sewing, family welfare, and taking care of orphans.

The role of Ibu Bella is a very important one because of the care it extends to orphans, the elderly, women's welfare movement activities and health centers, in all of which they have been quite successful. On August 25-27 1998, there was training offered to cadres of the Posyandu (Pos Pelayanan Terpadu-Integrated Health Center), in which seventy women were trained and guided directly by the health section of the district of Tasikmalaya. Among the lessons offered were those on giving guidance to mothers concerning the health of children under five years of age, supplementary food, immunization, family planning, etc.[182]

Other social activities of the *pesantren,* including preserving the environment, earned Abah Anom an award from the State Minister of Environment on June 1980, signed by the minister, Emil Salim. And for his positive and enduring

[182] Juhaya S. Praja , "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1980)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution 129-130.

contribution to development, Abah Anom received the Tanda Kehormatan Satya Lencana Kebaktian Sosial award from President Suharto on November 27, 1985.[183]

Observing the social activities of the Pesantren Suryalaya, one may be impressed by their wide range. They relate not only to social matters but also to other aspects such as education, women's issues, employment, economic, and religious activities. This wide range makes the *pesantren* an agent of developing society.

5. The dissemination of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* of Suryalaya outside of Indonesia

The *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* of Suryalaya has several overseas branches, with various educational and social programs modeled on the pattern of the Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. These include for example, branches in Kedah, Sabah and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. In Singapore too, the order boasts many followers, as well as in Thailand and Brunei Darussalam. I was able to confirm this in my own meetings with the *talqīn* agents for Malaysia and the one for Singapore, both of whom granted me interviews.[184]

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[183] Ibid., 133-134.

[184] I have met with Ustādh Mansur and Ustadh Zuki from Malaysia as well as Ustadh 'Ali of Singapore. I met them in person while I did my research in Suryalaya, in March-April 1999. I was fortunate to meet them personally and interview them. With Abah Anom's generous assistance, I received permission to stay in the *pesantren* and even held some interviews in Abah Anom's residence.

The TQN Suryalaya has also attracted, on an informal basis, many visitors from other Asian countries in the region. Some of these have been drawn by the spiritual activities of the TQN and have met Abah Anom. Others are motivated to see how the *dhikr* of the TQN has developed, while still others are primarily interested in the methods used to heal drug addicts.

The TQN in Singapore

The TQN in Singapore was started in 1972 by a disciple of Abah Sepuh, H. Ibin Sarbini, a businessman who moved there for this purpose from Tasikmalaya. Its first members were Habib Muhammad and his friends, Yusuf and Mohammad Syukron, who came to perform *talqīn.* The TQN in Singapore developed rapidly after H. Ali bin H. Mohamed was appointed as *wakil talqīn* by Abah Anom in 1975, soon after he had performed the *ḥajj.* He belongs to the first generation of the *ikhwān* of the TQN Suryalaya along with Yusuf Wanjor, Hasan Muttalib. H. Yusuf Ali and H. Sariri Rawi.

The activities of the Singapore branch as early as 1974 included *khataman,* Islamic lectures, etc. When the anniversary of the Suryalaya Pesantren was celebrated in 1975, 29 people performed *talqīn.* In 1976 two Suryalaya *muballighs,* Prof. Abubakar Aceh and K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar, with the permission of Abah Anom, accepted an invitation to perform the *da'wa* in Singapore. By 1987, the *ikhwān* of TQN in Singapore numbered about three thousand in all.

The activities of the TQN in H. Ali's house were insufficient to satisfy the local *ikhwān.* For this reason, they moved into *Masjid Khadijah,* which became a centre of activity of the TQN. It was here that they welcomed Abah Anom on his two visits to Singapore: once in 1983, on his way to Baghdad and Egypt, and again in 1989, when he was returning from Sarawak, Malaysia. In 1989, they also founded a Pondok Inabah which successfully healed four patients of their dependencies. Fundraising for these local activities was provided in part by the Ibu Bella section operating in Singapore, which ran the restaurant, *Darul Khidmat.*[185]

The TQN in Kedah

In 1979, H. Ali of Singapore began making *da'wa* trips to Kedah, Malaysia. In Kedah he stayed at the house of H. Muhd Zuki and also often met with Muhd Said al-Attas of Sabah, who had been appointed as a *talqīn* agent by Abah Anom in 1977. Then Zuki himself was appointed as a *talqīn* agent in 1986, in addition to being made head of the newly founded Pondok Inabah X located in Kedah. On the

[185] Juhaya S. Praja & Zaenal Abidin Anwar, "Pengaruh TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Di Dalam dan Di Luar Negeri," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 214. There was a kind of training session for the *ikhwān* of Singapore held in Suryalaya, June 4, 1994. There were eleven lectures given and presented by some *talqīn* agents and lecturers of the IAILM. The lectures dealt with following: the history and the organisation of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya and its development by Drs. Yusuf Hamza; explanation of *dhikr jahr* and *khafī* and its practices by K.H. Zaenal Abidin Anwar; Inabah and Repentance in the Qur'an by Drs. Cecep Z. Alba. MA.; how to elevate the faith and *taqwa* through *dhikrullāh* by K.H. Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul; the *ādāb* of the disciple in the *Ṭarīqa* by K.H. Zezen Zainal Abidin Zayadi Bazul Asyhab; the position of *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqa* in Islam by Dr. Ahmad Hidayat; the relationship between *taṣawwuf* (TQN), *kalām* and *fiqh* by Dr. Juhaya S. Praja; *asrār tanbīh* and the chain of the pearl (Untaian Mutiara) by H.A.S, Nasution SH; the position of *taṣawwuf* in the system of the knowledge of human beings by Dr. Ahmad Tafsir; the psychology of *da'wa* and a reflection on *da'wa* in the modern era by Drs. H.E. Usman Effendi, MS and the leadership, management and organisation by R.H. Unang Sunardjo SH. I am very grateful to Mr. Maj. Gen. (retired) Sukriya Atmaja who provided me with useful and important information concerning this session as well as to his wife Mrs. Umi Imas Sukriya who invited me, H. Ali of Singapore and his colleagues to their home for discussion while we were in Suryalaya.

anniversary of the establishment of this Inabah, April 3, 1988, they performed a *manakiban* event. Local government staff attended this, as did a delegation from Suryalaya, The patients healed in Inabah X by that time had totalled 850. In recognition of this contribution, the government of Malaysia donated a piece of land located on Bidin Island for the exclusive use of this Pondok Inabah.

The activities of Pondok Inabah X are the pride of the people and the government of Malaysia. The Malaysian Anti-Narcotics Team (PEMADAM) often visits Inabah X as well as Suryalaya. And even the vice-minister for internal affairs of Malaysia, Dt. H. Megat ibn Juned, has donated a piece of land to enlarge the Pondok Inabah. One can see how the potential for the development of the TQN in Kedah was facilitated by the appointment of a *wakil talqīn*, the generosity of donors and the support of the government.[186]

The TQN Suryalaya in Kuala Lumpur and surrounding areas

The TQN in Kuala Lumpur, Kelang and Shah Alam was started by individual adherents. In Kuala Lumpur, this included Muhd Noh ibn Husin (who was initiated in Kedah 1979) and Zulkefli Abdul Hamid (initiated in 1980). In Shah Alam, the movement was introduced by Hussin ibn Ali (initiated in Suryalaya 1981). The *talqin* of the TQN in this area was the responsibility of Mohd Said al-Attas of Sabah, Muhd Zuki Shafei of Kedah, H. Ali of Singapore and H. Osman Abdul Latif

[186] Juhaya S. Praja & Zaenal Abidin Anwar, "Pengaruh TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Di Dalam dan Di Luar Negeri," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 214. The very recent tour of *da'wa* from Suryalaya to Singapore and Malaysia consisted of Mrs. Yoyoh Sofiah (Abah Anom's wife), K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar and K.H. Gaos Saefullah Maslul, H. Sukriya Atmaja and Ummi Imas Sukriya. The tour took place in February 2001.

Trengganu. These men later visited Kuala Lumpur 22 times between 1987 and 1989. In 1988, H. Muhd Khaer Anuar was appointed by Abah Anom as the elder *ikhwān* of the TQN in the region, to oversee a group that had grown to number 500 members.[187]

In 1989, prior to his visit to Sarawak, Abah Anom and a delegation from Suryalaya visited Kuala Lumpur and were received officially by the vice-minister of internal affairs of Malaysia, Dt. H. Megat ibn Juned, at the Subang airport, outside the capital. In Bintulu, the entire delegation performed Friday prayer together with the minister of defence of Malaysia, Dt. Ahmad Rithauddin. Joining them were nine *imāms* of the Masjid Jami' in Bintulu and the surrounding area. They were all then initiated into the order by Abah Anom.[188]

The TQN in Sabah

The TQN in Sabah was founded in 1976 by H. Said al-Attas on his return from Suryalaya, where he had been initiated into the order. A year later, he was appointed by Abah Anom to be a *wakil talqīn*. On the way home to Sabah from Suryalaya he stopped at Negeri Sembilan to perform the *talqīn* for nine members of his family. In his own country, he is regarded by the government as an employee in the civil service department responsible for commanding virtue (*amr ma'rūf*). The number of TQN *ikhwān* in Sabah is now about two thousand in all. In addition, H.

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[187] Juhaya S. Praja & Zaenal Abidin Anwar, "Pengaruh TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Di Dalam dan Di Luar Negeri," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 214-215.

[188]Ibid., 218.

Said often performs *da'wa* in Thailand, which means that the TQN is disseminating its teachings in that country also.

The TQN in Trengganu

The dissemination of the TQN in Trengganu was the work of a *wakil talqīn* named Osman ibn H. Abdullatif. Originally, his own home served as the focal point for the *ikhwān* as well as for the movement's Pondok Inabah. It is located on Panji Alam near Surau Gerong Lanjut. Due to the growing number of *ikhwān* and patients needing attention at the Inabah, there was an urgent need for more space, and so a number of activities were relocated to Kg. Sungai Ikan, 25 km from the centre Bandar Kuala Trengganu. On this site, they built a dormitory for the patients suffering from drug addiction. In 1985, the number of *ikhwān* of the TQN in this area numbered about 500. The community and the local government support the development of the TQN in Trengganu.[189]

The TQN in Sarawak

The first contacts between Sarawak and the Suryalaya *pesantren* started with a visit to the latter by the prince of Sarawak, Ahmad Zaini Adruce ibn Mohd. Noor and his wife, Datin Hj. Rosmiyati and two others, H. Muhammad Trang Isa and H. Sapawi Arifin, in July 1977. The aim of their visit to Java, at that time, was to observe Indonesian housing and agriculture projects, and also to make a visit to the Institute of Agriculture. It was from H. Trang Isa and Hj Rosmiyati's relatives

[189] Ibid., 215.

who lived in Ciamis, that they heard about Pesantren TQN Suryalaya. They decided to visit Abah Anom, and he performed the *talqīn* and initiating them into the order.

In March 1978, Trang Isa was appointed by Abah Anom as a *wakil talqīn* for Sarawak. His appointment was on the same terms as those of Abdul Ghani of West Kalimantan and K.H. Mahfud of Kebumen, Central Java. When Trang returned to Sarawak, however, he found himself in the middle of a dispute over the role of *taṣawwuf*. As a result, after over two years of effort the number of *ikhwān* there only numbered 500. In 1984/85, however, 1,000 people performed *talqīn* through Trang Isa. Under the patronage of Ahmad Zaini, prince (Yang dipertuan) of Sarawak, Trang Isa was appointed in 1985 as an *imām* and a teacher in the palace of Petra Jaya, Kuching Sarawak. Through this position, Trang Isa had the opportunity to engage in a dialogue with the kingdom's mufti, H. Abdul Qadir Hasan. They made the decision to invite *muballigh*s from Suryalaya to perform the *da'wa* in Sarawak. As a result, K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar and K.H. Abdul Gaos Saiful Maslul came and performed this task. At the suggestion of the ruler, various figures from Sarawak, such as Datuk Mufti, Datuk H. Anis, Ja'far and others also went to visit and observe the TQN in Suryalaya. After they observed it directly, they concluded that the TQN was following the straight path and they performed the *talqīn* as well.

On their return to Sarawak, these newly initiated TQN disciples faced few obstacles in promoting the order there. Their task was made even easier when a prominent political figure, and a generous businessman, H. Ali Sulayman was initiated by Trang Isa in 1985, and just five days afterwards went to visit Suryalaya.

In 1986, Dt. Noor, the ex-minister of tourism of Sarawak, brought three drug victims to Pondok Inabah in Suryalaya. Accompanying him were Datin Hj. Badi'ah and H. Jahidin. Then during Ramaḍān 1410 A.H., a group that included, among others, K.H. Fathullah Harun, an *'ālim* of the Nahdlatul Ulama (who later became an *imām* in Sarawak and stayed there), visited Abah Anom in Suryalaya and performed the *talqīn* there.[190]

In January 1989, the local government of Sarawak sent nine *imāms* from mosques in every district to Suryalaya to study and to be trained in TQN practice. The ruler of Sarawak also invited Abah Anom to visit Sarawak, which he did, along with a number of other people, in July 1989.[191]

In Sarawak they built a *pesantren* similar to the one in Suryalaya. It is located in Sadong Jaya, fifty kilometers from the city of Kuching. The *pesantren* is built on a piece of land of 30 hectares. The government of Sarawak also sent a team to Suryalaya to make a feasibility study in May 1990.

Malaysian and Singaporean disciples have built two buildings in the Suryalaya Pesantren complex to accommodate them while visiting Suryalaya. I visited both buildings myself, which are able to house between 50 and 100 persons. As for the information we received that the TQN of Suryalaya also has sympathizers

[190] Ibid., 216-217.

[191] The group consisted of 18 people led by Ir. Utju Suparta Suriakusumah. In addition to Abah Anom and his wife, H. Yoyoh Sofiah, the rest were K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar, Dr. Juhaya S. Praja, Col. Police. Drs. M.D. Tanjung, Drs. Lutfi, Drs. Adeng Zakaria, K. Gaos SM, Dudung Nur Saiduddin, Aos Husni Falah, Didin Hidir, Endang Ja'far Sidik, H. Kankan Zulkarnaen, Baban Ahmad Jihad (the latter six mentioned are Abah Anom's offspring), H. Husin, K.H. Noor Anom Mubarok B.A. (Abah Anom's brother) and Mrs. H.E. Juhanah Otong Hasan. See Juhaya S. Praja & Zaenal Abidin Anwar, "Pengaruh TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Di Dalam dan Di Luar Negeri," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 218.

elsewhere such as in southern Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, and the Philippines as well as in the United States of America, this requires more research.

Ikhwān of TQN Suryalaya can also be found in Brunei Darussalam, as we saw when we consulted the *pesantren*'s guest book; inscribed there were names such as P.O.K. Amar Diraja Dato Dr. H. M. Jamil al-Sufri, from the Office of the Centre of History of Brunei and Ustadh Moh. Hudri, who arrived on June 20, 1989. Japanese names are also recorded there, for example, Satomi Kitako, from Tokyo, Yasuko Murata a student of Nishigahara Kobayashi, who came from Kaghashima-shi, and many others.

Guests have come to Suryalaya not only from Asian countries but also from Australia, Europe, Canada and USA.[192] Visitors from Canada, for example, have included Prof. Hermann A. Landolt, who visited Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya and its Inabah in 1992, and met with Abah Anom personally. It was thanks to this initial encounter that I, Dr. Landolt's student, was first made aware of some of the sources concerning the TQN of Suryalaya.

From the above discussion, it is clear that interest in the TQN outside Indonesia can be seen not only from its formal institutional development but also from its influence on the spiritual plane. The latter phenomenon is shown in the visits by foreigners to the *pesantren* out of sympathy for its teachings, as well as from academic interest in the *pesantren* and its various activities. Of particular interest to western observers is the Pondok Inabah and its activities, due to its

[192] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya Pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1991)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 129-130.See also pp. 173-174.

unique approach to rehabilitating drug-addicted youth. Nevertheless, this is no reflection on the importance of the overall role played by Pesantren Suryalaya in general and the TQN in particular, especially its service towards the spiritual development of the people.

Chapter V

The Teachings of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* in the Works of Abah Anom of Suryalaya

1. A Survey of Abah Anom's Writings on Sufism

Abah Anom, while not a prolific writer, has nonetheless composed several works on different topics. In this section we will survey his works on Sufism especially. These include: his guide to TQN practice, *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*; his manual on Sufi thought (especially on *dhikr*), *'Uqūd al-Jumān*; his short treatise on TQN practice, *al-Akhlāq al-Karīma Berdasarkan Mudaawamatu Dzikrillah (The Al-Akhlāq al-Karīma based on Continuous Dhikr Allāh);* and his exposition of the theory behind the Inabah entitled *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja (*Worship as a Method to Guide the Victims of Narcotic Misuse and Juvenile Delinquency*).* He has also produced many *maklumat*[1] (from the Arabic *ma'lūmāt*), which he has had printed and disseminated amongst the *ikhwān*[2] and *akhawāt* of the TQN. Before his present illness, he was active in *da'wa*, gave lectures at dawn (*kuliah subuh*), and bestowed

[1] *Maklumat* are instructions issued by Abah Anom providing certain information or important reminders to all *ikhwān* of the TQN. *Maklumat* are usually given in writing, and, from time to time, deal with actual issues in the country, e.g., general elections, Indonesia's independence day and many other events.

[2] *Ikhwān* refers to male members of the TQN of Suryalaya, and *akhawāt* to female members.

advice on those attended the *manakiban* [3] or who come to listen to his Friday sermon. These activities have occasionally been recorded on cassette, but it seems that not many people possess these.

a. *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*

Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr is Abah Anom's primary treatise on the theory and practice of the TQN. To all appearances, this work was composed over a period of years, perhaps in two sections corresponding to its first and second parts. Written originally in Arabic, *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* has been translated, in whole or in part, into Malay, Indonesian and English, although it is best known to TQN followers in its Indonesian version.

The most ready access to the original Arabic version is through the book entitled *Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah: Sejarah Asal-usul, dan Perkembangannya*, edited by Harun Nasution and published by the TQN's Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah (IAILM) in 1991 (revised edition). There, on pages 261-324, a version of the Arabic text is printed, reproduced from a manuscript that appears to have been prepared in 1990 for the first edition of the book.

The structure of the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* as presented therein is as follows:

Part (*al-juz'*) 1

1. *Muqaddima* (introduction), on the importance of *dhikr* in general.

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[3] *Manakiban* is a Sundanese word from the Arabic term *manāqib*. The *manakiban* is a monthly ritual meeting of the *ikhwān* of the TQN of Suryalaya, and it is always held on the eleventh of every month of the Islamic calendar.

2. Chapter (*bāb*) one, dealing with the essence of *al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* (negation and affirmation) in *dhikr*.
3. Chapter (*bāb*) two, outlining the *kayfiyya* (procedure) of *dhikr al-jahr* (voiced *dhikr*).
4. Chapter (*bāb*) three, explaining the origin of *talqīn* (initiation) and *al-'ahd* (allegiance).
5. Chapter (*bāb*) four, explaining the obligation of mentioning the chain of every Sufi order extending back to the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and what is absolutely necessary for every disciple in this respect. Then a final section is added illustrating the daily procedure to be followed by every disciple, as well as the *khatm al-Qādiriyya* (seal of the *Qādiriyya*), which is not found in the manuscript.

Part (*al-juz'*) 2 consists of:

6. A *muqaddima*,[4]
7. Chapter (*bāb*) five, which emphasizes the importance of the remembrance of God and its impact on one's spiritual education.
8. Chapter (*bāb*) six, which illustrates how to weaken the devil in oneself by practicing the remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*).

This printed manuscript text (referred to hereinafter as the "printed text") contains only a few clues to the history of the work. Though recopied in 1990, the colophon preserved at the end of chapter (*bāb*) four indicates that the bulk of the first part (*juz'*) was written in *Shawwāl* of 1393 (1973). The only dates to be found

[4] As is indicated above, this *muqaddima* was written by Abu Bakar Aceh.

thereafter are not of much help as they all refer to the 1990 effort at recopying the text.

For more information we must turn to other manuscript and printed sources. Thus in one of the manuscript versions preserved at the Suryalaya *pesantren* itself we find that part (*juz'*) one (the only part it contains) was previously written in Rabī' al-Thānī of 1388 (1968). Another, apparently earlier, manuscript (unfortunately undated) appears to be a draft of sections from the first part, composed as it is of only a few pages.

We will refer occasionally to these manuscripts later on in our discussion of the contents of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, citing the fragmentary manuscript as the "first version" and the 1968 copy of part one as the "second version." Here though, on the basis of this information, we can at least state in regards to the history of the text that the first part was mostly finalized by 1968. As for the second part, we have no early manuscript evidence of its existence, and must turn to translated editions in order to date it and at the same time establish its authenticity.

In a 1996 edition of the Indonesian translation of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* by Abubakar Aceh (published in Bandung by PT Remaja Rosdakarya), we find evidence that the second part may not have been completed until July 1975. This information can be found in the forewords, prefaces and colophons written by Abah Anom and the translator Abubakar Aceh for what appears to have been an earlier printing of

this Indonesian version published sometime after September of 1975 (the date of Abah Anom's preface to the translated second part).[5]

Thus it would appear that Abah Anom is responsible for both parts of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, although he seems to have written the second part some years after the first. The fact that no manuscript of the second part could be located at the Pesantren Suryalaya is unfortunate, but is not necessarily a barrier to accepting the authenticity of the second part. The Indonesian translation of this section after all matches exactly the Arabic of the 1990/1991 printed text. Furthermore, manuscript copies must exist (or have existed) as the 1990 copyist Muḥammad Muḍḥī al-Ṭāhirī likely had a version at his disposal, just as Abubakar Aceh must have had one in 1975 to produce his Indonesian translation. Where these manuscripts are now is anyone's guess: my repeated queries to the personal secretary of Abah Anom at the Pesantren Suryalaya, Yusuf Hamzah, were in vain, as he was unable to produce anything more than the manuscripts of the first part.

There is also some material in the printed text which may or may not have formed part of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* from the beginning. This is the *silsila*, the daily practice (*kayfiya yawmiyya*) and the weekly practice (*khataman*), printed between pages 287-296. The text of this portion corresponds exactly to the Arabic version as found in Abah Anom's other work on TQN Sufi practice entitled *'Uqūd al-Jumān*. It is not clear whether the decision to place this material after the first part was the decision, originally, of Abah Anom, or was approved by him, or was included on the

[5] Miftah al-Sudur (Kunci Pembuka Dada), Indonesian translation by Abubakar Aceh (second part), 5.

initiative of the copyist (Muḥammad Muḍḥī ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn) or the editor of the compilation of *Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah.*

Overall, it can be said that, with the exception of the very early draft manuscript, all the versions generally conform to one another when it comes to wording. There are few radical differences between passages of importance, and where these occur, we will draw attention to them below in our detailed discussion of Abah Anom's thought. Most divergences through are of a minor nature (usually mistakes on the part of either Abah Anom or the copyist), which may be classed into various categories.

One of the most common mistakes involves confusion over lettering due to inconsistencies in the dotting of letters in the Arabic text. This is evident for instance on page three of the manuscript, line five, where the word *al-rashihīn* is found, whereas in the printed text page 263 we read *al-rāshikhīn*--perhaps in each case the author meant to write *al-rāsikhīn*, as is suggested by the context. Another example may be found in chapter 2, where on page sixteen of the manuscript, line two, after the word *ilā,* we find the word *katfiti,* with two dots to indicate the second letter *tā',* while the same word is found on page 268, line ten, of the printed text. I believe that the author meant *katfihi.* On line three of the same page of the manuscript, we find almost the same word, i.e., *min al-katf* (with *alif lām ma'rifa*), which is the correct wording, while in the printed edition, page 268, line eleven, we find the words *min al-katfiti.* Similarly in chapter 3, a dot may have been misplaced, in a word on page thirty-one of the manuscript, line four, where the quotation of a

ḥadīth qudsī,[6] begins *kadhdhabta yā 'abdi*... (which is correct), whereas in the printed text, page 275, line nine, the phrase is given as *kadhdhabta ya 'indi*, i.e., in the latter the dot is misplaced, and should be underneath, forming the letter *bā'*.

Later on there are a couple of other mistakes that may be attributed to dotting: this can be seen on page six of the manuscript, line six, the word after *al-shajara* appears to be written *al-ḥaḍrā'*, my understanding is that the author (Abah Anom) meant to say *al-khaḍrā'*, as is found in the printed text on page 264, line eleven. On page forty-eight of the manuscript line five, the word *al-lāhūtiyya* is written correctly while it is written without a dot on page 283 line nine of the printed text. Then we find the dot on the letter *khā'* of the word *arwāḥ*, on the same line of the same page of the manuscript, this has been corrected in the printed text. These examples are only a few of the many that may be found, though some may be due to printer's errors as well.[7]

Another category consists of instances where letters and even words are left out. Thus we find on the first line of page four of the manuscript, after the word *afḍal*, the words *wa anfa'*, which are absent from the printed text in the

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[6] A *ḥadīth qudsī* is a saying attributed to the Prophet in which the Almighty speaks in the first person. It is a constant point of reference for the Sufi but its status as *ḥadīth* is dubious. See Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, translated by Hamid Algar (New York: Caravan Books, 1982), 26.

[7] Other examples may be found for instance in chapter three of the manuscript, where on page twenty-four, line four, there is a dot missing from the letter *ghayn* in the word *maghfūrullakum*, which is restored in the printed text, page 272, line four. Then we find on page 276, line five of the printed text, the word after *al-qawiyya* should be *ẓāhiran* not *ṭāhiran*, with one dot above the letter *ṭā'*, as found in the manuscript, page 32, line seven. Next, on line six of page thirty-five of the manuscript, the dot which is missing from the letter *nūn* has been completed in the printed text page 277, line nine, so that we read *bitanāwuli*. Then, we find on line three of page thirty-seven of the manuscript we find written *ishmi'zār*, while in the printed text page 278, line five, the final letter *rā'* has one dot, so that it appears as *ishmi'zāz*, which is the correct reading. Another example may be read on page forty-five, line one of the manuscript, where the word *khidmatuh* is not copied correctly in the printed text, page 281, line thirteen, for it lacks the dot on the letter *khā'*.

corresponding passage (page 263, first line). Another omission may be found on page twenty-one of the manuscript, line seven, where the *lafẓ al-jalāla* (*Allāh*) is left unexpressed, but is included in the printed text page 271, line three. A series of omissions may be found in chapter three as well. Thus we find on page twenty-five of the manuscript, line two, that the word *al-nabī* is absent, but is included in the printed text, page 272, line nine. Almost the opposite case occurs on page twenty-seven of the manuscript, line two. After the word *liqawl* the word *al-nabī* appears, but this passage is given as *liqawlihī* in the printed text, page 273, line seven. Still on page twenty-five of the manuscript, line seven, we find the word *marrāt* followed by the phrase *qul anta thalātha marrātin*, which for some reason is omitted from the printed text, page 272, line fifteen, the last line of the page. Here we clearly find that a mistake has been made (see Al-Qushāshī, *al-Simṭ al-Majīd*, 144 for comparison). A comparison with the 1996 Indonesian translation (reprinted from 1970), shows that the latter contains some and not others of the omitted words -- further proof that the translation was probably based on yet another manuscript. Much later on, we find letters missing, such as on page forty-four of the manuscript line four, where the author has corrected the word *wa ta'lam* to have an imperative sense, i.e., *wa i'lam*, as Abah Anom underlines the word *wa ta'lam* and writes the correct form at the bottom of the page. Perhaps the penman (*khaṭṭāt*) of the printed text did not notice this, and as a result he has reproduced the same word as it is underlined in the manuscript (see page 281 of the printed text line nine). On line two of the

manuscript page forty-five, we find written *fī 'aynayhi* while in the printed edition page 281 line fourteen it is miswritten, *fī 'aynihi.*

A minor but annoying mistake involves the numbering of Qur'anic verses, a mistake that extends beyond the usual variation between standard editions of the Qur'ānic text. These are clearly errors, such as on page eleven of the manuscript, line three, and on page 266 line ten, where in the printed text, the number of *sūrat* al-Qiyāma (*sūra* no. 75) of the Qur'ān is given as three when it is supposed to be twenty-three, or in the case of page twenty-six of the manuscript, line five, where the number of the verse quoted from the Qur'ān *sūrat* al-An'ām (*sūra* no. 6) is given as 91 (the correct one) whereas in the printed text page 273, line four, it is incorrectly cited as 19. Another example may be read on page forty-one of the manuscript, line three, where the number of the verse from *sūrat* al-An'ām is corrected in the printed text page 280, line two, to read verse 120, not 117.

Other examples may be found on page thirty of the manuscript, line six, the number of the verse quoted from *sūrat* al-A'rāf (*sūra* no. 7) is written as 205, which is correct, while in the printed text page 274, line fifteen, it is written incorrectly as verse twenty-five, just as on page thirty-two of the manuscript, line five, the number of the verse from *sūrat* al-Naḥl is here given as 42 while in the printed text page 275, line ten, it is give as 32. On page thirty-two of the manuscript, line one, the number of the quoted verse from *sūrat* al-Ḥajj (*sūra* no. 22), given as 46, is correct, while in the printed text, page 275, line fourteen, it is stated to be 36. In most cases these mistakes can be explained by the copyist error known as transposition, where letters or numbers are inadvertently reversed. This however, does not explain the error that

may be seen on page thirty-three of the manuscript, line five, where the author seems to have intended to cite *sūrat* al-Nāzi'āt (*sūra* no. 79) verse that is given in the manuscript is 42, while the printed text; page 276, line ten, the number of the verse is given as 31.[8] Another example may be found on page fifty-five of the manuscript and on page 286, line 9 of the printed text, both sources give the number of the verse quoted from *sūrat* Āl-'Imrān as 150, when the correct number of the verse is 159.

Then there are various differences that may be attributed to decisions on the part of Abah Anom or the scribe to forbear including a Qur'ānic passage or *ḥadīth* in illustration of a point. One example may be found on page eight of the manuscript, where the author quotes *sūrat* Yusuf (12:108) without first quoting from *sūrat* al-Baqara (2:129), whereas in the printed text a passage from the latter is included in the corresponding place (page 265, lines three to line five). We also find that on page thirty-one of the manuscript after *sūrat* al-Naḥl (16:42), a quotation from *sūrat* al-Isrā'(17:72) appears, while in the printed text, page 275, lines ten to twelve, an additional quotation from the Qur'ān *sūrat* Ṭāhā (20:23) is inserted between those two quoted verses.

As we have noted, most of these discrepancies may be attributed to copyists' error or conscious decisions on the part of either the latter or Abah Anom

[8] As a matter of fact the quotations consist of two verses, 40-41. Almost similar cases occur on various pages as follows: on page nineteen of the manuscript, line five, we can see that the number of the verse in *sūrat* al-Baqara, which reads 74 has been corrected in the printed text (page 270, line three) to read 73. Then on the same page of the printed text, line five, as well as in the manuscript, page nineteen, line seven, one finds a quotation from *sūrat* al-Jinn, verse sixteen, verse fifteen according to other numbering schemes. Next, on page twenty-four of the manuscript and page 271, line seven in the printed text, the number of the verse of *sūrat* al-Kahf quoted, is given as 27, while according to another version of numbering, it is verse 28. It is acknowledged that there are at least two standards used with regard to numbering the verse of the Qur'ān: the Flügel edition, and the Egyptian edition.

himself to include or leave out passages that were not essential. Some mistakes may in fact point to dictation errors, such as the case on page twenty-two of the manuscript, line three, where the quotation of a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) has, after the word *khalawta*, the word *faḥarrik*, whereas in the printed edition page 271, line six, the word is mistakenly printed as *faḥarriq*, with the letter *qāf* at the end of the word instead of *kāf*.

Other omissions in the manuscript may have been corrected in the later printed text, such as on page eight of the manuscript, line four, after the word *al-ṭarīq*, the words *wa lā yūjad al-rafīq* are absent, whereas they exist in the printed text page 265, line eight. We read next in chapter two on page fifteen of the manuscript, line seven, we see after the word an what looks like the word *yabda'a* whereas in the printed text, page 268, it is given as *yabtadi'a*, which is correct. Then, on line five of page forty-six of the manuscript, where after the quotation of a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), the name of the narrator is omitted; however, this has been supplied in the printed text, page 282 line nine. We also find on page thirty-six of the manuscript, line two, where the author refers to Abu'l Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d.1258),[9] that there is perhaps need for a verb such as *dalla* after the word *kamā*; this has been included in the printed edition page 277 line twelve.[10]

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[9] Abah Anom mentions al-'Ārif al-Shādhilī, although most likely he means Abu'l Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, the founder of the *Shādhiliyya* Sufi order.

[10] The omissions can be of a word or letter, or in certain case is corrected by the author himself. The latter case may be found on line three, page nineteen of the manuscript, Abah Anom crosses out the word *bi'l-ḥijāra* and instead writes *bi al-zujāja*, a change that he should not have perhaps made, since the verse that he quotes following this clearly employs the words *bi'l-ḥijāra*. Other examples of missing letters include the instance on page twenty-nine of the manuscript, line two, after the word *al-thudā*, where we find written *al-yasār*, whereas in the printed edition, page 274, line five, it is replaced by the word *al-aysar*. I believe the latter makes more sense, for the same word (*al-aysar*) is

Other discrepancies found include that between line six of page forty-six of the manuscript concerning the content (*matn*) of a *ḥadīth*, where we find written *biayyihim iqtadaytum ihtadaytum,* page 282, line ten of the printed edition where instead of letter *bā'*, the letter *wāw* is written, so that that we read *waiyyāhum iqtadaytum.* Here the manuscript is correct and the printed text wrong.[11]

Then on page forty-seven of the manuscript line one, the name of the narrator of a *ḥadīth* is left out but is supplied in the printed edition page 282 line thirteen. On the same page of the manuscript, line five, the word *fakullu* is followed by the word *man*, so we read *fakullu man.* This is correct, while the word *man* is not written in the printed edition, page 283 line two.

Next, on page forty-nine line six, the word *bayyannā* is followed by the letter *hā'* with a long vowel, whereas in the printed edition, page 284, line two, the letter is given as *mim* with a long vowel, so that we read *bayyannā mā.* On page fifty-two of the manuscript, line three, the word *wa i'lam* is written, while in the printed version we read *fa'allimūhum.*

Then in the printed edition page 285 line fourteen, instead of *fā'*, *qāf* is written (*walyusāriq al-shakyh)*, which is wrong. On page fifty-four of the manuscript, line five, the word *falā* is followed by *yabda'uhu*, but in the printed

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just previously mentioned (see manuscript page twenty-eight, line four, and the last word on, page 273, line fifteen of the printed edition). In addition to improving the meaning, it also fits the rhyme with the word *al-ayman,* which is written before and after this line within the same quotation (see manuscript page twenty-eight, line six, and the printed edition page 274, line two). Again on page twenty-nine of the manuscript, line seven, after the word *al-jasad* there are two letters missing, *kāf* and *rā'*. I believe the author would have wanted to say *fayadhkuru,* as it is stated in the printed edition page 274, line nine.

[11] Najm al-Dīn Rāzī quotes this *ḥadīth*; see The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 257.

edition page 286 line four, it is written as *falā tabda'uhu;* thus the dots are misplaced.

On page fifty-five of the manuscript, lines one and two, the word *min* is written twice. Then on line five on the same page of the manuscript, we do not find the words *qad tamma* before *hādha al-majmū',* as it is written in the printed edition, page 286, line ten. Then on line six of the same page of the manuscript, we see clearly written the word (*al-raḥmān)* while in the printed edition, we read *al-raḥīm.*

On the last page of volume one of the manuscript of the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr,* page fifty-six, line one, after the word *ilā,* there is no word *'afw,* as we see on page 286 in the printed version, line twelve. Then the name of the city Tasikmalaya, written in the manuscript as two words, is written in the printed edition as one word. As far as the date of the manuscript is concerned, this is inscribed in the manuscript as the eleventh of *Rabī' al-Thānī* 1388 A.H., whereas in the printed text it is declared to be the sixth of *Shawwāl* 1393 A.H. The latter is probably the date on which the penman finished his copy, as we described earlier.

The Sources of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*

The Qur'ān serves as the primary source for *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr.* Some *sūras* and verse numbers are mentioned, but others are not. The same may be said of his references to *ḥadīth,* and to the works of other scholars. *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* makes frequent recourse to such major works as:

1. *Sirr al-Asrār fī mā Yaḥtāj ilayh al-Abrār* a popular later Qādirī manual.[12]
2. *Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq* of Muḥyi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ 'Abdullāh ibn Mūsā ibn Jenkidost al-Jīlānī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 561 A.H./1167 A.D.).
3. *Jāmi' al-Uṣul fi al-Awliyā' wa Anwā'ihim wa Awṣāfihim wa Uṣūl Kulli Ṭarīq wa Muhimmāt al-Murīd wa Shurūṭ al-Shaykh wa Kalimāt al-Ṣūfiyya wa Iṣṭilāḥihim wa Anwā' al-Taṣawwuf wa Alf Maqām* of Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Gumushānī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī (d. 1311/1893). [13]
4. *Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār* of Muḥammad Haqqī al-Nāzilī (d. 1301/1884).[14]
5. *Qalā'id al-Jawāhir fī Manāqib al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir* of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā Al-Tadifī al-Raba'ī al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanbalī (b. 899/1493).[15]

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[12] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyya, Sejarah, Asal Usul dan Perkembangannya, Harun Nasution ed., (Tasikmalaya: Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah, 1991). See also C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement I, 777. This title is taken from the Arabic text that is included in Sirr al-Asrār (Arabic-Indonesia edition), page 6.

[13] C. Brockelmann , GAL II, 489, Supplement II, 745-746. Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā' is a work which was often studied by Indonesians around the turn of the last century.

[14] C. Brockelmann , GAL II, 489, Supplement II, 746. Al-Nāzilī had several Malay disciples, one of them being Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zayn [ibn Muṣṭafā] al-Fatani of Southern Thailand. Ahmad was also the founder of the first Malay printing press in Mecca and publisher of many books of Indonesian *'ulamā'*. Khazīnat al-Asrār is a magical-mystical work that is still read in the northern Malay-speaking part of the Indonesian archipelago. See Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of the Naqshbandi Sufi Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 165-166. Shaykh Aḥmad al-Fatani seems to have been a direct disciple of Shaykh Daud ibn Abdullah al-Fatani. In addition, the latter was one of Shaykh Sambas's teachers, and suggested to the latter that he learn Islamic teachings from Shaykh Syamsuddin when he was a teenager in the Masjid al-Ḥarām. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 177, 179. See also Syed Naguib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 41.

[15] C. Brockelmann , GAL II, 335, Supplement II, 463.

6. *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*[16] of Shaykh Aḥmad [Khaṭīb] ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Sambas (1217/1802-1289/1872 or 1875 (?)).[17]
7. *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb* of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī (d. 1322/1914).[18]
8. *Al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya fī al-Ma'āthir wa al-Awrād al-Qādiriyya o*f a popular manual Qādirī source.[19]
9. *Minaḥ al-Saniyya 'alā al-Waṣiyya al-Matbūliyya* of Abu'l Mawāhib 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Sha'rānī d. 973/1565.[20]

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[16] First edition printed in Mecca 1323/1905-6, then printed in Cairo 1346. An English translation of this work was done by William G. Shellabear, "A Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices," in The MacDonald Presentation Volume (Princeton: University Press, 1933), 351-370.

[17] 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār in his Siyar wa Tarājim ba'd 'Ulamā'inā fī al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashar li 'l Hijra, 7, only mentions the *hijra* year, while Bruinessen notes that the *shaykh*'s death was probably in 1875. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Ahmad Khatib Sambas," in Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jours.,ed. Marc Gaborieau et al. (Paris : EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 14.

[18] Tanwīr al-Qulūb and Kitāb Mawāhib by the same author are well-known in Indonesia. Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī belonged to the third generation of Naqshbandīs after Mawlana Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Khālid al-Baghdādī (d. 1242/1826 in Damascus), the founder of the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya.* The first part of Tanwīr al-Qulūb deals with *fiqh* while the second part is concerned with *taṣawwuf.* The *tasawwuf* part is used widely in Indonesia as a source of general knowledge on the *ṭarīqa.* It is not only taught in *Naqshbandiyya* circles but also in *madrasas* that do not teach the *dhikr.* It is even referred to by the followers of the *Idrīsiyya* in Pesantren al-Fatḥiyyah, Pagendingan, Tasikmalaya, west Java, whose leader, Kiyai Akbar regularly quotes from the work in his sermons. See Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of the Naqshbandi Sufi Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 168, 178. See also Denys Lombard, "Les tarékat en Insulinde," in Les Ordres Mystiques dans l'Islam, ed. Alexandre Popovic and G. Veinstein (Paris, 1986, 147.

[19] This title is written on the cover of the book, under the name of Ismā'īl ibn al-Sayyid Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Qādirī al-Jīlānī al-Baghdādī, and printed in Cairo by Shirka Maktaba wa Maṭba'a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī n.d. Brockelmann cites it as Al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya fī al-Ma'āthir al-Qādiriyya wa Yalīha al-Qaṣīda al-Gawthiyya. See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement I, 778.

[20] C. Brockelmann , GAL II, 335, Supplement II, 464, 466.

The above works are explicitly mentioned in the *muqaddima* to the first volume of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, while other books are mentioned on various other pages, for example:

10. Al-Ṣūfiyah fī Ilhāmihim written by Ḥasan al-Kāmil al-Malṭawī. [21]

11. 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ammūya al-Suhrawardī (539/1145-632/1234).[22]

12. Rashaḥāt 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Wā'iẓ al-Kāshifī (867-939 A.H./1463-1531).[23]

13. Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifat Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya of Abu'l Mawāhib 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Sha'rānī.[24]

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[21] I Nurol Aen and Noor Anom Mubarok, "TQN dan Kompenen-Komponennya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyya, Sejarah, Asal Usul dan Perkembangannya, Harun Nasution ed., 258. They say that this information is based on their interview with Abah Anom on August 12, 1990.

[22] Brockelmann, GAL I, 440, Supplement I, 788-789.

[23] Rashaḥāt-i 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt (Flows of Life's Spring) is a famous work on the *Naqshbandiyya.* The Rashaḥāt was printed seven times in India (including in Lucknow in 1890, in Kawnpur in 1912). There is also a Tashkent edition of 1911 and a Tehran edition of 1977 in two volumes (666 pages of text), by 'Alī-Ashghar Mo'īniyān which is based on four manuscripts and contains notes and indexes. I have access to both Persian editions. The Tehran edition discusses the Naqshbandi *silsila,* giving the biographies, acts and sayings of 98 Sufis, the majority of them Naqshbandis, beginning with Yūsuf Hamadānī (d.1141) and finishing with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Eūjī (d.1499). It also discusses the ancestors and relatives of 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār, and contains the acts and words of 16 personalities. The last part is the biography, acts and sayings of 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār. The Rashahāt was translated into Turkish by Muḥammad Ma'rūf al-'Abbāsī in 1585 and offered to the Caliph Sultan Murād (son of Sultan Selim). It also has been translated into Arabic by Tāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān Hindī. The Turkish translation was printed in Istanbul in 1820. The Arabic translation was done by Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān Hindī, and published in Egypt in 1925. There is, however, a Tarjumat'Ayn al-Ḥayāt, printed in Mecca in Arabic, by Muḥammad Murād ibn 'Abd Allāh Qāzāni, which seems to be a translation from the Turkish version. See Rawan A.G. Farhadi, "On Some Early Naqshbandi Major Works," in Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman (Istanbul-Paris:Isis Yayimcilik, 1990), 66-67.

[24] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, part 1, chapter four. C. Brockelmann , GAL II, 335, Supplement II, 464, 466. There is another similar book by the same author entitled Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Bayān Ādāb al-'Ubūdiyya, printed on the margins of Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (Beirut: 1988). In this section, it is not clear which one Anah Anom is referring to.

14. Al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī wa al-Fayḍ al-Raḥmānī of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.561/1167)[25]

When Abah Anom does not mention the exact title of a source, he usually mentions the name of the author. We therefore find references in his text to (among others):

1. Shaykh al-'Ārif billāh Isḥāq (al-Kāmil) Ibrāhīm ibn 'Ali ibn 'Umar al-Anṣārī al-Matbūlī al-Aḥmadī (d. 877/1472).[26]
2. Shaykh Abu'l Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 658/1258).[27]
3. Shaykh Ṣafī'al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Nabī ibn Yūnus al-Badrī al-Qudsī al-Yamanī al-Anṣārī al-Qushāsī al-Dajjānī (Dajjājī) al-Madanī (991/1583-1071/1660)[28]
4. Al-Junayd ibn Muhammad ibn Junayd al-Qawārīrī al-Khazzāz 'Abu'l Qāsim al-Nihāwandī (d.289/910).[29]
5. Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn 'Isā al-Kharrāz al-Baghdādī (d. in Cairo 286/899-279/892).[30]

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[25] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, part 2, chapter six. There is an English translation of this work entitled The Sublime Revelation (Al-Fath al-Rabbānī) A Collection of Sixty-two Discourses, by Muhtar Holland (Houston: Al-Baz Publishing, Inc., 1992).

[26] Abah Anom identifies him in the second version of the manuscript (page 20 line 1) as Shaykh al-Kāmil Ibrāhīm, but this name is further identified in the printed version (page 270, line 6) as Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī. See C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 151. Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī was a famous Egyptian *shaykh*. Sha'rānī wrote of his doctrines in his al-Akhlāq al-Matbūliyya ed. 'Abd al-Halīm Maḥmūd (3 vols) (Cairo: 1975). See J. Garcin, "Histoire et hagiographie de l'Egypte Musulmane," in Espaces, pouvoirs et idéologie de l'Egypte médiévale (London: Variorum, 1987), 304.

[27] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Ṣudūr, part 1, chapter two. See also D. Gril, "Le saint fondateur," in Les Voies d'Allah, A.Popovic ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1996).

[28] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, vol. 1, chapter two. See C. Brockelmann , GAL II, 392, Supplement II, 535. Brockelmann's spelling of his name is wrong., because on the cover page of his book, Al-Simt al-Majīd (Hyderabad: Maṭba'a Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Niẓāmiyya, 1327 A.H.), it is clearly indicated after the *al-shahīr bi* (well known as) that the spelling al-Qushāshī.

Zayn al-'Ābidīn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Kurānī (1058-1648), [31]

6. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 330-412/941-1021).[32]

He favors the works of these and other authors that have preserved the sayings of "scholars who are firmly established" (*'ulamā' al-rāsikhīn)*, as well as of the "pious gnostics" (*ṣulahā' al-'ārifīn*).[33]

Looking carefully at the works referred to by Abah Anom, we see that both sources are used in balance. We may notice among the Qādirī sources include 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's *Al-Ghunya, Qalā'id al-Jawāhir* and *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī,* the popular later Qādirī manuals such as *Sirr al-Asrār*;[34] and *Al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya*, while the *Naqshbandī* sources include, among others, are Aḥmad Naqshbandī's

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[29] Abah Anom, Miftah al-Sudūr, vol 1, chapter four. See C. Brockelmannn GAL Supplement I, 354. He is also well known as 'Abu 'l Qāsim Junayd al-Baghdādī.

[30] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, vol. 2, chapter five. See C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement I, 354.

[31] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, vol. 1, chapter three. See also Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 659.

[32] J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 5. Al-Sulamī wrote Ādāb al-Suhba.

[33] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, in the *muqaddima* to chapter one, in Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyya, edited by Harun Nasution, 26.3

[34] Referred to by title on p. 263 of the printed text; Abah Anom quotes on occasion from this work in Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr but only by citing 'Abd al-Qādir's name, as he does in the case of many other of the latter's writings. I have traced the quotations in each case and have found that he generally quotes him accurately, although, in one instance, the second version of the manuscript (p.6 line 1) and the printed text (p.264, line 6) seem to preserve the reading *nafā*, rather than the correct reading *naqī*. On page six of the manuscript, the first word on the first line appears to be written as *nafā,* which is preserved on page 264, line six of the printed edition. I believe however that this ought to be read as *naqiyy*, since Abah Anom quotes the passage from Sirr al-Asrār fī mā Yahtāj ilayh al-Abrār, a popular later Qādirī manual that has been translated into Indonesian by one of the *wakil talqīn* of Abah Anom, K.H. Zezen Zainal Abidin Bazul Asyhab, and given the title Sirrul Asrar, (no place, 1996), 52. Brockelmann cites the book as Sirr al-Asrār wa Mazhar al-Anwār, see his GAL Supplement I, 779. There is an English translation of the work, entitled The Secret of Secrets by Shaykh Tosun Bayrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti (London: The Islamic Text Society, 1992). For the complete name of the *shaykh* and a list of his works, see C. Brockelmann, GAL Supplement I, 777.

Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā',[35] Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī's *Khazīnat al-Asrār,* Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Irbilī's *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* and Al-Wā'izī al-Kāshifī's *Rashaḥāt.* Abah Anom even refers to some sources written by adherents of other *ṭarīqas* such as the *Shādhiliyya* and the *Suhrawardiyya.*

As for as the teachings of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* exposed in the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* are concerned, we will examine these in more detail in the next section; suffice it to say here that they conform for the most part to Shaykh Sambas's *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* especially as regards the procedure of practicing the *dhikr.* Abah Anom tends to leave out some topics covered by Shaykh Sambas, such as the doctrine of *murāqaba* while focusing more attention on others, such as the remembrance of God (*dhikr*), its type, procedure and its virtue.

b. *'Uqūd al-Jumān*

The practical aspects of the method of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* as performed in Pesantren Suryalaya are explained in the *Kitāb 'Uqūd al-Jumān,*[36] an

[35] Beginning with the introduction and on a consistent basis throughout the work, Abah Anom refers to this title as Jāmi' Uṣūl al-Awliyā' as a shorter form of the title, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā' wa Anwā'ihim wa Awṣāfihim wa Uṣūl Kulli Ṭarīq wa Muhimmāt al-Murīd wa Shurūṭ al-Shaykh wa Kalimāt al-Ṣūfiyya Wasṭilāhihim wa Anwā' al-Taṣawwuf wa Alf Maqām[āt], a work written by Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Gümüshānī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī d. 1311/1893. C. Brockelmann, GAL II, 489. Supplement II, 745-746. Brockelmann gives the author's name a Gümüshāwī, Gümüshāneli, Gümüškānī) while Martin van Bruinessen calls him Gumushkanawi. Brockelmann does not supply the *shaykh*'s date of death, though Martin van Bruinessen does. See the latter's article "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," Der Islam 67 (1990): 168. According to Bruinessen, this work seems to be used by Sulaymān al-Zuhdī in his teaching. Numerous copies of Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā' were brought to Indonesia by returning pilgrims

[36] This work is printed after the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* in the work edited by Harun Nasution, pp. 327-349. It is also published alone, but the content remains similar. I was able to consult both editions.

Arabic/Indonesian work written also by Abah Anom. Its structure follows the topics addressed: *wiridan, khataman* and the *silsila* of the TQN

i) *Wiridan*

Wiridan is the *dhikr* performed after each of the five obligatory prayers by members of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*,.[37] Derived from the Arabic term *wird* (litany), *wiridan* can be performed individually or congregationally. After the obligatory prayer, one begins by reciting al-Fātiḥa for the Prophet (pbuh), his family and his companions. Abah Anom then goes on to describe in detail the whole procedure. The next step is to recite *istighfār* three times, and the *du'ā' ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak.* This is followed by recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* three times. This cycle is repeated 165 times and is completed by saying *sayyidinā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh saw*, then reciting *ṣalawāt munjiyāt,*[38] and *sūrat* al-Fatḥ verse ten. Then one may add one's own *du'ā',* followed by al-Fātiḥa. Following this comes recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for Shaykh 'Abd Qādir al-Jīlānī, Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, Shaykh Ṭolhah [Ṭalḥa] Cirebon, Shaykh Abdullah Mubārak, and for the current teacher. Then *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa must be recited for the souls of all parents and all Muslim believers, men and women living or dead, followed by

[37] Aḥmad Khaṭib Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn (Surabaya: Bungkul Indah, n.d.). See Abah Anom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān (Tasikmalaya: PP Suryalaya, 1975), 4. See also Abah Anom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān, in Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyya, edited by Harun Nasution, 329.

[38] The *ṣalawāt* consist of praise to the Prophet Muḥammad, asking God's protection from all terrors (*ahwāl*) and disasters (*āfāt*), asking Him to meet one's needs, to purify one from all wrongdoings, to elevate one to the highest degree on His side, and to be enabled to reach the furthest aims of all virtues both in this life and after death.

istighfār (repeated three times), then *ṣalawāt* to the prophet Muḥammad and prophet Ibrāhīm (a.s.) and *du'ā' ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak.* During this, one concentrates only on God (*tawajjuh)* with one's eyes and lips closed, with no movement of the tongue, holding the breath, putting the head down, while the heart continues to perform the *dhikr khafī* (silent recollection) as much as possible.[39]

The *du'ā' ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak* may be translated thus: "O my God, only You are my aim; your contentment is what I seek. Give me the ability to love You and know You." This *du'ā'* is recited by the *ikhwān* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* twice after every obligatory prayer. There are three main points being made in this *du'ā'*. First, *taqarrub* must be maintained towards God Almighty, meaning that one has to make oneself closer to God through worship until there is no veil between *'ābid* and *ma'būd* (worshiper and worshipped), between *khāliq* and *makhlūq* (Creator and created). Second, one must follow the path that is willed by God both within and outside the worship. In every action, human beings should follow the orders of God and avoid what He prohibits. Third, knowledge and love for God Almighty means clear knowledge that God is the essence "to whom nothing is similar/*laysa kamithlihi shay'*," and a love that consists of strength of spirit and honesty of the heart. If this love grows, wisdom will emerge. From the transmission of love will

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[39] Abah Anom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān, 9.

come feelings of love toward all creatures, for example, love for other countries, peoples and faiths.[40]

ii) *Khataman*

The *khataman*[41] is practiced once a week, collectively or individually. In Pesantren Suryalaya, it is performed collectively every Monday and Thursday night,[42] and lasts from the completion of *maghrib* prayer until '*Ishā'* time. It is also performed after Jum'a prayer on Fridays. The ideal is to perform *khataman* in full; however, it normally takes so much time that it is usually read according to formula but shortened in terms of frequency; certain elements are read only a few times instead of hundreds of times.[43]

I witnessed performances of the *khataman* in the Pesantren Suryalaya after *maghrib* prayer, and after Friday prayer, and once when it was done by the *ikhwān* of the TQN during my research visit to Lampung, Sumatra.

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[40] Shaykh Abd Allah Mubarak and K.H.A.Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin, Tanbih dan Azas Tujuan Thoreqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pesantren Suryalaya, 1976), 5-7.

[41] From Arabic, *khātam* then becomes in Sundanese and even Javanese, *khataman.* In addition to being a weekly fixture of TQN practice, it can also form part of the ceremony held when a child finishes reciting the entire Qur'an for the first time; in which case it is called *khataman* Qur'ān. On the Turkish Naqshbandī practice of *khatm-i Khwājagān* prayers, see Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 202, fn. 5.

[42] Interview with Abah Anom, March 1999. The practice of *khataman* on Monday and Thursday nights he also been condoned in the first edition of the manuscript of the Miftāh al-Sudūr, 12.

[43] The formula of *khataman* is written in full in 'Uqūd al-Jumān, 10-25. See also in Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 333-341.

iii) The *Silsila* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*

A list of the *silsila* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* also forms part of the *'Uqūd al-Jumān*. The text of the *silsila* listed here is exactly the same as listed in the Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas's *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*, except that it begins with the earliest link and then continues in ascending chronological order, whereas the *silsila* recorded by Shaykh Sambas is given in descending chronological order. Of course, in this version Shaykh Sambas is followed by Shaykh Ṭalḥa (1825-1935), who is in turn followed by 'Abd Allāh Mubārak ibn Muḥammad (Abah Sepuh 1836-1956) and finally Aḥmad Ṣāḥib al-Wafā Tāj al-'Ārifīn (Abah Anom b. 1915), the current *shaykh*.[44]

c. *Al-Akhlāq al-Karīma*

The complete title of this book is *(Al-) Akhlāq al-Karīma / (Al-) Akhlāq al-Maḥmūda Berdasarkan Mudāwama Dzikrillāh (The Noble Character based on the Continuous Dhikrullāh).*[45] It consists of only an introduction *(muqaddima)* and a short explanatory chapter. Abah Anom says that "although this book is thin and succinct in its explanation, it does not mean that it is light and narrow, but rather it

[44] Some of the names in the *silsila* are misspelled. Abah Anom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān, 26-30. See also Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 287-289. Compare with Shaykh Sambas's *silsila* in the Fath al-'Arifīn, 9-10.

[45] In Indonesian spelling the title of the work is Akhlaqul Karimah/Akhlaqul Mahmudah Berdasarkan Mudaawamatu Dhikrillah. This work was published in Tasikmalaya for PP Suryalaya by Kutamas, 1983.

constitutes the principal reference on the *akhlāq* necessary for completing one's personality and worshipping God Almighty."

The book is written in the Indonesian language, but without footnotes or references. After the *muqaddima,* the author begins by discussing the importance of controlling one's desires, which he considers to be the greatest struggle (*jihād al-akbar*). He quotes some Sufis who insist that the truly noble human being is the one who is able to control his desires. One's real enemy is that which lies within. The author interprets various *ḥadīths* concerning such issues, saying that the nation (*umma*) should try to cultivate a noble character (*al-akhlāq al-karīma)* in order to marginalize its vicious character (*al-akhlāq al-madhmūma).*[46]

According to Abah Anom, the chief disease of the heart is the readiness to indulge in the temptations of the devil and evil desires. If human beings act on these, a kind of vicious attitude will inevitably take over, such as ignorance, jealousy, etc. This will create negative attributes, like rudeness and violence, and this will result in an individualistic society, erasing the compassion that links people together. Thus, the principles of mutual assistance will disappear; baseness will take over, truth will be useless, falsity and destruction will spread until wickedness disseminates into the very midst of society.[47]

According to Abah Anom, a situation of this kind may lead to violent conflict that can bring about the deaths of thousands of people. Human life may thus be filled with misery and suffering. Injustice and dishonesty are also an effect of

[46] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma 1.

[47] Ibid., 2-3.

human beings allowing themselves to be taken over by desires or diseases of the heart. If these inner diseases are allowed to linger, the development of human beings, and especially that of the nation, will be disturbed, and ultimately fail.[48]

In Abah Anom's view, this state of affairs will inevitably affect the nation's youth, making them feel that their future is dark, troublesome and uncertain. Sometimes they will want to control these unpleasant feelings in ways that are dangerous to religion and the state; their going astray can result in losses for the nation and country. In many cases, this is the fault of parents. Abah Anom cites a *ḥadīth* in support: "Every human being is born with a pure Islamic monotheism (*fiṭra*); however it is his parents that lead the child into becoming a Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian."[49] In other words, it is the parents who set an example, either good or bad, for their offspring. Therefore they must direct their children by the proper religious teachings, setting them on the straight path of the inner self. This is where a pure Islamic monotheism may be found, for it is innate in human beings and is rooted deeply in their souls. Abah Anom refers in this instance to the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Rūm (30:30).[50]

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[48]Ibid., 3.

[49] This *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Ṭabarānī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Dāramī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayḥaqī

[50] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 4-5. God says: "So set you (O Muhammad (pbuh) your face towards the religion (of pure Islamic Monotheism) *Ḥanīf* (worship none but Allah Alone). Allah's *Fiṭrah* (i.e. Allah's Islamic Monotheism) with which He has created mankind. No change let there be in *Khalqillāh* (i.e. the religion of Allah-Islamic Monotheism): that is the straight religion, but most of men know not." Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān, The Noble Qur'an English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary (Medina: King Fahd Complex for the printing of the holy Qur'an, 1417 A.H.), 544.

Abah Anom says that Islam may be thought of as a *fiṭra* that constitutes divine guidance for a human being, allowing him to improve himself in the world and in the Hereafter, especially when his reason and feelings are free of superstition (*khurafāt)* and imagination (*takhayyul*), which are inner illnesses. With this instinct, the individual will and its activities are released from the ties of desire and the temptations of the devil. One thus does not need to depend on others, but only on God the Almighty.[51]

The strength of belief that purifies the souls of believers can also cleanse them of the attitudes of jealousy, arrogance, pride in disobedience, wildness, injustice, etc. This belief also motivates human beings to improve their lives, bringing well-being, happiness, and outward and inward progress, as well as a sense of justice that can give enjoyment and happiness to both individuals and society in general. Abah Anom bases himself here on the Qur'ān, *sūras* al-Mā'ida (5:4) and Āl-'Imrān (3:134) and al-Kahf (18:88).[52]

From Abah Anom's point of view, the elements of what is required for inward and outward progress, in this world and the Hereafter, can only be achieved through good deeds performed with peacefulness of the heart, and in quietness and submissiveness (*khushū'*). All of this depends on a strong belief in God, for it is when one receives His help and favor that one is able to obtain the outer and inner perfection that is dreamt of. Therefore, belief in the heart helps to dispel doubt, hypocrisy or arrogance, which are the main causes of the spread of diseases of the

[51] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 5.

[52] Ibid., 6-7.

heart, and especially dangerous when one is responsible for a society or nation (*umma*).[53]

Abah Anom quotes a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh): "Remembering God can be a remedy granted (*mustajāb*) to cure all diseases." *Dhikr Allāh* is thus a technique for removing these flaws. The Prophet says that for every flaw there is a means to cleanse the heart of it, and this cleansing of the heart is *dhikr Allāh*. For Abah Anom, the cause of all such diseases is heedlessness towards God, forgetfulness of the heart, or forgetfulness of the mind towards God, all caused by the heart and the mind having been subjected to influences other than God. The heart and the mind are filled by desire for other things, such as wealth, nobility, position, praise, flattery, etc.[54]

When, however, the heart is always filled with *dhikr Allāh*, the mind is connected to God; therefore, the influence of *dhikr* will appear in the inner attitude and will grow through good actions, just as was mentioned in the command of God and His messenger.

The building of *'aqīda/īmān* (faith) in someone, so that he/she will have strong belief and certitude (*yaqīn*), is not sufficient to dispel all the temptations of the devil or human desires. Abah Anom refers to the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Ra'd (13:28) in acknowledging this. Therefore an *'aqīda/īmān* that is strong towards God should be carefully preserved, admitting not even a little doubt, for the certitude of *īmān* is the

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[53]Ibid., 8.

[54] Ibid., 9.

main force that helps to fulfill and to encourage all the activities of human beings in both this world and the Hereafter.[55] Abah Anom further explains that this attitude should also be reflected when one pursues one's direct relationship with God (*ḥabl min Allāh)* and the relationship with human beings (*ḥabl min al-nās).*[56] The good deeds to human beings *(mu'āmala)* includes sincere, honest, and impartial for the sake of God and is never forgetful of God in all one's activities, as is mentioned in *sūrat* Āl-'Imrān (3:161). The good deed which is performed, and where God is not forgotten, is the deed of one whose heart is not *munāfiq* (hypocrite), and this good deed will be rewarded many times over according to God, Abah Anom stresses, referring to the Qur'ān *sūrat* al-Naḥl (16:97).[57]

The activities of a man who is patient in facing his situation, where his mind is not veiled from God while he is working, trading, learning, struggling, etc., are all accomplished for the sake of God. Abah Anom here quotes the Qur'ān: "Such a man is the one who always performs *dhikr Allāh,* not being diverted from, or being influenced by, his daily activities; on the contrary, he is *istiqāma* (steadfast) in performing the prayers and paying alms" (*sūrat* al-Nūr (24:37)). The conclusion to be drawn from this verse, according to Abah Anom, is that people should always remember God, while showing diligence in their worship, especially in performing

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[55] Ibid., 14.

[56] Abah Anom uses the terms *ḥabl min Allāh* and *ḥabl min al-nās,* but he does not directly refer to *sūrat* Āl- 'Imrān (3:112). In his Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, he does refer to this verse when he explains that the virtue lies on two things: to glorify and to practice the commands of God and to be tender to His creation. See Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, 315.

[57] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 14-15.

the *ṣalāt* and *zakāt* (which constitute the core of good deeds in performing *ḥabl min Allāh),* and also in performing good deeds in terms of human relationships (*ḥabl min al-nās).* One should never allow oneself to be diverted from pursuing these activities, no matter whether one is an employee, a wealthy man, or a scientist, for with strong *īmān* and patience, one can solve all difficulties.[58]

The heart that is full of the *kalimat Allāh* is a heart that throbs with the rhythm of exaltation and the glory of God. The mind of the one who possesses such a heart is thankful towards God: his whole life is in fact dedicated to God, so that he appears to be a creature with a personality that is decorated by a praiseful attitude; such a man his love (*maḥabba*) towards God especially, and thus has a sense of compassion towards human beings and the universe in general.[59]

d. *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja*[60]

Abah Anom states in the preface to this book that it was written to provide a manual of worship for the *ikhwān* of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya.* It was also intended to assist the government of Indonesia in controlling adolescent behavior, especially of those who have abused narcotics and have gotten involved in

[58] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 16.

[59] Ibid., 17.

[60] Like ʻUqūd al-Jumān, Ibadah is printed following the Miftāh al-Sudūr in the book edited by Harun Nasution entitled Thoriqot Qodiriyya Naqsabandiyya, Sejarah, Asal Usul dan Perkembangannya, pp. 393-409. It is also published alone, but the content remains similar. I had access to both editions. The title of the book can be translated as "Worship as a method to guide the victims of narcotic misuse and juvenile delinquency." Concerning the contents of the book that serve as the curriculum of Inabah, see above in chapter four of this thesis.

juvenile delinquency, and hence of those who are being rehabilitated in Pondok Inabah Pesantren Suryalaya.[61] The content of the book reflects exactly what is practiced in the Pondok Inabah. The book effectively serves as a kind of curriculum guide to be put into practice in the Pondok Inabah, for use by the *ikhwān* of the TQN in general as well as for the sake of human beings elsewhere. Abah Anom begins this work by referring to a number of Qur'ānic verses (*sūrat* al-Isrā'(17:82), *sūrat* Yūnus (10:57), *sūrat* al-Ra'd (13:28)) and two *ḥadīths* of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh). These he supplements with a procedure for a series of prayers throughout the whole day, and every day, as we explained in the previous chapter.[62]

Taking note of all of Abah Anom's works, one may say that they discuss first and foremost Sufism, whether in his books or in his *maklumat* or speeches. From the works mentioned in this sub-chapter, we learn that his sources consist mainly in Islamic classical texts, especially in his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, the only work written in Arabic (but available and better known in its Indonesian version). The messages contained in these works are reinforced by Abah Anom's *talqīn* agents and the Shaykh himself, especially during *manakiban*, the daily practices and in the *khataman* ceremony. The curriculum of the Inabah, based on his book *Ibadah*, also plays a very significant role in spreading the TQN's message. This work also reflects

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[61]Abah Anom, Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja (Tasikmalaya:Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1985), 2. Pondok Inabahs on the model of Suryalaya prototype have been established in different places in Java and also in Malaysia. At present, there are 22 Pondok Inabahs.

[62]Abah Anom, Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja, 4-14.

Abah Anom's deepest thoughts on practical *taṣawwuf,* which he has applied in an effort to rehabilitate the minds of youth in particular and Muslim society in general.

2. The Teachings of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya* from Abah Anom's Point of View.

a. The Role of *Dhikr*

The teachings and practice of *dhikr* at Pesantren Suryalaya conform in large part with the doctrines of the TQN's founder (Shaykh Sambas) and the procedures followed at other *pesantrens* attached to the order. A key point of similarity may be found in the reliance on both voiced *dhikr* (*dhikr jahr)* and silent *dhikr* (*dhikr khafī*). Abah Anom aknowledges that both voiced and silent *dhikr* are the essence of all *ṭarīqas,* and he says: "*dhikr* is the cause of man's attainment (*wuṣūl*) of Allāh, and also the cause of man's love (*maḥabba*) for Allah (swt). Man is not led into wrongdoing through hardening of the heart and evil feelings (*ammāra*), if he enjoys Allah's blessings through constantly practicing *dhikr.*"[63]

Abah Anom says that both kinds of *dhikr* should be performed continuously, for "the purpose of *dhikr* is to achieve the continuous presence of the heart with God."[64] He says that the great advantage of *dhikrullāh* lies especially in shaping the

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[63] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 17. There are individual Sufi masters who have developed distinctive practices, including such variations as the 'two beat', 'three beat', and 'four beat' *dhikrs.* Since they were developed in a teaching context, special *dhikr* exercises of this type were in fact one of the things that distinguished one Sufi order from another. For these variations, see Al-Qushāshī in his Al-Simt al-Majīd, 147-157.

[64] Abah Anom, Miftah al-Sudur, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution 307.

belief (*īmān)* and the noble character (*akhlāq al-karīma)*, as demonstrated by 'Alī, who asked the Prophet Muḥammad to indicate to him the shortest way to God. The answer was that one should perform *dhikrullāh* continuously (*mudāwama dhikrullāh*). Abah Anom explains that *dhikr dawām* (constant remembrance of God) should be performed using *dhikr* that is uttered (*dhikr jahr*), as well as *dhikr* that is planted in the heart and mind (*dhikr khafī*), in order to protect all outward and inward good deeds from all temptations of the devil.[65]

Our author quotes the Prophet saying: "*Dhikrullāh* is a strong characteristic of *īmān* that is able to destroy hypocrisy and constitutes a fortress defending us from the temptations of the devil, as well as being a shield from the heat of hellfire" (a *ḥadīth* from Abu Hurayra, as narrated by Ṭabarānī). When the heart is always filled with *dhikrullāh*, the mind is connected to God; therefore, the influence of *dhikr* will appear in one's inner attitude and will grow with good actions, as was mentioned in the command of God and His messenger.[66]

The great value assigned to the practice begs the question: Why has the remembrance of God, in spite of its lightness on the tongue and the little trouble involved in making it, become more meritorious and beneficial than other forms of worship? Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī replies to his own question, saying that: "you should know that the investigation of this problem is proper only to the science of

[65] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 11-12.

[66] Ibid., 13.

unveiling (*'ilm al-mukāshafa*)" ...[67] and "only that remembrance is effective and beneficial which is continuous, perpetual and done with the presence (of God) in mind. As regards remembrance which is verbal and in which the heart is busy in play and amusement, it is only slightly beneficial."[68]

a.1. Voiced *dhikr*

In Sufi literature voiced *dhikr* is called *dhikr jahrī* or *jalī*, or *dhikr* expressed by the tongue out loud. There are various formulas used in the different Sufi orders but in the context of the TQN voiced *dhikr* consists mainly in the recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, according to the following practice:

> [T]he person starts by pronouncing *lā* from below his navel and carries it up until it reaches the brain with imagination (*bi al-takhayyulī*), then he pronounces the word *ilāha* from the brain, bringing it down slowly to the right shoulder. Then he starts the utterance of *illā Allāh,* also with his imagination, from the right shoulder, [at the same time] bringing his head down to the footstool of the chest (*kursī al-ṣadr*) until he stops at his heart's depth (*qalb al-ṣanawbarī*), in the left chest, below his flank. Then he voices the word *Allāh* with a strong breath which is retained (*bi quwwat al-nafas al-maḥbūs*) in the deepest core of the heart (*suwaydā' al-qalb*) until he feels its heat throughout his entire body; feeling as if all his bad parts are burnt, and the good parts of his body are illuminated by the light of Allāh *(nūr jalāla*). This heat enshrouds all the *laṭā'if* until it fulfills the meaning of the *tahlīl*, "nothing is intended except Allah (*lā maqṣūda illā Allāh*)." The

[67] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn vol. 1, 5. The science of unveiling is the real, personal, and intuitive knowledge of the essence of God, His attributes, His acts, and all other mysteries of prophecy, creation, the next world, and so forth. This knowledge is disclosed, by the grace of God, only when the human heart is completely cleansed and purified of evil qualities and detached from anything other than Him.

[68] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn vol. 1, 309. The point about forgetfulness (of God) is important not only in Sufism, but also in Islamic teachings as a whole. Just as in Christianity 'original sin' is responsible for the unangelic state of mankind, so in Islam what leads to the downfall of mankind is forgetfulness and negligence (*ghafla*) of what we really are. See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Ideals and Realities of Islam (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 23. It is believed that, if one forgets God, one forgets one's own self. The Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Ḥashr (59:19) says: "And be not like those who forgot Allah, and He caused them to forget their own selves."

> negative part (of the formula, i.e. *lā ilāha*) (*kalima nafy)* removes the originated (created) world (*al-muḥdathāt*) from the vision (*al-naẓar*) and contemplation (*al-i'tibār*), i.e. one sees it (the created world) as vanishing (*naẓar al-fanā'*). And from the affirmation part (i.e. *illā Allāh*) (*kalima ithbāt),* which is established firmly in one's heart, one sees the essence of God Almighty *(dhāt al-ḥaqq ta'ālā),* and observes the existence of Allah's essence with the vision of subsistence (*naẓar al-baqā'*). And at the end, at the pause (*al-wuqūf*), one should cease (the *dhikr*) at an odd number, then continue by reciting *Muḥammad Rasūlullāh.*[69]

In keeping with classical Sufi traditions, Abah Anom further explains that "certain conditions are required in performing the voiced *dhikr.* One must make a proper ablution (*wuḍū' tāmm*) and recite the *dhikr* forcefully. One should use a sufficiently powerful voice to produce the lights of remembrance (*anwār al-dhikr)* in the vacuum of one's inner being, until one's heart comes alive with the lights of the heavenly eternal life (*wa taṣīru qulūbuhum aḥyā'an bihādhihi'l-anwār ḥayātan abadiyyatan ukhrāwiyyatan*), as described by Allah in the Qur'ān (*sūrat* al-Dukhān (44: 56))."[70] Abah Anom quotes a number of *ḥadīth* in this connection, the most apposite ones in explanation of the concept of these "lights" (*anwār*). Thus he points to the Prophet's saying: "A *Mu'min* sees Allah's light (*nūr Allāh*) from which he has been created." A *ḥadīth* from 'Umar (r.a.) goes: "My heart sees my Lord with the light of my Lord."[71]

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[69] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 268-269.

[70] The Qur'ān *sūrat* al-Dukhān (44:56) says: "They will never taste death therein except the first death (of this world), and He will save them from the torment of the blazing fire." Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī explains *ādāb al-dhikr* in Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 27-30, and Aḥmad al-Qushāshī in his Al-Simt al-Majīd, 15-16.

[71] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 269. The word *nūr* is to be found on page 269 line 14 of the printed text but not in the second version of the manuscript page 19 line 1.

According to Abah Anom, direct seeing of Allah *(ru'yat Allāh)* cannot be achieved in this world, but what can be achieved is a vision of Allah's attributes in the mirror of one's heart. The heart furthermore resembles a stone, as we read *sūra* al-Baqara (2:74). Just as a stone cannot be broken except with extraordinary strength, so is it the case with *dhikr.*[72] It will not make any mark on the perplexed heart unless this latter is hammered upon with an extraordinary strength. Abah Anom then refers to *sūrat* al-Jinn verse 16.[73]

Abah Anom also makes reference to the writings of Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī,[74] who delved into the merits of *dhikr jahr* (voiced *dhikr*), having once said: "Raise your voice when you're reciting the *dhikr*, until you attain *jam'iyyat* like that of the Gnostics (*'ārifīn*)." *Jam'iyyat,* Abah Anom explains, is actually the gathering or recollection of one's thoughts and feelings in the attendance of Allāh (*tawajjuh*), during which period one is always inclined to Him and detached from all other

[72] In the second version of the manuscript (page 19 line 6) this image is reinforced by a quotation attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-jīlānī (source unidentified). This quotation was omitted from the printed text because Abah Anom had himself originally left it out and later consigned it to the upper margin of the manuscript (with a caret in the text indicating where it should go). The sentence reads: *wa qāla al-Shaykh* 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī *quddisa sirruh ya ghulām law ḍuriba ḥajaru qalbika bi 'aṣā Mūsā al-ikhlās latafajjarat minhu yanābi'u al-ḥikam. Wabijanāḥ al-ikhlāṣ yaṭīr al-'ārif min ẓulmati qafaṣ al-kawn ilā fuṣḥat nūr al-quds wa yanzilu ba'd al-ṭayarān fī ẓill rawḍ maq'adi ṣidqin. ...*

[73] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 270. The Qur'ān says: " Then, after that, your hearts were hardened and became as stones or even worse in hardness..." (al-Baqara 2:74). The Qur'ān also says: "If they (non-Muslims) had believed in Allāh, and went on the Right Way (i.e. Islam). We would surely bestowed on them water (rain) in abundance" (al-Jinn 72:16). The image of the heart as stone is discussed in 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Minah al-Saniyya 'alā al-Wasiyya al-Matbūliyya (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d.), 20.

[74] His complete name is al-'Ārif Billāh (al-Kāmil) Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Anṣārī al-Matbūlī (d.877/1472). See Brockelmann, GAL Supplement II, 151.

thoughts and feelings.[75] Abah Anom continues, stating that: "When a student (*murīd*) performs the *dhikr* towards his Lord very intensely and with energy, it will quickly open to him the station of the path (*maqām al-ṭarīq*). Sometimes, to have considerable impact [what is felt] in an hour's time is not felt over the period of a month or even more."[76]

Abah Anom then quotes Abū al-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī,[77] who explained that the various merits could be attained by practicing voiced *dhikr* and silent *dhikr* (*dhikr sirr*), saying: "They differ in their opinions concerning the question: 'Which is more eminent, the *dhikr jahran* or *dhikr sirran* ?' We say: The *dhikr jahran* (voiced *dhikr*) is better for beginners (*ahl al-bidāya*), who are dominated by [physical] force (*liman ghalabat 'alayh al-quwwa*). The *dhikr sirran* (voiceless *dhikr*) is better for those who are dominated by spiritual recollection (*jam'iyya*) among the advanced disciples (*ahl al-nihāya*)."[78]

Abah Anom continues by quoting from Imām Bukhārī, who wrote in his *Ṣaḥīḥ,* concerning the *dhikr* after the five obligatory daily prayers: "As we are told

[75] For further explanation on *jam'iyyat*, see Kamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Ghanā'im 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Kāshānī (d.1329), Istilāhāt al-Ṣūfiyya (Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li'l Kitāb, 1981), 41. See also 'Alī ibn al-Sayyid Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Al-Jurjānī al-Ḥanafī (d.1413), Al-Ta'rīfāt (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1987), 110. See also Anwar Fu'ād Abī Khazām, Mu'jam al-Mustalāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya, ed. George M. Abdul-Massih (Beirut: Maktaba Lubnān Nāshirūn, 1993), 71.

[76] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 270. See also 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Minah al-Saniyya 'alā al-Wasiyya al-Matbūliyya, 20. Only the last quotation is found in this source. There is another work of Al-Sha'rānī on Matbūlī, entitled Al-Akhlāq al-Matbūliyya al-Mufāda min al-Hadra al-Muḥammadiyya 'alā Sayyidinā Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī (ms. Pococke 378, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

[77] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 270. His complete name is Abū al-Mawāhib ibn Zaghdān al-Tūnisī al-Shādhilī (d.882/1447).

[78] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 270. See also 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Minah al-Saniyya 'alā al-Wasiyya al-Matbūliyya, 17.

by Isḥāq ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān from Jurayj, by way of 'Amr, Ma'bad mawlā ibn 'Abbās related that the raising of the voice in *dhikr,* after the performance of the obligatory prayers, did occur during the Prophet's lifetime. According to the same authority, 'I positively knew when people had completed (the obligatory prayer then) I heard (the raising of the voice in such a *dhikr).'"* Furthermore Abah Anom quotes Aḥmad Al-Qushāshī (991-1071/1583-1660)[79] as saying that: "Such an occurence becomes a proof of the merits and importance of voicing forcefully the *dhikr* until it is heard by other people; so that (the other people) will (also) remember God through his remembrance of God."[80] He notes that the Prophet (pbuh) once enquired of one of his companions: "Have I not shown you the fundamental means by which you can attain the goods of both this world and the Hereafter?" He answered: "Yes!" prophet then said: "Be present wherever people recite *dhikr,* and when you are alone move your tongues with *dhikr Allāh.*" In support to this matter, Abah Anom quotes *sūrat* al-Kahf (18:28).[81]

Abah Anom goes on to explain that, indeed, worship is of many types; however, the one thing that is remembered in all its forms is "God the Almighty." There is neither worship nor obedience except that it serves to remember Him (God). The gnostic *shaykhs* (*shuyūkh al-'ārifīn)* educate their disciples in the way of *dhikr,*

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[79] His complete name is Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Nabī ibn Yūnus al-Badrī al-Qudsī al-Yamanī al-Anṣārī al-Qushāshī al-Dajjānī (al-Dajjājī) al-Madanī.

[80] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 271. I tried to find this passage in Al-Qushāshī's Al-Simt al-Majīd, but was unsuccessful.

[81] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 271. The Qur'ān says: "And keep yourself O Muḥammad patiently with those who call on their Lord morning and afternoon, seeking His Face." (al-Kahf 18:28)

but of course, do not forbid other forms of worship. In Abah anom's estimation, it is the task of the *shaykh*s to cleanse the souls (*al-arwāḥ*) before God in the Sufi way by collective *dhikr* and individual *dhikr*. This practice is performed in addition to the worship that is commanded as obligatory (*al-mafrūḍa*), and it is preferred (*al-masnūna* and *al-mandūba*), because it is a strong basis for a perfect spiritual education (*kamālāt al-tarbiya al-rūḥiyya*).

One who performs the *dhikr* of God as practised on the Sufi path, or as indicated in texts of correct spiritual exercise, will taste the sweetness of worship and obedience that an ordinary believer, who most of the time is heedless of God, will not taste. The one who performs the *dhikr* feels the true meaning of the holy Qur'ān and the noble *sunna*, a feeling that will never be experienced by others.

Abah Anom also states that the prominent Sufis begin by training their disciples to get used to *dhikr* of the tongue (*dhikr al-lisān*), then gradually elevate them to *dhikr* of the hearts (*dhikr al-qulūb*), then to *dhikr al-sirr*. "The sign of *dhikr sirr* is that when you leave it, *dhikr sirr* will remain; it does not leave you but it will bring you from absence to presence."[82] Abah Anom quotes Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī as saying: "among the signs of [*dhikr sirr*] is that its fires never abate nor do its spiritual lights disappear; rather, you will always see lights ascending and others decending, while the fires are around you, pure, blazing, and burning."[83] Nevertheless, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh encourages people not to abandon *dhikr* simply

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[82] Al-Qushāshī expresses a similar notion with slightly different wording; see his Al-Simṭ al-Majīd, 13. Abah Anom does not explain further about the *dhikr al-sirr* as the third level of *dhikr*.

[83] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 308. See Al-Iskandarī, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh, 8.

because they do not immediately feel the Presence of God therein, and warns that forgetfulness of the *dhikr* (or neglecting it) is worse than heedlessness while performing remembrance of Him.[84]

The key to successful *dhikr* is sincerity while performing it. The prophet Muḥammad has said that *dhikr lā ilāha illa Allāh* will not be unveiled until God feels the sincerity (of the *dhākir*).[85] To achieve this sincerity, one should train one's heart; this is why Abah Anom also explains the meaning of the *dhikr* of the heart. Needless to say, one cannot be a *dhākir* when one's heart is empty of God.[86]

a.2. Silent *dhikr*

The practice of silent *dhikr* is based on the Qur'ān and the *sunna* of the Prophet (pbuh). Among the Qur'ānic verses seen to support it are: *sūrat* al-A'rāf (7: 55, 205), *sūrat* al-Nisā' (4:103), al-Mujādala (58:22) and al-Ḥujurāt (49:3), in addition to various traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh).[87] In Sufi literature, silent *dhikr* is sometimes referred to as the hidden *dhikr* (*al-dhikr al-khafī*), silent

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[84] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Al-Hikam wa Ma'ahā ba'd al-Mukātabāt wa al-Munājāt (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā'a al-Muḥammadiyya, n.d.), vol.1, 14. A similar notion is expressed in the Al-Minah al-Saniyya 'alā al-Waṣiyya al-Matbūliyya of 'Abd al-Wahhāb Sha'rānī, 16-17.

[85] Abah Anom, Miftah al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 316.

[86] Ibid., 320.

[87] Among the *ḥadīth*s are as follows: One *ḥadīth* is narrated by al-Bayḥaqi from 'Āisha, telling us that *dhikr khafi* is 70 times better than *dhikr jahr*. In another *ḥadīth* narrated by Bukhārī, and tradition narrated by Ibn Ḥibbān and also al-Bayhaqī from Abū 'Awāna, the Prophet says: "*khayr al-dhikr al-khafī wa khayr al-rizq mā yakfī*, means the best *dhikr* is *dhikr khafī* and the best sustenance is that is sufficient." See Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Sa'āda bi Jiwāri Muḥāfaẓa, 1368 A.H.), 523.

[secret] *dhikr* (*dhikr al-sirr*) or the *dhikr* of the heart (*al-dhikr al-qalbī*);[88] In practice, however, they all refer to the act of remembering God in the heart or mentioning 'Allāh' in the heart without word and voiceless. Silent *dhikr* in the TQN is practiced after the voiced *dhikr*, and after the five obligatory prayers. In the performance of this *dhikr*, one is expected to hold one's breath for as long as one is able to, while the *lafẓ al-jalāla* (Allāh) is imagined as passing through the five *laṭā'if* in the body accordingly. During the *dhikr*, one's eyes and lips are closed, and one's tongue is folded and touches the roof of the mouth.[89] Silent *dhikr* is also to be practiced during the entire day, constantly while sitting, walking or even resting. How often one should do the latter it is not specifically determined; nevertheless, the TQN of Suryalaya expects that one should perform silent *dhikr* both after the obligatory prayers and throughout the day and night as often as possible. Other branches of the TQN by contrast, specify the amount and frequency.[90] The fact remains that in a

[88] In the Naqshbandī context, *al-dhikr al-qalbī* consists of two parts: with the name of essence (*bi ism al-dhāt*), the word *Allāh*; and with the negation and affirmation (*bi al-nafy wa al-ithbāt*). See Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 524. Trimingham calls it mental or occult recollection. For a detailed explanation of *dhikr khafī*, see also Nūruddīn Isfarāyinī Le révélateur des mystères by Hermann Landolt, 43-48.

[89] This way of *dhikr* was taught by the Prophet to 'Alī, based on a ḥadīth narrated by Al-Ṭabarānī and Bayḥaqī. The purpose of this way is to teach the inner tongue to perform the *dhikr*. Therefore, the physical tongue should be held, and by closing the outer eyes, the inner eyes will be open. Muhammad Amīn al-Kurdī quotes from the saying of Khālid ibn Ma'dān: "A servant (of God) possesses two kinds of eyes, the outer and the inner eyes ...." See his Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 524.

[90]Abah Abom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān, 24. The Qur'ān says: "Remember Allah, standing, sitting and reclining" (Āl-'Imrān 3:191). See also Kharisudin Aqib, Al-Hikmah Teosofi Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah (Surabaya: Dunia Ilmu, 1999), 183. The TQN of the Rejoso branch in east Java practice silent *dhikr* a certain number of times; i.e., a minimum of 5,000 times each day and night after obligatory prayer. Thus one can perform 1,000 times after each prayer, although it is suggested that one can perform it 25,000 times.

Sufi *ṭarīqa,* following the procedure of *dhikr* as taught by the Shaykh is crucial to obtaining maximum spiritual achievement.

In leaving the performance of silent *dhikr* undefined, the idea is that one should remember God always, even as one breathes -- one of the typical elements of typical *Naqshbandī dhikr*, mind in breath *(hūsh dar dam).* One should keep the presence of God in one's heart, because the purpose of *dhikr* is to ensure the constant presence of the heart (*dawām ḥuḍūr al-qalb*) before God the Almighty. Thus, Abah Anom explains that when one performs the *ṣalāt,* one is doing *dhikr.* Similarly, paying alms is *dhikr*, fasting is *dhikr*, *ḥajj* is *dhikr*, learning/ understanding religion (*tafaqquh fī al-dīn)* -- either to the extent necessary or more -- is *dhikr*, rendering *fatwas* on the basis of God's law is *dhikr*, reciting the Qur'ān is *dhikr*, *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet (pbuh) are *dhikr*, and ordering to virtue and preventing from vice (*al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*) is also *dhikr,* etc.[91]

In an earlier chapter we saw that Naqshbandī sources consider the virtue of silent *dhikr* to be superior to voiced *dhikr.* Like Shaykh Sambas, however, Abah Anom never specifically states that one form of *dhikr* is superior to another, and he has reinforced this impartiality by referring to al-Shādhilī, as we quoted earlier. This attitude has further implications for the daily spiritual exercises of the *ikhwān* as well as the curriculum of Inabah, as he explains in his book *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja.*

Abah Anom explains that *dhikr Allāh* creates good behaviour because there is a unity between *dhikr* that is uttered and *dhikr* that is remembered in the heart.

[91] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 307.

This unity will result in a very determined will (*kebulatan tekad*) and a strong belief in oneness (*tawḥīd*), consciousness and submission towards God. He then refers to *sūrat* Āl-'Imran (3:135) to support this point.[92] Abah Anom, knowing that human beings are weak, that they cannot avoid making mistakes and that their hearts are hard, believes that it is only those who expect the mercy of God and practice *dhikr* in rememberance of Him who can fight against this tendency. Abah Anom also understands how the attitude of human beings is improved by loving the things they covet (*shahawāt*), among others: wives (*al-nisā'*), offspring (*al-banīn*), wealth *(al-qanāṭīr al-muqanṭara*), gold (*al-dhahab*), silver (*al-fiḍḍa*), branded beautiful horses (*al-khayl al-musawwama*), cattle (*al-an'ām*), well-tilled land (*al-ḥarth*), and all the pleasures of the present world, as indicated in Āl-'Imrān (3:14). Those, however, who put the love of God above everything else and perform the *iḥsān*, will evolve into believers who are always dedicated to Him, externally and internally. Through constant remembrance of Him, they will feel themselves being led by God and benefit by being under His control.[93]

It has to be noted also that performing the *dhikr* requires observance of a certain procedure (*kayfiyya*) and etiquette (*ādāb al-dhikr)*, which applies to both the voiced and silent varieties. The procedure is modeled, as indicated above, on the practice of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), whereas the etiquette resembles earlier Sufi formulas, such as that of Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī (who lists eleven *ādāb*,

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[92] Abah Anom,Akhlāq al-Karīma, 12.

[93] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 19-21. The concept of *iḥsān* is based on a *ḥadīth* which says: "Worship God as if you see Him, if you do not see Him, indeed He sees you."

including that one should be in purity (*al-ṭahāra*) and possessing the ablution, one should perform two *raka'āt* of prayers and face the direction of Ka'ba) or of Aḥmad Naqshbandī, who also refers to the *ādāb al-dhikr* of the *Shādhiliyya*.[94]

In sum, we may say that, due to its amalgamation of *Naqshbandiyya* and *Qādiriyya dhikr*, the TQN has developed a very full program detailing what to recite and when, and where and how to perform it. It can also be seen that the spiritual aspect of silent *dhikr* and the communal one of voiced *dhikr* are given almost equal weight by Abah Anom, who sees the advantages of both methods.

b. The Significance of *talqīn* and *bay'a*

The TQN of Suryalaya admits new adepts through the procedure known as *talqīn* (described earlier), which may be offered by Abah Anom to a single individual person or a group of persons. In addition, and partly due to his own restricted physical activity these days, Abah Anom has chosen to appoint certain *talqīn* agents (*wakil talqīn*) who act on behalf of him in Pesantren Suryalaya and in other branches.

In support of the practice, Abah Anom refers in *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* to Islamic classical texts and figures, not only from Qādirī and Naqshbandī tradition but also great Sufi masters such as 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī. The latter quotes several

[94] Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 525-527; Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā', vol. 1, 61.

ḥadīths describing how the Prophet Muḥammad delivered *talqīn* to his Companions, collectively and individually.[95]

For collective *talqīn* Abah Anom bases himself on a tradition from Shaddād ibn 'Aws, who narrates,

> Once we were close to the Prophet when he said: 'Are there any foreigners (*gharīb*), i.e. (non-Muslim People of the Book) among you?' We answered,'No' then he requested that the door be closed and said, 'Raise your hands and pronounce *lā ilāha illā Allāh.*'[96] Then he said, 'All Praise to Allah, O God, you have sent me with this *kalima* and you have promised Paradise to me with its pronouncement, and You would never betray your Promise.' He continued, 'Have I not given you good tidings that Allah has forgiven you?[97]

Abah Anom adds the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, saying, "No single group of people will get together and perform *dhikr Allāh,* with no intention other than Allāh, except that they will hear a voice from the sky, saying: "rise every one of you and [let it be known that] Allah has forgiven all your sins and all your past bad deeds have been exchanged for goodness."[98] Abah Anom adds the following verse of the

[95] Another *ḥadīth* is quoted telling us that 'Alī asked to be instructed by the Prophet ... (*anna 'aliyyan r.a. ṭalaba al-talqīn min rasūlillāh saw....* See 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifat Qawā'id al-Sufiyya, vol. 1, 27-29.

[96] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 271-272. The *ḥadīth* is narrated by al-Imām Aḥmad, al-Bazzār, and al-Ṭabarānī and others, with a valid *sanad.* See also 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fi Ma'rifa Qawā'id al-Sūfiyya, vol.1 (Cairo: Al-Maktabat al-'Ilmiyya wa Maṭba'atuhā, 1962), 27.

[97] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 271-272. Abah Anom quotes almost literally from Ahmad al-Naqshbandī's Jāmi' al-Usūl fī al-Awliyā' (Beirut: Mu'assasa al-Intishār al-'Arabī, 1977), vol. 1, 80.

[98] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 272. Al-Rāzī quotes a similar *ḥadīth.* See Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, translated by Hamid Algar (New York: Caravan Books, 1982), 277-278.

Qur'ān in justification: "Then rejoice in the bargain (the *bay'a*) which ye have concluded: That is the supreme achievement" (Al-Tawba (9:111)).

Abah Anom's explanation of individual *talqīn* [99] is made in reference to a *ḥadīth* quoted on the authority of Yūsuf al-Kūrānī and others, which states that 'Alī (k.w.) had asked the prophet:

> O *Rasūlullah*, show me the shortest path to Allāh which is also the easiest and the most meritorious in the sight of Allāh to pass through by His servants.' The Prophet answered: 'That you perform the constant remembrance of God (*mudāwama dhikrillāh*) and the most holy and weighty utterance so far made by me and the Prophets before me, that is *lā ilāha illā Allāh*. If you put all things in the sky and on earth on one tray of the weighing scale and the utterance *lā ilāha illā Allāh* on the other, you will find the side with *lā ilāha illā Allāh* is the heavier one.' Then he said: 'O 'Alī, doomsday shall not appear on this earth, as long as there are still people who pronounce *Allah Allah.'* 'Alī (r.a.) asked the prophet: 'Show me the proper method to do the *dhikr*, O *Rasūlullāh*.' The prophet answered: 'Close both your eyes and listen to me pronounce it three times. After that, you utter it three times and I will listen.' Then the prophet uttered *lā ilāha illā Allāh* three times, with both his eyes closed, in a loud voice with Ali listening, then 'Alī (r.a.) pronounced it in the same way, with the Prophet listening. This is called the attribution of 'Alī (*nisbat 'Ali r.a.)* into the *talqīn al-dhikr*.[100]

As for the inner attribution (*nisba al-bāṭiniyya*) in the initiation of heartfelt remembrance (*talqīn al-adhkār al-qalbiyya*), this is pure affirmation, not negation (*bi ithbātin min ghayr nafyin*), i.e., affirmation of the word of the Name of the Essence (*bi-lafẓ ism al-dhāt*). Also in support of this point, Abah Anom refers to the Qur'ānic verse: " Say Allah, then leave them to plunge into vain discourse and trifling" (*sūrat*

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[99] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 272. See also Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā', vol. 1, 80.

[100] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 272-273. See also Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā', vol. 1, 81, and in vol. 2, 90-91,

al-An'ām (6: 91)).[101] Abah Anom then adds another quotation from a *ḥadīth* claiming that the Prophet taught 'Alī (r.a.) thus: "O 'Alī, close both of your eyes, shut your lips and hold your tongue, then pronounce, *Allāh, Allāh.*"[102] Of this Abah Anom states "This is [in fact also] attribution to the most outstanding Abū Bakr (*nisbat al-ṣiddīq al-a'ẓam*) that was taken from the Prophet in secrecy (*bāṭinan*); the *dhikr* that is implanted firmly into his heart. For this, the Prophet praised Abū Bakr, not because of his diligence in praying and fasting but because of that quality which had been firmly implanted into his heart."[103] Then Abah Anom refers to *sūrat* al-Ra'd (13: 28).

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq is considered as the first link in the Naqshbandī *silsila* after the Prophet. The transmission of *dhikr* from the Prophet's breast to his is taken to imply bestowal of the essence and methods of the Sufi path. The particular significance of Abū Bakr's title *ṣiddīq*, was that it was awarded to him by the Prophet for his immediate and unquestioning belief in the Prophet's bodily ascension to heaven. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindi (d.1034/1624) wrote that the station of the *ṣiddīq*

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[101] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 273. This is a quotation from Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā', vol. 1, 80-81,

[102] This *ḥadīth* may perhaps sound odd, but in fact, in a slightly different version, a similar *ḥadīth* is quoted by H.M.A. Sodikin Faqih, Dialog tentang Ajaran Thareqat Qaadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah (Suryalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1992), 63-64. However, we have been unsuccessful in attempting to trace this *ḥadīth* further. From this quotation, we perhaps may conclude that Abah Anom believes that both types of *dhikr* were taught by the Prophet to 'Alī. See footnote 105 below.

[103] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 273. See also Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā', vol. 1, 81, and in vol. 2, 91. Once Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq asked the Prophet: "O Rasūlullāh, How if we forget,? The Prophet answered: If you forget the *dhikr*, then hurry to perform it." See H.MA Sodikin Faqih, Dialog tentang Ajaran Thareqat Qaadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah, 43.

is the highest station of sanctity, for immediately above it lies the station of prophethood.[104]

Abah Anom concludes that there were two roots (*aṣl*) of *talqīn dhikr* that were provided by the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) to each of the two Companions, Abū Bakr and 'Alī (r.a.). The prophet performed both the *talqīn dhikr* of *nafy wa ithbāt* out loud and *talqīn dhikr ithbāt* (*lafẓ ism al-dhāt)* silently[105] for 'Alī (r.a.), whereas he performed the *talqīn dhikr ithbāt* in secrecy for Abu Bakr (r.a.), by implanting it directly in his heart.

Abah Anom explains that *the kalima nafy wa al-ithbāt* or the *kalimat al-ṭayyiba* should be taken from "a pure heart (*qalb taqī naqī*) [which is empty] of everything other than God, [and] not taken from listening to the mouths of common people,"[106] for "even if the words are the same, there is a great difference in meaning. This is because the heart lives if the seed of *tawḥīd* is taken from a living

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[104] This is part of a long quotation by Hamid Algar from Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, Maktūbāt (Amritsar, n.d., reprinted Karachi 1392/1972), I., 109.. See Algar's article, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order," in Naqshbandis Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order, ed. Marc Gaborieau, et al. (Istanbul-Paris: ISIS, 1990), 4.

[105] Despite the distinction between 'Alī's and Abū Bakr's *talqīns*, we find at least one *ḥadīth* attributing both kinds of *dhikr* to 'Alī. See Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fi Ma'rifa Qawā'id al-Sūfiyya, vol.1., 27-28 of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī. He quotes a *ḥadīth* narrated by Yūsuf al-'Ajamī: The Prophet said, *Yā 'Alī 'alayka bi mudāwamati dhikrillah 'Azza wa Jalla sirran wa jahran...* From this *ḥadīth* one may understand that *nisbat 'Alī* is also *dhikr khafī* in addition to *dhikr jahr.* See also H.M.A Sodikin Faqih, Dialog tentang Ajaran Thareqat Qaadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah, 63-64. The latter quotes a *ḥadīth* narrated by Ṭabarānī and Bayhaqī, concerning the *dhikr khafī* that has been taught to'Alī, the Prophet says: "*Yā 'Alī ghammiḍ 'aynayk wa alṣik shafaytak wa a'li lisānak, wa qul Allāh Allāh,*" means: "O 'Alī close your eyes, shut your lips and fold your tongue, then pronounce, *Allāh, Allāh.*" The only difference between the *ḥadīth* quoted by both Abah Anom and H.M.A. Sodikin Faqih, and the one quoted by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, is that, although presented in slightly different versions, the first two figures quote a *ḥadīth* which explains that the formula *Allāh Allāh* was taught by the Prophet to 'Alī, whereas Sha'rānī's quotation does not say that the formula explicitly for *dhikr sirr* was transmitted from the Prophet to 'Alī.

[106] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 264. Abah Anom quotes from a work attributed to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Sirr al-Asrār, 52. We have discussed this phrase in our comments on the manuscript of the Miftāh al-Sudūr.

heart, [and] that will be a perfect seed, while the non-ripe (*ghayr bāligh*) seed will not grow,"[107] meaning that the seed which is taken from a non-living heart will not grow.

As we mentioned earlier, the two methods of *dhikr,* (voiced and silent) are considered to be the essence of all Sufi orders (*nisbat jamī' al-ṭuruq*). This is because *dhikr* is the cause of one's connection to and being loved by God (*sabab al-wuṣūl wa al-maḥbūbiyya*), which is enough, for Abah Anom, to prevent wrongdoing, toughening of the heart and anger, in one who hopes for God's blessings (through *dhikr).* When one is successful in this, one is transformed back into one's (original/good) condition (*ya'ūdu ḥālah*), as decreed by God: "I am very much closer to a person whose heart is able to free itself from wrongdoings."[108]

It is at this point that a person's *dhikr* is constantly present in the subtlety of the heart (*laṭīfat al-qalb),* which is located about two fingers' width below the left breast. When the *dhikr* is felt there, one will feel a glow appear below one's shoulders, moving upwards or inside it, and one feels a strong vibration (heat). Then the *shaykh* implants the *lafẓ al-jalāla* into the subtlety of the spirit (*laṭīfat al-rūḥ)* which is located two fingers' width below the right breast. When one performs the

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[107] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 264. In this connection, A popular later Qādirī manual, Sirr al-Asrār, page 52 explains that the *kalimat al-tawḥīd* in the Qur'an are located in two passages: the first is the verse which indicates that physical utterance (*bi'l qawl al-ẓāhir*) of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* in *sūrat* al-Ṣaffāt 35 is for ordinary people (*fī ḥaqq al-'awāmm*); the second is the *kalima* with the knowledge of realities (*bi 'l 'ilm al-ḥaqīqī*) in *sūra* Muḥammad 19. The latter is considered as the justification for the existence of *talqīn dhikr* for those who are willing to seek greater nearness to God.

[108] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 273.

two *dhikrs* (vocal and silent) together, the internal *dhikr* is like a person looking in two directions (left and right), while focusing one's esoteric sight in a particular direction. At this time, one should close both eyes and the lips while the heart focuses on the *lafẓ al-jalāla.* When one has felt the movement and strength of the *dhikr*, the teacher then implants the *lafẓ al-jalāla* in the subtlety of the consciousness *(laṭīfat al-sirr).* The *laṭīfat al-sirr* is located two fingers' width above the left breast, and its *dhikr* should be constantly felt. Then the teacher imparts the *lafẓ al-jalāla* into the subtlety of the hidden being *(laṭīfat al-khafī*), which is located two fingers' width above the right breast. Then the *lafẓ al-jalāla* is implanted into the subtlety of the most hidden being *(laṭīfat al-akhfā).* Its location is in the center of the individual's chest, and the *dhikr* is strengthened thereby as with the other *laṭīfas.* Next, the *lafẓ al-jalāla* is implanted into the subtlety of the soul *(laṭīfat al- nafs),* which is located between the two eyes and eyebrows.

The *shaykh* therefore implants the *lafẓ al-jalāla* firmly into all these *laṭā'if,* so that it permeates the subtlety of the entire body *(laṭīfat al-jasad),*[109] which means that the whole body is filled with *dhikr.* After the complete infusion of the *dhikr* into all parts of the individual's body, it goes right into the roots of one's faith (*īmān*).[110] Thus the movement of *dhikr* in the heart of a Sufi is from the topmost to the bottom-most. It is, as it were, the king (*sulṭān)* of *dhikr.* The *talqīn* ceremony finally

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[109] It is also called *laṭīfat al-qālab* by Luṭfī'l-Hakīm, Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li Ma'rifat al-Tarīqa wa Kayfiyya 'Amalihā min al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya (Semarang, n.d.,), 28.

[110] In the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, the explanation of *laṭīfa* is, in fact, from a Naqshbandī source. Shaykh Sambas mentions the seven *laṭā'if* and the name of the prophet who is the master of each one of them, including the origin of the *laṭīfa.* See Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn, 3-5. This information can be traced back to Ahmad al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī, Jāmi' al-Usūl fī al-Awliyā', vol.1, 208, other Naqshbandī texts, and further back to 'Alā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d.736/1336).

closes with the *du'ā' ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak.* For this, Abah Anom refers to *sūrat* al-Ankabūt (29: 45) and *sūrat* al-A'rāf (7: 205).[111]

Abah Anom further explains the uniqueness of Abū Bakr with a saying of the Prophet regarding his education: "Not a single thing that has been poured into my heart have I not poured into Abū Bakr's heart." The Prophet (pbuh) is also quoted as having said: " Allah neither looks at your outside appearance nor your deeds[112] but He does look at your inside." He reiterates: "Everything has its base and the base of *taqwā* (piety) is the heart of the gnostics (*'ārifīn*)." Then Abah Anom quotes the Prophet's traditions, narrated from Mu'ādh, in which the Prophet says: "Whoever is such that the end of his saying is *lā ilāha illā Allāh* will enter paradise," and another narrated from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī; " Give the *talqīn* (instruction) to your dead *lā ilāha illā Allāh.*"[113] The Prophet also says: " Whoever utters *lā ilāha illā Allāh* but does not put it into practice as commanded, is criticised by Allah thus: 'O you my servants, you are lying, you say what you do not perform. If you are ignorant, seek

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[111] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn, 2-5. Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 273-274. See also Aḥmad al-Naqshbandi al-Khālidī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā', vol. 1., 62-64.

[112] On page thirty-one of the manuscript, line one, in the quotation of the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) the word *ṣuwarikum* is followed by the words *bal yanẓuru,* while in the printed edition page 275, line two, in between these words, we read *wa lā ilā a'mālikum.* Altogether, the reading is *inna Allāh lā yanẓuru ilā ṣuwarikum wa lā ilā a'mālikum bal yanẓuru ilā bāṭinikum.*

[113] After the word *al-'ārifīn,* the quotations of two *ḥadīths* of the Prophet Muhammad are lacking in the second version of the manuscript (page 31 line 3) and the Indonesian translation, but are included in the printed text, page 275, lines 4-7. This is perhaps a sign of changes made to the text after 1970 (?).

out a teacher,'" which is, as Abah Anom points out, the same command given by God in the Qur'ān, *sūrat al-Naḥl* (16:43).[114]

Abah Anom quotes further from the Qur'ānic verses concerning those who are forgetful of God and therefore possess blind hearts. Among the verses are *sūrat* Ṭāhā (20:124), *sūrat* al-Isrā' (17: 72) and *sūrat* al-Ḥajj (22:46). After this, Abah Anom quotes from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, saying that: "the cause of the blind (dead) heart includes ignorance (*al-jahl*) of the real divine command (*ḥaqīqat al-amr al-ilāhī*), whereas the cause of ignorance is when one's soul has been controlled by attributes of the darkness of the self (*ṣifāt al-nafs al-ẓulmāniyya*), such as arrogance (*al-kibr*), hatred (*al-ḥiqd*), jealousy (*al-ḥasad*), stinginess (*al-bukhl*), pride (*al-'ujb*), calumniation (*al-ghība*), slander (*al-namīma*), telling lies (*al-kidhb*), and other vices (*dhamā'im*). These lead to a person's descent to the lowest level (*asfal al-sāfilīn*). Abah Anom not only challenges the individual to avoid the above attributes but he also provides solutions by explaining that the way to dispose of these damaging attributes is to cleanse the mirror of one's heart (*bi taṣqīl mir'āt al-qalb*). This can be done by purifying oneself through profession of oneness (*bi miṣqāl al-tawḥīd*), (acquiring) knowledge, (performing) good deeds, and a powerful struggle (*al-mujāhada al-qawiyya*) internally and externally, until the result is the life of the heart (*ḥayāt al-qalb*) with the light of oneness (*bi nūr al-tawḥīd*). Abah Anom clarifies his explanation of the struggle against the ego by referring to the Prophet's saying: "For everything there is an instrument for cleaning and the instrument for

[114] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 275. We explained earlier that, in the Indonesian context, those who practiced the ceremony of '*talqīn*' for the dead base it on this *ḥadīth* of Imām Muslim (*laqqinū mawtākum bi lā ilāha illā Allāh*).

cleaning the heart is *dhikrullāh*," and to the Qur'ānic verses: *sūrat* al-Ankabūt (29: 6), al-Nāzi'āt (79: 40-41), Yūsuf (12: 53), and al-Shams (91: 9-10), as well as to some Prophetic traditions.[115]

In stressing the importance of having a master, Abah Anom explains that a person who has no *shaykh* (*murshid*) to help steer him away from the above distractions, is considered to be sinning against Allah and his messenger, for he needs guidance in order to find the cure for his afflictions. Even if he does worthwhile deeds they become worthless without a teacher's guidance; for otherwise he will not gain any benefit, even for example, if he memorizes a thousand books.[116]

Our author informs us that the *salaf* of the prophet's generation, and the Companions and their followers (*tābi'īn*) shared the opinion that such a person, having no authentic link to the "group" (*al-qawm*), cannot be given the *talqīn dhikr* or receive any explanation concerning the *ṭarīqa*. This is because there is a secret in the *ṭarīqa* that links firmly the heart of one to another (*irtibāṭ al-qulūb ba'ḍuhā bi ba'ḍ*) until it reaches the Prophet, and then ultimately reaches God. Those without a *silsila* (spiritual chain) extending back to the Prophet are considered deprived of the overflowing light. They cannot be the heirs of the Prophet, nor can the *mubāya'a* be

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[115] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 275-277.

[116] Ibid., 280. Najm al-Dīn Rāzī gives ten reasons why the *shaykh* is needed. See his work, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 235-242.

taken from, or the *ijāza* be given by, such individuals, because the way to God is both exoteric and esoteric.[117]

Abah Anom relates to a Qādirī source saying that "it is compulsory for a person to strive to enlighten his heart for the Hereafter through a *shaykh* (*ahl talqīn*) in this world before he leaves this life, for this world is the garden of the Hereafter: whoever fails to sow in this garden, he shall not reap the harvest in the Hereafter."[118]

In view of the above one can see that both aspects are essential elements: the *shaykh* whose heart is alive and the sense of obligation felt by a *murīd* to find an authorized *shaykh*. Their relationship, but especially the inner state of the *murīd,* will play an important role in his spiritual progress. In the Sufi context, certainly God's grace is above everything else. Why then does one need a *shaykh*? The path of *ṭarīqa* is slippery: hence, "in order to travel the path of religion and reach the realm of certainty, a perfect *shaykh* and guide, well acquainted with the way and possessed of sainthood and spiritual efficacy is essential."[119]

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[117] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 280. The same quotation is repeated partly on page 322. Following this quotation Abah Anom also discusses at length the importance of the integration of *sharī'a, ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* in Muslim practices. See pp. 281, and 321 of the same source.

[118] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 285. Offering a similar explanation, a popular Qādirī manual says that it is compulsory to perform the *talqīn* in order to make the heart alive for the Hereafter (*fa al-wājib 'alā al-insān ṭalab ḥayāt al-qalb al-ukhrawī*) from the people of *talqīn* (*shaykh*) in this world, Somewhere else he further explains that the meaning of the *ḥadīth* "*ṭalab al-'ilm farīḍa*" is that to seek knowledge is compulsory. Knowledge here means the knowledge of *ma'rifa* (*'ilm al-ma'rifa*) and the knowledge of proximity (*'ilm al-qurba*). See Sirr al-Asrār, 64.

[119] See Meier's introduction to the Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1957). According to Hamid Algar, the term *taṣarruf* is the ability of the *shaykh* to affect, unhindered and unseen, the inner state of his *murīd*. Such a term does not seem to be found prior to the seventh/thirteenth century and is likely to have originated at the time the structure of the *ṭarīqa* crystallized, and the relationship between *shaykh* and *murīd* became more closely defined. See The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return of Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, translated by Hamid Algar (New York: Caravan Books, 1982), 235.

The *shaykh*, according to Najm al-Dīn Rāzī,[120] is required to possess, in addition to respect for the five pillars, twenty other attributes in order to be authorized. The *murīd,* on the other hand, is likewise required to possess certain conditions, attributes and customs. In addition, a certain etiquette[121] must be observed between master and pupil. It may perhaps be compared to a mutual exchange of strength for the sake of spiritual enhancement.

According to Abah Anom, the shaykhs are the path towards God (*al-ṭarīqa ila Allāh*) and serve as leaders who guide one towards Him (*al-adilla' 'alayh*), and who are essentially the ones through whom one passes to gain access to Him (*al-bāb al-ladhī yadkhulu minhu ilayh*). For this reason, every *murīd* needs a *shaykh.* If one does not want to go astray, one needs a guide to show the right way, the only ones exempted from this requirement are those whom Allah chooses as His eminent servants. To them, knowledge is presented, which functions as inspiration, enabling them to avert the evils of *shayṭān* and of their own *nafs;* this is how it was for the Prophet Ibrāhīm, Prophet Muḥammad and Uways al-Qaranī.[122] Abah Anom however

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[120] Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 243-253, 255-267. The *wakil talqīn* of Abah Anom whom I interviewed, referred to Khazīnat al-Asrār of al-Nāzilī concerning the signs (*'alāmāt*) of a *murshid*, related to the current *shaykh* of the TQN of Suryalaya. In this book al-Nāzilī quotes from al-Suhrawardī's work, *Waṣiyya*, See Muhammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī, Khazīnat al-Asrār Jalīlat al-Adhkār (Semarang: Usaha Keluarga, n.d.), 194.

[121] Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Najīb 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī wrote Ādāb al-Murīdīn; Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Jaṣṣaṣ (d.418/1027) wrote Aḥkām al-Murīdīn; Al-Sulamī (d.1021) wrote Ādāb al-Suḥba; Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (540-618/1145-1221) wrote Ādāb al-Murīdīn (the latter was translated by F. Meier, 'Ein Knigge für Ṣūfi's' Rivistadegli Studi Orientali 32 (1957), 485-524); and Al-Amr al-Muḥkam was written by Ibn al-'Arabī.

[122] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution,283-284. Al-Kalābādhī was the first to describe Uways al-Qaranī as type of a class of Sufi. See Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf, translated by A.J. Arberry, The Doctrine of the Sufis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935; repr. 1977), 131. Uways was unacquainted with the Prophet and is said to have been initiated after his death (traditionally in 37 A.H.) by the spirit of the

insists that the latter figure was unique, since without a *pīr,* and having never met the Prophet Muḥammad, he nevertheless obtained spiritual "nurturing" directly from the Prophet.[123]

I myself witnessed the *talqīn* of the TQN at Suryalaya and can attest that it is a submissive (*khushū'*) and peaceful process. There are no rigid regulations, such as the wearing of special garments. The new *ikhwān* (a potential member of the TQN of Suryalaya) may stay or leave the pesantren as he wishes. It is not necessary to remain in Suryalaya or live in seclusion. Soebardi notes this fact as well.[124]

Abah Anom sometimes performs the *talqīn* himself; however, due to his current illness, there are at least three *talqīn* agents (*wakil talqīn*) who are almost always available at Pesantren Suryalaya to carry out the task on his behalf: K.H. Abdullah Syarif, A.S. Nasution SH and K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar. When Abah Anom is tired or has to take some rest, he usually asks one of them to perform the

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Prophet, hence dervishes who had no direct initiator were frequently called Uwaysīs. The iniation may be 'spiritual -- the Uwaysī-Khaḍīr tradition. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 12-13, 187. Jāmī even expanded the class of Uwaysīs to include those guided by the spirits of great Sufi saints of earlier times, by naming Khāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband and Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāyābādī. See Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, Nafahāt al-Uns, ed. Mahdī Tawḥīdipūr (Tehran: Kitāb Furūshī-i Maḥmūdī, 1337/1958), 20-21, 384-385 and 498. Other studies on the Uwaysīs include A.S. Hussaini, "Uways al-Qaranī and the Uwaysi Sūfīs," MW 57 (1967), 103-113; and Devin De Weese, An 'Uvaysī' Sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr: Notes on Hagiography and the Taxanomy of Sanctity in the Religious History of Central Asia (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 1993), 1-38. The importance of a *shaykh* relating to a *silsila* will be discussed in a separate sub-chapter below, and on "Uwaysī Ṭarīqa," see Julian Baldick, Imaginary Muslims the Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1993).

[123] Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, Tadhkirat al-Awliyā' ed., Reynold A. Nicholson (London: Luzac/Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1905).

[124] Soebakin Soebardi, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Suryalaya in West Java," in Spectrum Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana, ed. by S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), 226

talqīn for the guests who wish it. Sometimes K.H. Noor Anom Mubarok is present as well.[125]

To help those who are unable to get to Suryalaya but who wish to benefit from the *talqīn*, Abah Anom has appointed *talqīn* agents[126] in each of the TQN's branches both inside and outside the country. Despite the fact that Abah Anom entitles chapter three of his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, "on the explanation of the origin of instruction (*talqīn*) and promise (*'ahd*)," he speaks very little of *bay'a*. Perhaps this is because for him the most important act in initiation is the instruction. This is in contrast to the practice in some other branches of the TQN of central and east Java where the ceremony of *talqīn* is simply referred to as *bay'a*. It is not clear whether TQN members can render *bay'a* to more than one *shaykh*.

From the above explanation, we may say that *talqīn* is compulsory for anyone who intends to join the TQN, that it can only be taken from a shaykh or his authorized representative, and that *talqīn* and *bay'a* serve to strengthen one's will to practice the teachings of the *ṭarīqa*. Both *talqīn* and *bay'a*, which are themselves inseparable, help to draw both parties, *murshid* and *murīd*, into a closer bond. In

[125] K.H. Abdullah Syarif is one of the oldest *talqīn* agents of the TQN of Suryalaya. Once I witnessed the ceremony of *manakiban* in his house in Tasikmalaya, and at the request of Abah Anom he functioned as a guide for my trip to Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's grave in Pamijahan and to Shaykh Tolhah's tomb in Cirebon, a hundred meters from the complex of Sunan Gunung Jati, one of the nine famous saints of Java in the fifteenth century. The trip was led and sponsored by Mr. Sukriya Atmaja, a disciple of Abah Anom. I also met Mr.A.S. Nasution in Suryalaya and did an interview with him, and then in his company a ceremony of *manakiban* and the launching of the committee of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya in a mosque at Serpong branch, west Java. K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar is Abah Anom's nephew; his house is also located in the complex of Pesantren although sometimes he is in Bandung as well, for he was at the time a member of parliament for west Java. K.H. Anom Mubarok B.A. is Abah Anom's younger brother (by a different mother). I did an interview with the former, but only met briefly with the latter.

[126] At present there are 39 *talqīn* agents who represent Abah Anom in the various branches of Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.

being thus tied together spiritually, the student becomes dependant on his teacher, for without the permission of the *shaykh* he cannot pass from one level to the next in his spiritual training, while the *shaykh* fulfils his own purpose of training a new generation. In a sense, he functions as a "washer of the corpse" with respect to his disciple. Whatever progress or constraints the *murīd* experiences, he should consult with his teacher, for the latter is responsible for guiding and showing him the way to attain God.

c. A description of the subtle centers (*laṭā'if*)

Abah Anom discusses the *laṭā'if* in reference to al-Ghazālī, who says that in the heart there is a subtle spiritual divinity (*al-laṭīfa al-rabbāniyya al-rūḥāniyya*) that is connected to the human body and represents the reality of the essence of human beings (*ḥaqīqa dhāt al-insān*).[127] He quotes from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, who says that the heart is the place where the knowledge of reality is held because it is the *laṭīfa al-rabbāniyya* that manages the entire physical body by acting as a tool that penetrates into determined realities (*ḥaqā'iq al-ma'lūmāt*), and links this to a *ḥadīth* narrated by Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Māja and al-Dārimī to the effect that "indeed in the body of the son of Adam there is a clot of blood (*muḍgha*): if it be sound, the entire body of the son of Adam is sound; if that blood is bad, the rest of the body is corrupt. That blood is the heart."[128]

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[127] Al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn vol. 3, 3. Abah Anom follows the text closely, see Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 318.

[128] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 318, 321.

We mentioned earlier that the role of the subtle centers through which the *dhikr* passes is very important, especially in relation to the development of the stages of one's soul. The process is explained by Abah Anom as follows.[129] The *laṭīfat al-qalb,* is the first subtle center; it is where *dhikr* starts and its location is at two fingers' distance below the left breast. Then the *dhikr* next enters the *laṭīfat al-rūh,* at two fingers' distance below the right breast and continue onwards to the third subtle center, which is in the *laṭīfat al-sirr,* located above the left breast at about two fingers' distance. The *dhikr* then takes place in the *laṭīfat al-khafī,* which is located above the right breast, about two fingers away, and then occurs in the *laṭīfa al-akhfā,* which is located in the middle of the chest. The next *laṭīfa* where *dhikr* occurs is the *laṭīfa al-nafs,* which is located between the two eyebrows, in the center of the forehead. Once *dhikr* achieves this *laṭīfa,* and while the other *laṭā'if* are already filled

[129] Like Shaykh Sambas, Abah Anom only mentions in his explanation the names of the subtle centers in the above ascending order, but he does not explain the stages of the souls. See his Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 273-274. Other sources tell us that the place of a subtle center, in its rank, is related to the place of a type of *nafs* (soul). Each level of soul has its own attributes. Without mentioning the names of the subtle centers, Trimingham lists the souls as follows: The first is the unregenerate soul (*al-nafs al-ammāra*) has among its attributes: ignorance, covetousness, pride, anger, lust, envy, heedlessness, ill-nature, interfering in things not one's concern, hatred, mocking, injuring others either physically or verbally, and other bad things. The second stage is the blameworthy soul (*al-nafs lawwāma*), and its attributes are: blame, speculation, vanity, opposition to people, secret hypocrisy, and love of fame and authority. The third stage is the inspired soul (*al-nafs al-mulhama*), whose qualities are: generosity, contentment, knowledge, humility, patience, gentleness, forebearance of injury, pardoning everyone and accepting their excuses, witnessing that 'God holds by the forelock every creature' (Qur'ān 11:56). The fourth stage is the tranquil soul (*al-nafs al-muṭma'inna*), among its qualities are: liberality, trust (*tawakkul*), gentleness, adoration, gratitude, contentment with fate, and patience in the midst of calamities. The fifth stage is the contented soul (*al-nafs al-rāḍiya*), and its attributes are: renunciation of everything save God, fidelity, godfearingness, contentedness with all that takes place in the world without palpitations of the heart and with no remonstration whatsoever. The sixth stage is the approved soul (*al-nafs al-marḍiyya*), among its attributes are: subtlety of nature, abandonment of all save God, kindness to all creatures, prompting them to prayer, forgiving their sins, loving them, with compassion towards all, helping them to expel the dark sides of their natures and souls, union between love of the created and the Creator. The seventh stage is the perfected soul (*al-nafs al-kāmila*): its qualities embrace all the good attributes of the souls that have been already described. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 155-157.

with the *dhikr*, the final stage in the process has been reached. Finally the *dhikr* takes place in the *laṭīfat al-jasad* or *laṭīfat al-qālab* ;[130] meaning that when the *dhikr* has filled the whole body, then one will be steadfast (*istiqāma*) in virtue and feel the joy of worship. The station (*maqām*) of the one performing *dhikr* is, at this point, called the manifestation of (God's) Names and Attributes (*tajallī al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt).* At this stage, one will feel that one is always under the vision of God, observed by God, and assisted by God. In other words, the individual is in an eternal state of closeness (*taqarrub*) to God and can be called a complete, perfect man (*insān kāmil mukammil).*[131] It should be noted, however, that the process of *dhikr* has the goal of attaining the love of God (*maḥabba)* and knowledge of God (*ma'rifa),* and should only be attempted with the permission and under the instruction (*talqīn*) of a *shaykh*, or his representative (a *talqīn* agent in the case of the TQN of Suryalaya). In sum, we may say that one should constantly be in struggle (*jihād*) in his *dhikr* while attaining to the subtle centers in the highest rank of the soul.

To some extent, the *laṭā'if* are reflected in the various layers/aspects of the heart, although they are said actually to be distributed throughout the body. These are enumerated in a *ḥadīth Qudsī*, where God says: "I created a castle (*qaṣr*) inside human beings, in the castle there is a breast (*ṣadr*), and in the breast there is a heart (*qalb*). Inside the *qalb*, there is *fu'ād* (the inmost), inside the *fu'ād* there is *shaghāf*

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[130] Simnānī mentions this *latīfa* in the first order of the composition of the spiritual body. See J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God, 81. (See the diagram of the location of the *laṭāīf* below, this was adopted from Suryalaya's source).

[131] *Kāmil-mukammil* is one of the attributes that has to be possessed by a *shaykh*; *kāmil* means he is perfect himself and capable of leading others to perfection (*mukammil*).

(lit. pericardium), inside the *shaghāf* there is a *lubb* (core), inside the *lubb* there is secret consciousness (*sirr),* and inside the *sirr* there is Me."[132]

In his theory of interiorization, the Baghdādī Sufi 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī (d.291/903-4) depicts a scheme of *laṭā'if* that may have been influenced by a kind of emanationist philosophy.[133] He says that the subtle center consists of four levels: body, heart, spirit, and secret (*sirr*), which in this order represent a progression from grosser (*kathīf*) to more subtle matter (*laṭīf*). Concerning the creation of these, he explains that:

> God created the souls 7.000 years before the bodies and kept them in the station of proximity (*qurb*) and created the spirits 7.000 years before the souls and kept them in the degree of intimacy (*uns*), while creating the hearts 7.000 years before the spirits, keeping them in the degree of union (*waṣl*). God revealed the epiphany of His beauty to the hearts 360 times every day and bestowed on them 360 looks of grace, and He caused the spirits to hear the word of love and manifested 360 exquisite favors of intimacy to the souls, so that they all looked upon the phenomenal universe and saw nothing more precious than themselves and were filled with vanity and pride. Therefore God subjected them to probation. He imprisoned the heart in the spirit and the spirit in the soul and the soul in the body; then He mingled reason (*'aql)* with them, and sent prophets and gave commands; then each of them began to seek its original station. God ordered them to pray. The body betook itself to prayer, the soul attained to love, the spirit arrived at proximity to God, and the heart found rest in union with Him.[134]

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[132] In a slightly different way, Rāzī explains the seven aspects of the heart: breast (*ṣadr*), heart (*qalb*), pericardium (*shaghāf*), seat of vision (*fu'ād*), grain (*ḥabbat al-qalb*), core of the heart (*suwaydā*) and blood of the heart (*muhjat al-qalb*). See his The Path of God's Bondmen from Origin to Return, 208-210.

[133] H. Landolt, "Deux opuscules de Semnānī sur le moi théophanique," Mélanges offert à Henry Corbin (Tehran: Tehran University, 1977), 292.

[134] Al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjūb, 309. An almost similar notion was also explained by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Al-Sulamī (d.412/1021), who discusses the four subtle organs and enumerates them as soul (*nafs*), heart (*qalb*), secret (*sirr*), and spirit (*rūḥ*), in order from grosser to subtler... Further explanation of this can be read in his Risāla al-Malāmatiyya. For additional secondary sources, see Shigeru Kamada, "A Study of the Term Sirr (Secret) in Sufi Laṭā'if Theories," Orient 19 (1983): 10.

The *ḥadīth qudsī* quoted above may also be explained as follows: the first aspect of the heart is breast, from which the jewel of Islam may be extracted: "He whose breast God has expanded (to receive) Islam enjoys a light from his Lord." (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Zumar (39:22)), "but he whose breast was expanded for unbelief" (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Naḥl (16:106)) is deprived of the light of Islam, and the breast will become the seat of Satan: "who whispers in the breasts of men." (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Nās (114:5)).[135] The heart itself, on the other hand, is the place of faith: "He inscribed faith in their hearts" (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Mujādila (58:22)). It is also the seat of the light of the intellect, as God says in the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Ḥajj (22:46) "They have hearts whereby they comprehend", and also of vision; i.e., "It is not their sight that is blinded, rather the hearts within their breasts" (Qur'ān 22:46).

With regard to the pericardium (*shaghāf*), Rāzī explains that it is the mine of affection, love and compassion toward mankind – "he smote her heart with love" (Qur'ān, *sūrat* Yūsuf (12:30)) – and that the love of mankind does not go beyond the pericardium. *Fu'ād,* on the other hand, is the mine of witnessing and the seat of vision. God says that "the *fu'ād* did not lie concerning what it saw" (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Najm (53:13)).

Concerning the intellect (*lubb*), Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī explains that this latter is the most secure station of the heart. It is made up of the letters *lām* and *bā'*. It begins with *lām*, like the *lām* in the word *luṭf* (kindness). The *bā'* for its part is double: although it appears to be one, it is, in reality, two. They represent the *bā'* of

[135] Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 208.

birr (favor) in the beginning (*bidāya*), and the *bā'* of *baqā'* (remaining) with blessing (*baraka*) upon it. The intellect is possessed only by people of faith, who are the chosen servants of the Merciful, and who have gladly accepted obedience to the master and have turned from the self and the world.[136] Al-Tirmidhī distinguishes between *lubb* and *'aql* (reason), as one distinguishes between the light of the sun and the light of a lamp. However, he acknowledges that the individual in whom God combines both types of knowledge, ordinary learning and comprehension in religion (*al-fiqh fī al-dīn*), is known as the red sulphur (*al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*), the greatest knower (*al-'ālim al-akbar*), and the most wise (*al-labīb al-awfā*).[137]

In his discussion of the layers of the heart, al-Tirmidhī is silent concerning *sirr* (secret or mystery). This is not surprising though, as various definitions are frequently offered by different early Sufi writers. Qushayrī says that it is most probably a subtle essence (*laṭīfa*) lodged in the bodily frame, like the spirit.[138] Najm al-Dīn Kubrā says that the *sirr* occupies the third place in man's inner perceptions, coming after the heart and the spirit. He defines this as the place where divine power and spiritual aspiration (*himmat*) meet and coalesce.[139] From these explanations, it is

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[136] Hakīm al-Tirmidhī, Bayān al-Farq bayn al-Ṣadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fu'ād wa al-Lubb ed. and transl. by Nicholas Heer, "A Sufi Psychological Treatise," MW 51 (1961): 107-109. Al-Tirmidhī means by the possessor of intellects are, the *ulū al-bāb,* in Qur'ānic terms (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Mā'ida 5:100, al-Baqara 2:197, al-An'ām 6:90, al-Baqara 2:269, Ibrāhīm 14:52, and Ṣād 38:29).

[137] Hakīm al-Tirmidhī, Bayān al-Farq bayn al-Sadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fu'ād wa al-Lubb, ed. and transl. by Nicholas Heer, "A Sufi Psychological Treatise," 172.

[138] Al-Qushayrī, Risāla al-Qushayriyya, 45.

[139] Najm al-Dīn Kubra, Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl, ed. F. Meier, 174. Concerning the term *sirr,* Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī suggested that in its Sufi sense it does not occur in the Qur'ān. He also held that *sirr* cannot be something independent, and thus is merely an attribute, either of the heart or the spirit, according to circumstances. See his 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, on the margins of Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 4, 237-240. Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, however, found a reference to both

obvious that the heart plays an important role as a bridge between the corporeal and spiritual worlds.

The *laṭīfa* enters into TQN doctrine where it is a question of explaining that God has created human beings from two worlds: the world of Command (*'ālam al-amr)* and the world of Creation (*'ālam al-khalq).* The world of Command consists of five *laṭā'if*: the *laṭīfat al-akhfā*, *laṭīfat al-khafī*, *laṭīfat al-sirr*, *laṭīfat al-rūḥ* and *laṭīfat al-qalb.* As for the world of Creation, this consists of one *laṭīfa,* namely the *laṭīfat al-nafs,* and the four elements; i.e., fire, air, water and soil (earth).[140]

The world of Command consists of a world which is subject to neither amount, quantity, nor measure, in contrast to the world of Creation, which is subject to all these categories. The term "world of Command" applies to the world of spirits because it was created directly by God through the word "be" (*kun*) (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Baqara 2:117; *sūrat* Yāsīn 36:82), with neither temporal delay nor material intermediary. God says in the Qur'ān: "the spirit is of my Lord's command." (*sūrat* al-Isrā' 17:85). The world of Creation also came into being with the command "be," but through, however, the intermediacy of matter and a process of evolution. According to the Qur'ān: "He created the heavens and the earth in six days" (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-A'rāf 7:53; Yūnus 10:3; Hūd 11:7; al-Ḥadīd 57:4). The place of the *'ālam al-amr* is above the *'arsh* (Throne of God), and that of the *'ālam al-khalq* below the latter. These two worlds compose what is known as the sphere of

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the mystery (*sirr*) and the arcane (*khafī*) in Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ṭāhā 20:7 "If thou makest utterance aloud, verily He knows the secret (*sirr*) and what is more hidden (*khafī*)."

[140] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn, 3; Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālikīn, 43; Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 3.

possibility (*dā'irat al-imkān*). The upper half of this sphere is above the *'arsh* and the lower half below it. The sphere is made of, in descending order, the following *laṭā'if*: *akhfā, khafī, sirr, rūḥ, qalb*, the Throne, *nafs*, fire, air, water, and earth.[141] The *laṭā'if* that are originally from the *'ālam al-amr* all have the character of '*al-rūḥ*', which is immaterial, while the elements from the *'ālam al-khalq* are material. With His Power and Will, God, on creating the human body, imposed on the five *laṭā'if* very clear limits.[142] Therefore, those subtle centers that control the inner life of human beings are certainly located in the body.[143]

God blows the *rūḥ* into the human body without intermediary after the body has been perfectly created. God thus commanded the spirit to enter Adam, but it was a bit reluctant at first. It entered via the fontanel and then passed to the eyes, nose, mouth and all the way down to the toes. All the parts of Adam's body infused by the spirit became alive, and able to move, speak, sneeze and praise God,[144] for as God says in the Qur'ān: "I breathed into him of My spirit," (Q. 15:29). This process shows that the life of spirit (as well as body) came into being by the divine attribute of life bestowing (*muḥyi)* (Qur'ān 30:50): "He it is who bestows life on the dead, and He is powerful over all things." Abah Anom does not explain these concepts in

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[141] Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālikīn, 44. See Mir Valiuddin, Contemplative Disciplines of Sufism, 63-64. See also Najm al-Dīn Rāzī The Path of God's Bondmen from Origin to Return, 72-73, 85, 220-221. The more material the substance the more solid it is, and vice versa. See Kharisudin 'Aqib, Al-Hikmah, 130-131.

[142] Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālikīn, 45.

[143] For the place of *rūḥ* in the human body, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī explains in a work spuriously attributed to him, Sirr al-Asrār, 34-42, that the types of *rūḥ* are to be found throughout the body, e.g. *rūḥ jasmānī* is in the chest, *rūḥ rūḥānī* is in the heart, *rūḥ sulṭānī* is located in the *fu'ād* and *rūḥ al-quds* is in the *sirr*.

[144] Kharisudin Aqib, Al-Hikmah, 134.

further detail except as we indicated above. The founder of TQN however, has something to say in the form of a summary, as follows:

The Seven Subtle Centers of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* (TQN).[145]

Subtle substance	Location	Prophet	Color
heart (*qalb*)	two fingers below left breast	Adam	yellow
spirit (*rūḥ*)	two fingers below right breast	Abraham and Noah	red
conscience (*sirr*)	two fingers above left breast	Moses	white
mystery (*khafī*)	two fingers above right breast	Jesus	black
arcanum (*akhfā*)	center of breast	Muḥammad	green
soul (*nafs*)	center of forehead	-	blue
body (*qālab*)	on the surface of the skin	-	clear

d. The Spiritual exercises of the *ikhwān* of the TQN

The spiritual exercises (*riyāḍa*)[146] of the *ikhwān* of the TQN include the obligatory[147] daily *dhikr*, the weekly spiritual exercise (*khataman*) and the monthly ceremony (*manakiban*). Traditionally, the practice of seclusion (*khalwa*) forms a part of the spiritual exercises, and so I asked one of Abah Anom's loyal disciples about

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[145] Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3-5.

[146] The word *riyāḍa* is used by Abah Anom in a progressive sense. Once a requirement is attained, then permission may be received to undertake additional *riyāḍāt*.

[147] The word obligatory here is meant within the context of the TQN and applies to its *ikhwān* in particular.

the practice of seclusion, whether this practice is recommended. His answer was that Abah Anom considered it sufficient that it be performed by the *shaykh.* However, if one of the *ikhwān* insists on receiving guidance in how to practice seclusion, and should he fulfill the conditions, Abah Anom might permit it.[148]

d.1. Obligatory daily spiritual exercise (daily *dhikrullāh*)

We saw earlier that the formula of the daily *dhikrullāh* for the TQN of Suryalaya is explicitly stated in *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr.* [149]Abah Anom explains there that "the *ṭarīqa* of our teacher is essentially the path of *dhikr,*" which consists of *dhikr* of the tongue (*dhikr al-lisān*) and of the heart (*wa al-jinān*). Within *dhikr* as a whole one finds the opening (*al-fatḥ*) to seek (*al-ṭalab*) God, and to fulfil one's needs (*qaḍā' al-ḥawā'ij*); for *dhikr* is from Him (God) and for Him; and through Him everything exists (*wa bihi kullu shay'*). Abah Anom in fact, says: "even were I to order you to do anything else, do not listen to me but continue the *dhikr.*"[150]

Abah Anom further explains that individual *dhikr* can be performed in accordance with the procedure and the frequency taught in the Sufi path. Collective *dhikr,* however, has a far stronger influence or effect (*aqwā ta'thīran*) in removing

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[148] I believe that this consideration is based on the fact that the majority of the members of the TQN are *'awāmm.* However, this does not prevent those who are qualified from taking up the task. Inside the mosque Nurul Asror, located in the *pesantren,* there is a certain room known as a place for *khalwa.* In addition, the practice of *khalwa* could mean being spiritually with God in spite of material presence in the world. The same idea is mentioned in one of the Naqshband teachings, *khalwat dar anjuman* (solitude in society). For a detailed discussion of *khalwa,* see Hermann Landolt, "Khalwa," in EI2, vol. 4, 990-991.

[149] Manuscript of Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr (first version, 9-12), and also in his Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 290-292.

[150] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 304.

the veil from one's heart compared with individual *dhikr*. Furthermore, for collective *dhikr*, the reciter (*dhākir*) will receive two rewards: one for his own *dhikr* and one reward for listening to the *dhikr* of others. God has ordered Muslims to help one another in terms of devotion (*al-birr*) and piety (*al-taqwā*), and so collective *dhikr* falls within this category of behaviour.

The objective of *dhikr Allāh* is to prevent Muslim believers from being heedless of God Almighty, since heedlessness leads individuals into sin (*al-ma'siyya*). Hence *dhikr* will help people to leave disobedience behind. At the same time, according to Abah Anom *taṣawwuf* calls on the individual to empty the heart (*takhliyat al-qalb*) of all vices (*al-radhā'il*) and to fill it with virtues (*al-faḍā'il),* with the result that one's heart becomes full of the certitude of God's light. This light is holy (*al-anwār al-qudsiyya*), making one feel more connected to God, such that one prefers to remember God rather than follow one's own desire, or that of anyone else except Allah. He is, for these reasons, considered to be the worshipped one, the one who is sought (*al-maṭlūb*), the one who is preferred (*al-marghūb*), and the one who is beloved (*al-maḥbūb*); from Him is all creation derived, and to Him all will return in the end.[151]

A member of the TQN is obliged to perform the *dhikr Allāh* every day after the five obligatory prayers. The *dhikr Allāh,* as we have seen, is of two types: voiced (*dhikr jahr*) and silent (*dhikr khafi*). The formula of *dhikr jahr* consists in reciting the *kalimāt al-ṭayyiba,* the *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* or *lā ilāha illā Allāh.* This *kalima* is

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[151] Ibid., 305.

recited 165 times. If one is pressed by circumstances, one may recite it three times and make up the rest later. Why recite this *kalima* ? Because, according to Abah Anom, the essence of the *kalima al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* is noble and has a strong effect *(ta'thīr);* here he bases himself on a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammmad (pbuh).[152]

During my time in Suryalaya, I was unable to obtain an answer as to why the *kalimat al-ṭayyiba* is recited 165 times. Later, however, an explanation was offered to me by K.H. Mudhoffar Fathurrahman of Jepara, in central Java. He referred me to a book written by Kiyai Haji Luṭfī al-Ḥakīm ibn Muslih ‘Abd al-Raḥmān of Mranggen (also in Central Java), where it is stated that the number 165 reperesents the numerical value of the letters in the formula *lā ilāha illā Allāh*; the letters *lām alif* amounting to thirty-one, the word *ilāha* to thirty-six, the word *illā* to thirty-two and the *lafẓ al-jalāla*, to sixty-six – all together 165.[153]

Abah Anom's directions[154] are that, prior to performing the voiced *dhikr*, one should recite *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa once for the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), his family and his Companions, then the *istighfār* three times (*astaghfirullāh al-ghafūr al-raḥīm*), then the *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muḥammad three times, then the *du'ā' ilāhī anta maqṣūdi wariḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak* (said once only), followed by the voiced *dhikr* reciting *lā ilāha illā Allāh* 165 times, ending with the

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[152] Ibid., 263.

[153] Luṭfi Ḥakīm, Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li Ma'rifat al-Tarīqa wa Kayfiyya 'Amalihā min al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya (Semarang, n.d.), 24. I am grateful to my husband for alerting me to the numerical significance here, which is from *jadwal ḥisāb al-jumal taqābala al-arqām.* See Louis Ma'lūf, Al-Munjid fī al-Lugha wa al-A'lām (Beyrut, Dār al-Mashriq, 1988), 1

[154] This daily spiritual practice (*wiridan*) is explained in the first part of Abah Anom's 'Uqūd al-Jumān.

formula *sayyidunā Muḥammad rasūl Allāh ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam.* After this, one should perform *ṣalawāt munjiyāt* followed by reciting the verse of *mubāya'a* (*sūrat* al-Fatḥ 10), and then one may add one's own *du 'ā'.*

One then continues by reciting *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the Prophet (pbuh), his family, his Companions, his wives, his descendants and for all the people of his house. Then *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is once more recited for the souls of the members of the *silsila* of the TQN and all *ṭarīqas,* especially for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (q.s), Abu'l Qāsim Junayd al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār, Tolhah Kalisapu Cirebon, 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, and for the present *shaykh* of the TQN, Abah Anom. Recitation of this *sūra* is also done for their *uṣūl* and *furū',* the people of their *silsila,* and for those who take inspiration from them.

Then *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is yet again recited for the souls of fathers, mothers, all male and female Muslims, and all male and female believers, both living and dead. After this, one continues by reciting *istighfār* (*astaghfirullāha rabbī min kulli dhanbin wa atūbu ilayh*) three times, followed by repeating *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and to the Prophet Ibrāhīm (a.s), which is continued by the *du'ā': ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbi a'tini maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak* (said once). Finally, one performs *tawajjuh,*[155] which entails closing one's eyes and lips,

[155] *Tawajjuh* essentially means meeting face to face. It is a kind of contemplation, concentrating one's attention; or even one's whole being upon someone. This can happen from *murīd* to *shaykh,* or vice versa. On the occasion of *talqīn,* it is from *shaykh* to *murīd.* The spiritual assistance rendered by the saint to his devotee, consists in concentrating upon the *murīd,* picturing the spiritual linkage between his pineal heart and the heart of the *murīd* through which the lights can flow. In the TQN tradition, *tawajjuh* can also be understood as contemplation of God through the practice of *dhikr khafī.* In central Java, sometimes this is the occasion of *khataman,* called *tawajjuhan.* See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 312, See also Aqib, AlHikmah, 107-108, 109 and on *manakiban* see p. 114. See also Qowaid, "Tarekat dan Politik kasus TQN di desa Mranggen, Demak, Jateng" (M.A. thesis, Universitas Indonesia (Jakarta),) 1993, 188.

holding one's breath, inclining one's head and continuously performing silent *dhikr* for as long as possible,[156] remembering God constantly in one's heart with the *lafẓ al-jalāla*, and passing through the *laṭā'if*.

d.2. Weekly spiritual exercise *(khataman)*

The *khataman* is a type of spiritual exercise (*riyāḍa)* of the TQN that is practiced at least once a week, either collectively or individually. Generally speaking, the *ikhwān* of the TQN perform the *khataman* twice a week collectively, under the guidance of a *muballigh* or a local *talqīn* agent. While I was doing my research, I saw the *khataman* being practiced between the *maghrib* and *'ishā'* prayers and after Friday prayer.[157] The procedure and the formula of *khataman*[158] of the TQN of Suryalaya are mostly the same as may be found in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas; however, there are differences, and these are as follows:

1. In the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*, the *khatm* starts with the recitation of *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, whereas in the *'Uqūd al-Jumān* it begins with recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the Prophet (pbuh), his family, his Companions, his wives, his descendants and all the people of his house. What is more, *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* does not mention the last three groups of beneficiaries.

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[156] Abah Anom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pesantren Suryalaya, 1975), 4-9.

[157] In Miftāh al-Sudūr (first version, page 12), it says that the practice of *khataman* should be performed on Monday and Thursday night, or every night and day time.

[158] In practice, the whole formula is recited, but not with as many quantities as mentioned in 'Uqūd al-Jumān.

2. After reading the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the souls of the leaders of *mujtahidīn* and their followers in religion, the guided 'ulamā', the sincere *qurrā'*, *mufassirīn, muḥaddithīn*, all the masters of the *taṣawwuf al-muḥaqqiqīn*, the souls of male and female saints, and the souls of male and female *Muslims* "from the East to the West," Abah Anom adds "and from the right side to the left," which is not found in the work of Shaykh Sambas.
3. When mentioning the names of the Shaykhs for whom the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is given, Shaykh Sambas mentions Sarī al-Saqaṭī prior to Ma'rūf al-Karkhī and Abū Yazīd al-Basṭāmī prior to Yūsuf al-Hamadānī, whereas Abah Anom does the reverse, though the rest of the names remains similar, in terms of their listing.
4. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* to the Prophet (pbuh): *Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muhammad al-nabiyy al-ummiyy wa 'alā ālihī wa ṣaḥbihī wa sallim*, 100 times, Shaykh Sambas mentions only *ṣalawāt*, but the formula is the same.
5. Recitation of *sūrat* al-Inshirāḥ (Qur'ān 94:8) which is repeated 80 times, though Shaykh Sambas calls for 79 repetitions.
6. Recitation of *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ 500 times, which Shaykh Sambas sets at 1,000 times. For the remaining elements, I will list them while only noting where the practice is truly dissimilar.
7. Recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for Shaykh Aḥmad Bāqir.
8. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.[159]
9. Reading of *Allāhumma yā qāḍiya'l ḥājāt* 100 times.

[159] Numbers 7 and 8 do not exist in Fatḥ al-'Arifīn

10. Reading of *yā kāfiya'l muhimmāt* 100 times.

11. Reading of *yā dā fi'a al baliyyāt* 100 times.

12. Reading of *yā rā fi'a al-darajāt* 100 times.[160]

13. Recitation of *yā shāfiya'l amrāḍ* 100 times.

14. Recitation of *yā mujīb al-da'wāt* 100 times.[161]

15. Recitation of *yā arḥam al-rāḥimīn* 100 times.

16. Recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is given for the Imām Khwājagān.

17. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times. [162]

18. Reading of *lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh al-'aliyy al-'aẓīm* 100 times (500 times stated in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* for this formula but not in this chronological order).

19. Reading of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.

20. Reading of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for Imām al-Rabbānī (i.e. Aḥmad Sirhindī).

21. Reading of *sūrat* al-Falaq (113).

22. Reading of *istighfār* (*astaghfirullāh al-'aẓīm al-ladhī lā ilāha illā huwa'l-ḥayy al-qayyūm wa atūbu ilayh*), 100 times.

23. Recitation of *sūrat* al-Nās (114).

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[160] Numbers 9-12 are listed also in Fath al-'Arifīn, 10, although numbers 11 and 12 printed in reverse, and after *yā dā fi' al-baliyyāt* Shaykh Sambas mentions *yā muḥill al-mushkilāt*, which does not exist in the 'Uqūd al-Jumān.

[161] In Fath al-'Ārifīn numbers 13 and 14 are printed in reverse.

[162] Numbers 15-16 are the same as in Fath al-'Ārifīn but after number 16, it is continued by the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa twice for Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, then followed by the recitation of the *ṣalawāt* for the Prophet 100 times. See Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 11. The same wording may be found in ms. Tarikat yang Dibangsakan, 28 line five. Concerning Imām Khwājagān mentioned in no. 16, see chapter one, pp. 16-17, and p. 25 of this dissertation.

24. Recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is made for sayyidinā Muẓahhir.[163]

25. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.

26. Recitation of *ḥasbunallāh wa ni'ma al-wakīl* 500 times.[164]

27. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.

28. Reading of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is for Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.

29. Reading of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.

30. Reading of *ni'ma al-mawlā wa ni 'ma al-naṣīr* 500 times (not mentioned in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*).

31. Reading of *ṣalawāt ummi* the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.

32. Reading of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for our noble master (does not specify for whom, this may mean for current *shaykh*).

33. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.

34. Recitation of *yā khafiya'lluṭfi adriknī bi luṭfika'l khafī* 500 times (not mentioned in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*).

35. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.

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[163] In Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn numbers 19 and 20 printed in reverse, whereas numbers 21-24 are not mentioned here. Concerning Imām al-Rabbānī is the honorific customarily used to designate Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī (1563-1624), also nicknamed *Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thānī* (Reformer of the Second Millenium), who advocated what came to be known as the *Shuhūdiyya* doctrine derived from Simnānī. His letters (*Maktūbāt)* are well-known. He was a *shaykh* of four Sufi orders: *Naqshbandiyya, Qādiriyya, Chistiyya* and *Suhrawardiyya*; however, he was appointed as the successor of his Naqshbandī *shaykh*, Muḥammad al-Bāqi Billāh (1563-1603). Further information on *mujaddid* in Indian subcontinent, see Sajida S. Alvi, "The Mujaddid and Tajdīd Traditions in the Indian Subcontinent: An Historical Overview," Journal of Turkish Studies 18 (1994): 1-15. Concerning Muẓahhir, his complete name is Ḥabīb Allāh Jān Janān (well-known as Muẓahhir al-Naqshbandī), see Muḥammad Aḥmad Darniqi [Tripoli]: Jarrūs Press, [1987], 76.

[164] In the Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn the number specified is 1,000 times, whereas in the ms. Tarikat yang Dibangsakan, 28 line eight, it is inflated to 1,100 times.

36. Recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is for *haḍrat al-imām* Khwāja *al-Naqshbandiyya* (not mentioned in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*).[165]
37. Recitation of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.
38. Reading of *lā ilāha illā anta subḥānaka innī kuntu min al-ẓālimīn* 500 times (not mentioned in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*).
39. Reading of *ṣalawāt ummi* for the Prophet (pbuh), 100 times.
40. Reading of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for *haḍrat sayyidinā* Ma'ṣūm (this probably Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, son of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, this recitation is not mentioned in *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*).
41. Followed by *tawajjuh*, and reciting the *du'ā'*: *ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī a'ṭinī maḥabbataka wa ma'rifatak*, three times (*Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* does not say three times).
42. Recitation of *yā laṭīf* 16.641 times.[166]
43. Finally, the recitation of *du'ā' khataman,* the text of which is exactly the same as stated in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn.*[167]

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[165] We do not know who is meant by this name, perhaps the same as number 16 above, it might not the same as the *khatm khwājagān* referred to in chapter one, for there are variations in the formula recited and the numbers of repetition. However, they have some elements in common; i.e. the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa, *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet (pbuh), *sūrat* al-Inshirāḥ, *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ and the *silsila* recollection. It is acknowledged, however, even the contents of the *khatm khwājagān* can differ from place to place. See Hamid Algar, "Some Notes on the Naqshbandī Tarikat in Bosnia," in Studies in Comparative Religion, vol. 9 (1975): 84. For the variations of contents of the *khatm khwājagān*, one may consult the findings summarized by Ian Richard Netton, Sufi Ritual The Parallel Universe (London: Curzon, 2000), 89.

[166] There must be a misprint in the Fath al-'Arifīn, where the number is given as 6641 times, for even the ms. Tarikat yang Dibangsakan says 16,641 times. See this ms. page 29, lines two and three.

[167] All the formulae of the *khataman* of the TQN in this section are quoted from Abah Anom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān, 10-25. One may also find this formulae in Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Ṣudūr in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 292-296 and 333-341. On the whole, the total number of *ṣalawāt* to the prophet (pbuh) in the Fath al-'Arifīn of Shaykh Sambas is 700 times whereas in 'Uqūd al-Jumān, it is 1,200 times. An inventory of the *ṣalawāt* to the Prophet in ms.

From this survey of the formulas and practices of *khataman*, we may state that Abah Anom appears to develop in terms of the number of quantity of *ṣalawāt*, and the set time to perform the *khataman*, which is not mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*. On the whole, it remains within the framework of Shaykh Sambas's teachings. In the case of this chapter, however, we find that the manuscript of *Tariqat yang dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah* is pretty close to the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* except in some of the cases mentioned above.

d.3. Monthly spiritual exercise *(manakiban)*

Manakiban is a monthly ritual activity in the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya that is also known as *sebelasan* (eleventh) because it occurs on the eleventh day of every *hijra* month. In the various branches of the Suryalaya *pesantren*, moreover, the members of the TQN perform the *manakiban* ceremony monthly, but on different dates. This ceremony is neither mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* nor in the manuscript of the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*. It is described however in a chapter devoted to it in the *'Uqūd al-Jumān* of Abah Anom and has been a part of the TQN traditions, shared with the followers of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, especially in Indonesia.

I witnessed the ceremony of *manakiban* celebrated not only in the Pesantren of Suryalaya but also in the nearby towns of Tasikmalaya and Serpong (west Java) as well as in Jakarta.[168] The specific date of a *manakiban* usually coincides with the

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Tarikat yang Dibangsakan arrives at a total of 600, but this does not include the two missing lines on page 28, line eleven (noted earlier in this chapter).

[168] For the Jakarta region especially, a book has been published containing a complete schecule of *manakiban/khataman* ceremonies, on when and where exactly the *manakiban* will be held. See Buku

anniversary of the death of a saint; thus, at the TQN Suryalaya, it is the *manāqib* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī that is routinely recited, not only on the occasion of the annual commemmoration of the date of the *shaykh*'s death (eleventh of *Rabī'al-Ākhir*), but on the eleventh of every month as well.

Manakiban is a Sundanese word which is derived from the Arabic *manāqib*, meaning "virtues, works of merit of the Prophet and Saints." It also means 'hagiographies.'[169] The word *manāqib* is, in fact, the plural form of *manqaba*, meaning virtue or beauty. Thus *manāqib al-insān* implies what is recognized in a person in terms of his noble character and virtue.[170] The term is used in the Qur'ān as well, e.g., *manāqib* Maryam, *manāqib* Dhū'l Qarnayn, *manāqib* Aṣḥāb al-Kahf, etc. After the prophet's lifetime, *manāqib* were written on Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Alī, Hamza, Abū Sa'īd, al-Tījānī and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.[171] Even the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), is said to have referred to the lives of his Companions as models, for people to love and to follow.[172] Likewise, the recitation of the *manāqib* of Shaykh 'Abd Qādir al-Jīlānī has become a spiritual practice in Indonesia.[173]

Panduan 1999 Jadual Manakib DKI Jakarta, published by Jakarta Coordinator of Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. I received this book as a gift from K.H. Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul.

[169] J. Spencer Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 209.

[170] Louis Ma'luf, Al-Munjid fī al-Lugha wa al-A'lām, 829.

[171] Imron Abu Amar, Sebuah Jawaban Bahwa Kitab Manakib Syekh Abd Qadir Jaelani Tidak Merusak Aqidah Islamiyah, (Kudus: Menara Kudus, 1989), 11.

[172] Abū Luṭfī al-Ḥakīm wa Ḥanīf Muṣliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Qāṣid al-Ḥaq al-Marāqī al-Dhamāwī al-Samāranī (of Mranggen), Al-Nūr al-Burhāni fī Tarjamat al-Lujayni al-Dānī fī Dhikr Nubdha min Manāqib al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (Semarang: Toha Putra, 1382 A.H.), vol.1, 23-24.

[173] Abdullah Muhammad Zin, " Qadiriyya Order: Development and Practice," Islamiyyat 11 (1990), 43. In Suryalaya, the *manqaba* is recited in the Indonesian language, whereas in various places the

As a matter of fact, this ceremony is not mentioned once in either the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* or in the manuscript *Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah dan Naqsyabandiyyah.* This monthly spiritual exercise, however, is widespread and has been a part of the TQN teachings maintained in various *silsila* lines as well. The *manakiban* in Suryalaya is celebrated by the *wakil talqīn* and the *muballigh* in the presence of more than five thousand people. This monthly spiritual exercise begins with the recitation of the Qur'ān and goes on to include reading the *Tanbih*, reciting the *tawassul* [174] and then reciting the *manāqib* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. The latter deals mainly with events in the life of the saint, and highlights his good manners, his piety, his asceticism and saintliness, which are considered unique to be to him. The program ends with a sermon delivered by a certain *muballigh.*

On the day of *manakiban,* in Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, at least until recently, it was Abah Anom's practice to lead the dawn prayer and *dhikr*, followed with a *ṣubḥ* sermon. The content of the sermon would deal with such topics such as the renewal of *īmān, Islām, iḥsān,* and the importance of *dhikrullāh.*

This monthly activity also helps to improve the skills of the *talqīn* agent and *muballigh*, for usually on the night before the eleventh day of the Muslim month, Abah Anom gives advice and suggests solutions to problems affecting their

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local language is used. The Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya has published Tajudz-Dzakir fi Manaqib As-Syekh Abdul Qodir (Tasikmalaya, 1988).

[174] The *Tanbih* is the *waṣiyya* of Abah Sepuh, as we indicated in the previous pages. *Tawassul* means to do a good deed that brings one closer to God. The *tawassul* is based on the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Mā'ida 35 and *sūrat* al-Isra' 57. In the Tafsīr Sāwī vol.1, it is explained that the *wasīla* not only consists of good deeds *('amal ṣālih),* but also to love of the Prophets, love of the saints (e.g. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī), giving the *ṣadaqa,* visiting the tombs of the saints, performing *du'ā',* doing *silaturraḥm,* reciting the *dhikr,* and many other practices. See Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣāwī, Al-Sāwī 'alā al-Jalālayn, vol.1., (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1941), 227.

native districts. This forum allows the *talqīn* agents and *muballigh* to exchange experiences with each other and to grow closer, not only to each other but with all the *ikhwān* of the TQN. Each one of the *talqīn* agents and *muballighs* is known by Abah Anom personally, especially the former because they are given the power to lead the *dhikr,* and the authority to receive initiation vows and impart secret instructions to new members in their local areas.

On the eleventh day itself, from 7.00 a.m. onwards, people begin to arrive in crowds from every direction to attend the *manakiban.* On arrival, they go straight into the mosque, which has been prepared for them. The crowd includes both men and women, dressed in their very best clothes. Men congregate on the first floor of the mosque while women are on the second floor; however, when the mosque is full they usually all sit together in the front yard of the mosque.[175] Among them are those who come on foot or by bus or car. There are many from far-off regions in west Java, Jakarta, central Java, and east Java; sometimes even brothers *(ikhwān)* of the TQN from Malaysia and Singapore attend if they happen to be in the area. My husband and I were fortunate enough to witness the *manakiban* in Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya twice during my research visit: once on the eleventh of *Dhulqa'da* and again on the eleventh of *Dhū al-ḥijja* 1420 A.H. More than 5,000 people -- peasants, military, public servants, merchants and villagers, mostly *ikhwān* and *akhawāt* of the TQN – attend every month. Each person follows the custom of paying his/her respect first at the tomb of Shaykh Mubarak (Abah Sepuh), which is located at the

[175] S. Soebardi notes that one of the characteristics of this *ṭarīqa* is that it gives the greatest possible opportunity to women to take part in its ceremonies, along with men. See S. Soebardi, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Surialaya in West Java," 224.

foot of the hill to the right of the mosque, then calling on Abah Anom, greeting him by kissing his hand. Usually, Abah Anom has been sitting in the reception room since 6.00 o'clock that morning after the dawn prayer, in order to receive any guest wishing to meet him; however, since he has now taken to using a wheelchair, he usually sits in his living room to receive visitors.

After the *manakiban* ceremony, the guests are served a festive meal. I noticed that every guest takes his/her turn patiently, for the queue is long.[176] This monthly meeting also seems to benefit the communities surrounding the Pesantren, in that people are involved in economic activities, such as selling books, souvenirs, food and prayer kits.

The *manakiban* program is formalized and has become uniform throughout the TQN of Suryalaya since 1976. The structure is as follows: first, recitation of the holy Qur'ān; second, reading of the *Tanbih;* third, recitation of the *tawassul;* fourth, reading the *manqaba* (hagiography) of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī; fifth, Islamic lectures delivered by a *talqīn* agent; then (only in Suryalaya Pesantren), recitation of *ṣalawāt* banī Hāshim and a closing. The text of the *manqaba* varies from one month to another; one *talqīn* agent said to me that, ideally, the lecture given in this ceremony should relate to the chosen *manqaba.* There are 56 parts comprised in the *manqaba* of the *shaykh* altogether.[177]

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[176] I noticed that the kitchen was busy preparing food for the guests every day, not just during the *manakiban* ceremony. According to Mr. Sukriya Atmaja (Maj. Gen,-retired), who donates four tons of rice monthly, one of the questions that is always asked by Abah Anom of his guests is whether he or she has already eaten or not, meaning that Abah Anom is always a good host to his guests. The food tastes good, and consists of rice, vegetables, meat and sometimes *kerupuk* (Indonesian chips).

[177] See Tāj al-Dhākir (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1988).

The TQN of Suryalaya clearly follows practices that differ from other *pesantrens* in the regions of Banten (western part of west Java) and Cirebon (north-eastern part of west Java), especially in terms of its openness to outsiders. In Banten and Cirebon, for instance, only *ṭarīqa* members are admitted to meetings: strangers must ask permission in advance to attend, and are usually refused.[178]

e. The necessity of possessing the chain of authorities (*asānīd)* of the *ṭarīqa* and matters connected with it

The spiritual chain (*silsila)* is a key element in any *ṭarīqa.* For it represents the unbroken chain of teaching passed on by one *shaykh.* Abah Anom confirms its importance by dedicating an entire chapter of his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* to discussing this topic. He explains that whoever does not recognize his predecessors in the *ṭarīqa* is to be condemned. Not only are his words unacceptable, he is also regarded as though he has denied his own paternity, thus falling into the category referred to by the prophet as follows: "One who descends not from his father is cursed by Allah."[179]

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[178] Soebakin Soebardi, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Surialaya in West Java," Spectrum Essays:presented to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana on his Seventieth Birthday, edited by S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat,1978),223.

[179] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 279. In Islamic law, real father-son relations are very important, and in the *ṭarīqa* as well, the shaykh-student relations are essential. On the same topic Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī quotes from the Madārij of al-Sha'rānī where it is stated: "know O disciple whoever does not know his fathers and his grandfathers in the *ṭarīqa* (his spiritual teachers), he is blind and wherever he attaches himself to someone other than his father this falls within the saying of the Prophet pbuh: God will curse whoever attaches himself to one other than his father." See Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā', vol 1.,79-80. In this volume the author quotes a *ḥadīth* concerning this matter, but in a slightly different form. See Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fi al-Awliyā', vol. 2, 142. The complete title of Madārij is Madārij al-Sālikīn ilā Rusūm Tarīq al-'Ārifīn. See Brockelmann. GAL II, 335, Supplement II, 465.

On the obligation to have a *shaykh* from within the *ṭarīqa,* Abah Anom quotes al-Sha'rānī,[180] who says that the people of the paths (*ahl al-ṭuruq*) have agreed on a disciple's obligation to take a *shaykh* who will guide him in shedding the attributes that prevent him from reaching God in his heart, and who will make his prayer acceptable.[181] This matter is one part of the fundamentals of religious injunction: Whatever is needed to complete an obligation is thus judged an obligation in itself (*mā lā yatimm al-wājib illā bihī fa huwa wājib*). One thing is certain; curing internal afflictions (diseases of the heart) is an obligation, as is stated in many verses of the Qur'ān and the traditions of the prophet. Abah Anom then quotes *sūrat* al-Baqara (2: 10), al-Tawba (9:125), and al-An'ām (6:120) in reinforcement of this point.[182]

Abah Anom further explains that whoever does not turn to a *shaykh* for help in ridding himself of these negative attributes is considered to be sinning against God and His messenger, for he has no guidance in finding a cure to his diseases.

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[180] 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Anwār Al-Qudsiyya fi Ma'rifa Qawā'id al-Sūfiyya (Cairo: Al-Maktabat al-'Ilmiyya wa Maṭba'atuhā, 1962), 64. However, on this page Sha'rānī talks more about the importance of having only one *shaykh.* Brockelmann refers to this work as Lawāqih Al-Anwār Al-Qudsiyya fi Ma'rifa Qawā'id al-Sūfiyya. See Brockelmann. GAL II, 336, Supplement II, 465. However, in the printed edition the title lacks the word *lawāqiḥ.*

[181] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 279. Sha'rānī in his Al-Anwār Al-Qudsiyya fi Ma'rifa Qawā'id al-Sūfiyya in turn quotes the saying of Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq to the effect that human beings are not able to proceed in *ṭarīqas* without a *shaykh* because the path to be travelled passes through [the world] of the unseen or the unseen of the unseen (*ghayb al-ghayb*). Al-Sha'rānī gives as an example Jibril's function as intermediary (*wāsiṭa*) between the Prophet and God Almighty, especially in the case of bringing the revelation. Therefore, to follow a *shaykh* is obligatory.

[182] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 279-280, Al-Baqara 10, reads as follow: "In their hearts is a disease, and Allah has increased their disease and grievous is the penalty they (incur) because they are false (themselves)." Al-Tawba, 125 says: "But those in whose hearts is a disease, it will add doubt to their doubt, and they will die in a state of unbelief." Al-An'ām, 120 reads: "Eschew all sins, open or secret."

Even if he does good deeds, they become worthless without guidance; he does not even benefit from memorizing a thousand books. Abah Anom explains further that whoever is not considered part of the community, cannot receive the *talqīn al-dhikr* or any explanation concerning the *ṭarīqa*, for there is a secret in the *ṭarīqa*. The *talqīn al-dhikr* is a linking of hearts (*irtibāṭ al-qulūb*) one to another, reaching back to the messenger of God (pbuh), and even as far as the divine presence. Whoever does not connect himself to this chain to the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), is deprived of his overflowing light and is not his heir. From such a person the *bay'a* cannot be taken nor can an *ijāza* be given to him because the path to God is both exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*). Its exoteric manifestation in the *sharī'a* and its esoteric in the *ḥaqīqa*. The *sharī'a* is linked (*mu'ayyada*) to the *ḥaqīqa* and the *ḥaqīqa* is restricted (*muqayyada*) to *sharī'a*. Any *sharī'a* therefore that is not strengthened with the *ḥaqīqa* is not accepted, just as every *ḥaqīqa* that is not proven by *sharī'a* is not accepted either. *Sharī'a* consists in presenting one's worship to God, while *ḥaqīqa* is receiving *mushāhada* (witnessing) from Him. [183] The people of the external (*ahl al-ẓāhir*) are expert in the *sharī'a* while the people of the internal *(ahl al-bāṭin*) are expert in *ḥaqīqa*. When one is an adept of both (*ẓāhiriyya* and *bāṭiniyya*), that person becomes the reality of *ḥaqīqa*. Abah Anom quotes the Prophet who says: "*Sharī'a* is what is said, *ṭarīqa* is what is done, *ḥaqīqa* is the situation and *ma'rifa* is the means."

In another passage Abah Anom says that "everything about a Sufi *ṭarīqa* concerns the meritorious conduct of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh) and his ways

[183] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 280-281.

and Allah's injunctions; one should realize that all practices and discourses will become worthless; and will not come closer to Allah, if one's actions are contrary to *sharī'a* and the *sunna.*"[184]

Abah Anom explains that when the people asked about the true meaning of *taṣawwuf,* the Prophet (pbuh) answered: "to cleanse the heart (*taṣfiyyat al-qulūb*) from what is preferred by human beings (*muwāfaqa al-bariyya*), to distance oneself from [bad] instinctive manners (*al-akhlāq al-ṭabī'a*) and to adopt a humane attitude, to avoid disputes that are influenced by desires, then to place his attitudes towards the spiritual attitudes (*al-ṣifāt al-rūḥaniyya*), to connect with the sciences of reality (*'ulūm al-ḥaqīqa*) then to follow the entire *sharī'a* of the Prophet (pbuh)."[185]

Abah Anom quotes Imām al-Ghazalī, who states: "Among the mottos (*shi'ārāt)* of the Sufis is; whoever accepts only *sharī'a* but does not want to know the *ḥaqīqa,* that person is sinful (*fāsiq).* Whoever takes only the *ḥaqīqa* but does not perform the *sharī'a* therefore constitutes an unbeliever (*zindīq),* while one who performs *sharī'a* and practices *taṣawwuf,* this person is called the real *ahl* of *ḥaqīqa.*"[186] Abah Anom mentioned earlier in the same work, that the degrees of achieving God *(marātib al-wuṣūl)* consist of three stages (*marāḥil*); first Islām, second *īmān,* and third *iḥsān.* A servant of God, if he is always busy with worship, is in the station (*maqām)* of Islām, or the station of *sharī'a.* When that '*amal* moves

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[184] Ibid., 281-282.

[185] Ibid., 321.

[186] Some sources claim that this saying is originally from Imām Mālik. This saying is quoted by Shaykh Muḥammad Hishām Kabbānī, The Naqshbandī Sufi Way History and Guided of the Saints of the Golden Chain (Chicago: KAZI Publication, 1995), 15, 433. See Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 417.

towards his purified heart (already empty of evil), filled with sincere virtue, that man reaches the degree of *īmān* or the *maqām al-ṭarīqa.* When a human being embarks on worship only for sake of God, and God sees him, therefore he is in the *māqām* of *iḥsān,* or *maqām ḥaqīqa.* Therefore, it is said: s*harī'a* is where you worship God, *ṭarīqa* is where you are moving towards God and *ḥaqīqa* is where you witness God.[187]

Abah Anom refers to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlāni's (q.s.) saying: " There is nothing in the purpose of the people of *taṣawwuf,* except to purify the *bāṭin* of human beings with the light of God's unity (*nūr tawḥīd*) and knowledge (*ma'rifa*). The Sufi with true *taṣawwuf,* will cleanse his heart of everything except for God and his love for God, and will undertake a profound struggle (*jihādan marīra*n) to so empty his heart and decorate it with *dhikr Allāh.* Abah Anom here quotes the Prophet as having said "The sign of love towards God is to love *dhikr Allāh,* while the sign of hatred towards God is to hate *dhikr Allāh.*" Moreover, a servant who loves God doesn't think that he possesses anything except that which he owes to the one that he loves, God. Abah Anom continues by referring to Shaykh 'Abd Qādir al-Jīlānī (q.s.) who advises people by saying:

> It is obligatory for human beings to see the life of the heart in the Hereafter (*ḥayāt al-qulūb al-ukhrawī*) in this world from *ahl al-talqīn,* before his lifetime ends," as God says in *sūrat* al-Nahl (16: 43). To take the *bay'a* from a *shaykh* is an important matter in *taṣawwuf*.... The practice of *bay'a* after the death of the prophet is to observe the *bay'a* done by the Prophet himself. The '*ulamā',* who are *'ārif billāh,* are the deputies/representatives (*nawāb*) of the Prophet in teaching human beings the *ādāb* of religion, outer and inner (*dzāhir* and *bāṭin*). The inner etiquette (*ādāb bāṭin)* is more difficult for us to secure than

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[187] Ibid., 322.

> the physical etiquette (*ādab ẓāhir),* because it requires a gentler battle (*mu'tarak khafī*) between a man and his ego, his *shayṭān* and the temptation of the deception of the world as well as diseases of the heart such as hatred (*ḥiqd),* jealousy (*ḥasad*), pride (*'ujb),* dissimulation (*riyā'),* hypocrisy *(nifāq),* etc. Whoever follows *ṭarīqa* without following his *imām* who is *'ārif billāh,* will go astray at the first step; in fact it is noble enough for an individual to be together with the *ṭarīqa* of the *ahlī taṣawuf* that is enlightened.[188]

In addition, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī explains that a Sufi should also ideally, be a *faqīh,* [189] meaning that one should understand and perform *fiqh* in practice, prior to applying *taṣawwuf.* Abah Anom explains that the Prophet Musa (a.s.), who was among the messengers of the *ulū al-'azm* (who already practiced *sharī'a*), asked Khiḍr about the science of reality (*'ilm al-ḥaqīqa*). In this light, it is obvious that there is a strong argument (*aqwā dalīl*) for the obligation to follow *taṣawwuf,* the knowledge of the manner of the heart (*'ilm al-ādāb al-qulūb*).[190] The Qur'ān speaks of God as *al-ẓāhir* and *al-bāṭin.* Exoteric Islam suffices for the generality of believers, but esoteric Islam or Sufism obviously addresses itself to some deeper need in the souls of pious Muslims. It also provides them with spiritual nourishment amidst the instability of daily life, a continuum with their past heritage, and a more intense form of devotion that harkens back to the days of the Prophet.

Coming back to his fourth chapter of the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr,* Abah Anom further explains that God provides His servant with as many causes (or paths towards Him) as there are breaths of creations (*anfās al-khalā'iq*) to be connected with the divine presence (*haḍrat al-rabbāniyya*). As for the connection, this may be

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[188] Ibid., 323.

[189] 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifat al-Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya vol. 1. 63.

[190] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 323.

attained through instruction (*talqīn)* and learning (*ta'līm)* under a *shaykh* whose authority is valid, and who supports the disciple's efforts to attain the "owner" of the path (*ṣāḥib al-ṭarīq*), the Prophet (pbuh). For that reason, the *dhikr* is most beneficial with *talqīn.*

In affirming the importance of the *silsila,* Abah Anom quotes from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (especially on the five principles of the *Qādiriyya*),[191] and also from al-Sha'rānī.[192] He then cites Junayd al-Baghdādī[193] as having said that "The *ṭarīqas* are closed (*masdūda*) to human beings except those who follow in the footsteps of the Prophet (pbuh)." He also quotes a Prophetic *ḥadīth* that says: " I have left with you two things to protect you from being misled: they are the Holy Qur'ān and my *sunna.*" The above prophetic tradition carries the implication that the learned ones (*'ulamā'*) are the inheritors of the prophets (*al-'ulamā' warathat al-anbiyā'*), and as if to reinforce this another *ḥadīth* is quoted: "I command you to be

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[191] The five principles are as follow: high ideals and aspirations, maintaining honour, bettering service, fulfilling ambitions and aggrandising blessings. He who aspires high, becomes high in status, he who maintains God's honour becomes honourable in the sight of Him, he who betters his services qualifies to receive the grace of God, he who strives to reach his ambition becomes one who receives constant guidance, and he who is grateful to God becomes one who is bestowed with more blessings as promised by Him.

[192] Al-Sha'rānī says: "Abstain from speaking of *ṭarīq al-ṣūfiyya* if you do not practice the injunctions of the Qur'ān and *sunna,* for such an act is considered *kufr.*"

[193] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 282. His complete name is Shaykh al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Junayd al-Qawārīrī al-Khazzāz Abū al-Qāsim al-Nihāwandī (d.289/910). See 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā vol. 1., 84. See also Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl, ed. Fritz. Meier (Wiesbaden: Franzsteiner Verlag Meier GMBH, 1957), 95. According to this book, Junayd died in 297 A.H./909 (910 A.D.). Hamid Algar also mentions the same date for Junayd's death. See his introduction to the translation of Risāla al-Qushayriyya by B.R. Von Schlegell, Principles of Sufism (Berkeley: Mizan Press,1990), iii. On Junayd's account, see al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, transl. R.A. Nicholson, 128-130.

always with Allah and if you are not with Allah, then be with those who are with Allah so that you may be brought closer to Allah."[194]

Abah Anom looks for further confirmation in the writings of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Sulamī,[195] who in turn refers to the saying of the Prophet (pbuh): "Joy comes to those who have seen me (5 times) and happiness to those who attain the *baraka* and *mushāhada* of seeing me and to those who attain the effect and *mushāhada* of my Companions."[196] From one era to another, this vision is passed on to the people of wisdom (*ahl al-ḥikma)* of the (Muslim) community (*ḥukamā' al-umma*), and the *walī* of Allāh (saints) in various eras. Whenever one obtains a vision that is full of wisdom (*ḥikma),* or witnesses (*mushāhada)* a saint, this originates from the prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), having been passed down to his Companions. The impression of this sight was then passed from them to a teacher, and from that teacher to his

[194] The last *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Bayhaqī from Ibn 'Abbās and explains what was revealed in the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Mā'ida 35. Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 282. Abah Anom explains that the *'ulamā',* who are the inheritors of the prophets, are those with the true chains (*bi asānīd ṣāliḥa*). Two other *ḥadīths* quoted by Abah Anom in this connection are: "My Companions are like the stars; whichever you follow you will be guided aright." This *ḥadīth* was also quoted by Najm al-Dīn Rāzī. See his book, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 257. The other *ḥadīth* says: "Happiness awaits those who have seen me and believe in me. Happiness is also for those who see (to be recited 4 times) and believe in me, and happiness is for all [who are in love with God and His Prophet]...." See Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 282. The last *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Ṭabrānī and al-Ḥakīm from 'Abd Allah ibn Bashar.

[195] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 282. His complete name is Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muhammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣūfī al-Azadī al-Sulamī (.330-412/941-1021). Hamid Algar's introduction to the translation of Risāla al-Qushayriyya, (English transl.), iv.

[196] Ibn Ḥanbal (d.241/855) defines a Companion as, "whoever accompanied the Prophet within a year or a month or a day or a short time or only saw (*ra'ā*) him is one of his Companions." Al-Bukhārī added "a Muslim" as a qualification, thus "whoever accompanied the Prophet or saw him while he was a Muslim...." See Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Al-Kifāya fi 'Ilm al-Riwāya (Hyderabad: Idāra Jam'iyya Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmaniyya, 1938), 69. See also Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Fatḥ al-Bāri fī Sharḥ Saḥīh al-Bukhārī, ed. by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Bāz, et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 7.

disciples, and from these disciples to their own pupils, and so on until the last day.[197]

This is because

> the transmission of authority (*isnād al-ḥāl)* is like that of the transmission of laws (*isnād al-aḥkām).* The *silsila* is a connection to the high-aspiring (*manāfidhu himam*) teachers of divinity *(mashāyikh al-rabbāniyya).* It is the flowing of rays of light (*mīzāb al-fuyūḍ*), the wisdom from the oceans of Muḥammad (*al-abḥur al-Muḥammadiyya*) a vision of the secrets of the holy angels (*manẓar asrār al-malā'ika al-qudsiyya*), as well as the appearance of divine manifestation (*maẓhar al-tajalliyyāt al-ilāhiyya*). The *silsila* constitutes also the steps (*sullam*) of disciples, and becomes a ladder for the travellers (*ma'ārij al-sālikīn)* who aspire to reach the world of angels (*'ālam malakūt),* the world of omnipotence (*'ālam jabarūt),* and the the world of divinity (*'ālam lāhūt)* through a chain connecting the *arwāḥ* of all the shaykhs. This connection links the living *shaykh* to the prophet (pbuh), and then to God Almighty. They (the spirits of the *mashāyikh*) bring out (through the *silsila)* for him (the living *shaykh*) all the secrets of the manifestations (*tajalliyyāt*) and blessings (*al-barakāt).* They turn to him in accordance with his intention.[198]

In this respect, the teachers or *shaykh*s are the path to God almighty (*al-ṭarīqa ilā Allāh),* who guide followers to Him. They are the doors through which one enters towards Him. It is necessary for a *murīd* on the path of God to have a shaykh, to whom he is linked, except in rare cases, where God has chosen among His servants and presented to themto them His knowledge, as well as inspiration, enabling them to avert the evils of the devil (*shayṭān*), his own self (*nafs*) and pleasure (*al-hawa*). The Prophet Ibrāhīm, the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon

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[197] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 282-283. This passage is a quotation from Muḥammad Haqqī al-Nāzilī, Khazīnat al-Asrār wa Jalīlat al-Adhkār, 189.

[198] Muḥammad Haqqī al-Nāzilī, Khazīnat al-Asrār wa Jalīlat al-Adhkār, 189; see also ibid., 188. On page 189, Abah Anom adds at the end of *al-aḥkām* a *silsila* so the text is recited *lianna isnād al-ḥāl ka isnād al-aḥkām wa al-silsila* ... Al-Nāzilī quotes the saying of Abū Yazīd al-Basṭāmī: "Whoever does not have a *shaykh*, the devil will be his *shaykh*." See Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 283

them), Uways al-Qaranī and many others, are examples that Abah Anom cites among those who have received Allah's grace (i.e., directly, without a *silsila*).[199]

These rare cases are however far from the norm. The usual pattern has been that the Prophets' example, emulated by his Companions and then by the *tābi'īn*, and after that, by the *tābi' al-tābi'īn*, has been passed down from century to century, from one age to another.[200] Over the course of time certain outstanding figures have emerged, such as saints (*awliyā'*), veracious people (*ṣiddīqīn*) and substitutes (*abdāl*). Nevertheless, what is essential for the transmission of (mystical) knowledge is the relationship between a *murīd* and his teacher. This is important for the transmission of (mystical) knowledge, as in the case between Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his *murīd*, 'Utba al-Ghulām, or that between Sarī al-Saqaṭī and his nephew, namely Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, and many others.

Abah Anom further explains that there has never been a Prophet except that he has had a Companion who received guidance from him, copied his knowledge, followed his ways and then was further guided. The follower then stands at the point of continuity and continues the way, and works from a foundation that has been

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[199] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 283-284. The *Tābi'īn* are the Followers, the second generation of Muslims, i.e., those who met one or more of the Companions. *Tābi' al-Tābi'īn* means the Followers of the Followers, the third generation of Muslims, those who met one or more of the Followers. See footnotes number ten and eleven of Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 257.

[200] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 284. Al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī defines *ṣiddīq* as one whom God has filled [with light] both inwardly and outwardly. See his Bayān al-Farq.... Transl. 246. The term *abdāl* (plural of *badal)* means substitutes, a category of saints. See Al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjūb, transl. R.A. Nicholson, 214. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 164-165.

provided to him by his teacher. He cites the Qur'ān in this respect, *sūrat* al-Mā'ida (5: 55-56):[201]

> Your (real) friends are (no less than) Allah, His Apostle, and the (fellowship of) Believers, those who establish regular prayers and regular charity and they bow down humbly (in worship). As to those who turn (for friendship) to Allah, His Apostle, and the (fellowship of) Believers – it is the fellowship of Allah. That must certainly triumph."

Abah Anom also cites a report by Abū Hurayra, in which we are told that the Prophet once said: "Our God marvels at a group of people who are led into Paradise through a spiritual chain (*silsila*)."[202]

Identification of Some of the Names in the *Silsila* of the TQN

The *silsila* of the TQN of Suryalaya has already been discussed in our analyses of the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas and the *'Uqūd al-Jumān* of Abah Anom. There we saw that identifying the names that are mentioned between 'Abd al-'Azīz,[203] the son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, is a difficult if not impossible task. This is due to the absence of

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[201] This verse is known in Shi'ism as the verse of sainthood (*āyat al-walāya).* Abah Anom's explanation of this passage actually is a variant of a classical Sufi tradition *mā min nabiyyin illā wa lahū naẓīrun fī ummatih* .... See Abu'l Ma'ālī 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥsin ibn 'Alī al-Miyānajī al-Hamadhani or famous as 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī (492-525/1098-1131), Tamhīdāt, ed.'Afīf 'Usayrān (Tehran: Manūchihrī, 1962), 47 (Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ's saying), 187; whereas on page 250, it is said that this is from Sahl al-Tustarī, but is continued by *ya'nī illā wa lahū waliyyun fī karāmatih* ....). For more on Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ, see Kashf al-Maḥjūb, 97. After quoting this verse, Abah Anom ends his chapter by again referring twice to Al-Jīlānī and two verses of the Qur'ān: *sūrat* al-Naḥl (16: 125) and Āl-'Imrān (3: 159).

[202] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 285. *'ajaba rabbunā min qawmin yuqādūna ila al-janna fī al-salāsil.*

[203] The only two of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's children who did not pursue a secular career were 'Abd al-Razzāq (528-603 A.H.) and 'Abd al-'Azīz (602 A.H.). These two *shaykh*s set to work to propogate their father's way. SeeTrimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 42.

nisbas and patronymics.[204] In addition, it is not clear whether Sambas's teacher was only a Qādirī *shaykh* or a Naqshbandī one as well. As for Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, the teacher of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, his name was mentioned explicitly by Shaykh Daud ibn 'Abdullah al-Fatani (d.1847),[205] the *shaykh* of the *Shattāriyya* Sufi order, who achieved the title *murshid kāmil mukammil* in Mecca.[206] Nevertheless in the Indonesian context, despite the problems of some unidentifiable historical names, the two separate origins of the TQN are considered legitimate (*mu'tabara*) according to the *Jam'iyya Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara* (*al-Nahdliyya*), and therefore the combined one is also legitimate.[207]

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[204] Snouck Hurgronje mentions that Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas and his successor in Mecca, 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, were famous as Qādirī *shaykh*s.

[205] Shaykh Daud was a famous figure of Patani (a province in southern Thailand). His mystical ideas were laid out in detail in his four Sufi works, and in his two translations of Imām Ghazālī's works. He studied for five years in his home country, two years in Acheh, thirty years in Mecca and five years in Medina. He received from the Ottoman administration of the time the title "*al-'ālī 'allāma al-'ārif al-rabbānī.*" He was a prolific writer. His works were on *sharī'a, uṣūl al-dīn* and *taṣawwuf.* More than thirty are listed by a Malaysian writer, Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah. His four *taṣawwuf* works are: Manhal al-Sāfi, Al-Qurba ila Allāh, Jam' al-Fawā'id (finished in 1239 A.H.) and Kanz al-Minan (finished in 1240A.H.). The two translations are of Bidāyat al-Hidāya and Minhāj al-'Ābidīn by Al-Ghazālī. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 122-123. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Daud Patani," in Dictionnaire Biographique des Savants et Grandes Figures du Monde Musulman Périphérique, du xixè siècle à nos jour, ed., Marc Gaborieau etal. (Paris: EHESS, 1992-), fasc. 2, 19. Concerning Islamic literature written in Malay by Patani scholars may be read in an article written by Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: the Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition," JMBRAS 61 (1988): 1-86. See also Khoo Kay Kim, Patäni During the Turn of the 20th Century: A Malayan Perception," JMBRAS 61 (1988): 87-116.

[206] Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara, 179-181.

[207] Idaroh 'Aliyah, Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyyah (Semarang: Toha Putra, 1981), 38. Their observation is mainly based on the main *ṭarīqas,* i.e the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* themselves, more specifically on their teachings and practices that require clear references from Qur'ān and *sunna.*

The analogy to *ḥadīth*- chains

It is generally understood that *shaykh*s have always needed to show that they are following the path of a well-known Sufi, through whom they can claim the authority to transmit teachings that go back to one of the first four caliphs. This lends authority to their teachings and practices. This chain of authority, or mystical *isnād,* is called the *silsila,* as explained above. The *silsila* provided a doctrinal as well as a spiritual conduit going back to the rightly-guided ones. The importance of the *silsila* to the Sufi orders is basically two-fold: one is the *silsilat al-baraka* (chain of benediction), which connects the present shaykh to the founder; and the other is the *silsilat al-wird* (chain of initiation), which connects the *ṭarīqa* founder with one of the first *khalīfas* and the Prophet (pbuh). One example is 'Alī, who, after Muḥammad, is the starting point of many Sufi chains. Although many Sufis trace their esoteric chains back to 'Ali, and accord his lineage high honor, this does not mean that they regard him as *imām* in the *Shi'i* sense. Another example is Abū Bakr, who is the first link after the Prophet in the Naqshbandī *silsila.* The transmission of *dhikr* from the Prophet to Abū Bakr and to 'Alī signified the beginning of the two separate *silsilas.* Initiation then is essentially the transmission of the *dhikr* from the most recent link in the initiatic chain to a new disciple.

As a matter of fact, the *sanad* of a *ṭarīqa* may be transmitted (*mursal)* without known contacts, and in word (*lafẓ*) only, while it is still persistent or uninterrupted (*muttaṣil)* in its meaning.[208] Therefore, although the chain between a disciple and his

[208] Imron Abu Amar, Disekitar Masalah Thariqat (Naqsyabandiyah) (Kudus: Menara Kudus, 1980), 42.

shaykh must be unbroken, nevertheless their meeting need not necessarily be physical; it can very well be spiritual.[209] Indeed, an initiation dispensed by the spiritual being (*rūḥāniyya*) of the departed preceptor is a notable feature of the earliest doctrine of the Naqshbandī *silsila*.[210] This may be seen from the information given by Abu'l Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn Ismā'īl al-Nabhānī (1849/50-1932), in the case of that *silsila*. On the one hand, Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, who died in 148 A.H., [211] and Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, who was born in 188 A.H. and died in 261 A.H. could never have met. Yet rather than regard the *sanad* as interrupted, as some *'ulāmā* have done, we may refer to the idea of *ḥadīth mursal.* [212] According to Imām Mālik (94-179 A.H.), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal 164-241 A.H.), Abū Ḥanīfa (81-150 A.H.) and their followers among the the experts of Islamic law (*fuqahā'*), the people of principles of religion (*uṣūl)* and the scholars of prophetic tradition (*muḥaddithīn),* this concept can be used in establishing the *ḥukm.*[213] When the *Naqshbandiyya* apply analogy (*qiyāṣ*) in the case of the *silsila* mentioned above, the three names in between Abū

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[209] This is possible, according to the Sufi Uwaysī tradition, which once rivaled the *ṭarīqa* system, making spiritual instruction possible between guides (alive or dead) and followers who have not met. See DeWeese, An Uvaysī Sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr: Notes on Hagiography and the Taxonomy of Sanctity in the Religious History of Central Asia (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1993). See also notes on Uwaysī on page 364 of this dissertation

[210] In explanation of this mode of initiation, it should be pointed out that even in the case of a living preceptor, that which confers initiation is not his human physical presence, but his spiritual being.

[211] Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, Jāmi' Karāmat al-Awliyā' (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1962), vol. 2, 5.

[212] For a discussion of the various views on *ḥadīth mursal* as an authoritative source, see Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī, Qawā'id al-Tahdīth min Funūn Mustalah al-Hadīth, ed. Muhammad Bahja al-Bayṭār (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1987), 137-146.

[213] It is understood that when the chain of transmission reaches the Companions without a break, the ḥadīth is called *musnad;* however, when the chain of transmissions only reaches the *tābi'ūn,* who did not remember from which Companions they received the *ḥadīth,* it is called *hadīth mursal.*

Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq are not mentioned; i.e., Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, 'Alī al-Riḍā' and Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Nevertheless, since this *sanad* is still recognizably connected, the chain is accepted. The complete *sanad* would then read Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, 'Ali al-Riḍā' and Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Thus this *sanad* is *mursal* in terms of its formal expression (*lafẓ*) but continuous (*muttaṣil)* in terms of its meaning.[214]

The spiritual links (i.e. the Uwaysī-relationship)

Abah Anom acknowledges that the Prophet Ibrāhīm, the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon them) and Uways al-Qaranī, and many others, received God's grace directly (i.e., without *silsila*). The Uwaysī concept -- that is, that Sufis are not initiated by any living *shaykh*, but by the spirit of the Prophet or of an eminent saint -- is reasonably well-known, yet the fact remains that the concept is not generally recognized as valid. The notion of an unaffiliated *shaykh* is relatively rare in the Sufi tradition. This fact may be linked with the development of the notion of sainthood in general, and the concrete organizational implications for the emergence of Uwaysī Sufis as a Sufi order in particular. However, the latter case has nothing to do with

[214] The same case occurs between Abū Ḥasan al-Kharqanī and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī; the three names in between them are Abū al-Muḍafir al-Ṭūsī, Abū Yazīd al-'Ishqī and Muḥammad al-Maghribī. In addition, Shaykh Naqshbandi was also initiated by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in a spiritual way. Thus the *silsila* of the Naqshbandī after all, is *muttaṣil* to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). See Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Zurqāni al-Mālikī, *Sharḥ* on Manzūmat al-Bayqūniyya fi Mustalāh al-Hadīth (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1990), 54. Those scholars are of different opinions in interpreting the word *wasīla* or *tawassul* may be seen by the fact that Ibn Taymiyya said that *wasīla ilā Allāh* means believing in Him and obeying Him, while *wasīla bi Muḥammad* means following him [based on al-Mā'ida 35]. Furthermore, he said it is unlawful to have *wasīla* through others to God and His messenger. See Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyya, Qalā'id Jalīla fī al-Tawassul wa al-Wasīla (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1985), 14, 199.

Uways himself, since he acquired an exalted spiritual status without actually ever seeing the Prophet.

The Uwaysī theory of "direct inspiration/contact" with the spirit of the Prophet is usually only mentioned in passing by those discussing Sufism. This does not mean that it is less important than other issues, however. Early biographers of the Prophet, like Ibn Isḥāq and Wāqidī, do not mention Uways at all, yet some sources confirm his existence, especially those based on the experience of certain Sufis who claimed direct contact with the Prophet (pbuh). Such experience appears as the result of their spiritual journey with the help of a *shaykh.*

Uways al-Qaranī[215] lived in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), but was prevented from seeing him, first by the ecstasy which overcame him, and secondly out of duty to his mother. However, the Prophet told his Companions that Uways al-Qaranī at the Resurrection will intercede for a multitude of his people, as many as the sheep of Rābi'a and Muḍar. The Prophet said to 'Umar and 'Alī: "You will see him. He is a lowly man, of middle height, and hairy; on his left side there is a white spot, as large as a dirhem, which is not from leprosy, and he has a similar

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[215] Trimingham tells us that Uways was unacquainted with the Prophet and had been initiated after his death (traditionally in 37 A.H.) by the spirit of the Prophet. Hence dervishes who had no direct initiator were frequently called Uwaysīs. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 12-13. Qaran was the name of the tribe to which Uways belonged, and also a halting place near Ṭā'if, of the people of Najd, during the season of *ḥajj.* See Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān vol. 7 (Cairo, 1906-7), 64. His genealogy goes back to al-Qaran ibn Rūmān ibn Fajiyya ibn Murād. He was, therefore, sometimes called Murādī as well as Qaranī. See Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (Karachi, 1368 A.H.), 586. Further information on the history of the Uwaysis, see Julian Baldick, Imaginary Muslims the Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1993).

spot on the palm of his hand. When you see him, give him my greeting, and bid him pray for my people."

When 'Umar and 'Alī went to see him, they found him praying, and waited until he was finished. He saluted them and showed them the marks on his side and the palm of his hand. They asked his blessing and gave him the Apostle's greeting, and enjoined him to pray for the Muslim people. After they stayed for a while, he said: "You have taken trouble (to see me); now return, for the Resurrection is near, when we shall see each other without having to say farewell. At present I am engaged in preparing for the Resurrection."[216]

One day, another of the *tābi'īn*, Harim ibn Ḥayyān, met Uways in Basra. The latter said: "Peace be with you, O Harim ibn Ḥayyān!" Harim cried: "How did you know that I am Harim?" Uways answered: "My spirit knew your spirit." He said to Harim: "Keep watch over your heart" (*'alayka biqalbika*) i.e. "Guard your heart from thoughts of the 'other'". This has two meanings: "first make your heart obedient to God by self-mortification, and second make your heart obedient to your heart." Hujwīrī suggests that one should be the master of the heart (*ṣāḥib al-qulūb*) but not under the dominion of their hearts (*maghlūb al-qulūb*).[217]

[216] Al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjub, 83-84.

[217] Ibid., 84-85.

Uwaysī tradition underwent a particularly extensive development in Central Asia. There, a number of figures appear as "Uwaysī" saints.[218] This phenomenon warns most *taṣawwuf* specialists that if they neglect the Uwaysī concept understood in this region. Soviet scholars have gone to the other extreme and created a veritable Sufi order called the *Uwaysiyya.* However, such an understanding, according to De Weese, is due to a misconception of the sources, which describe an "organization" in competition with the Naqshbandi order in East Turkistan. This should caution the researcher to be more careful when they speak of "Sufi orders."[219]

Tawassul and *rābiṭa*

Discussion of the *silsila* is closely related to *tawassul* and *rābiṭa,* for the last two concepts rely on a similar element; that is, the names of the *shaykh*s in the chain. For the TQN, as we mentioned before, the *tawassul* is explicitly mentioned as a part of its *manakiban* ceremony. The *tawassul* or *wasīla* consists in performing good deeds to bring one closer to God. *Tawassul* may be performed through those who are alive or dead. The *tawassul* is performed by mentioning the names of the

[218] Devin De Weese's study elaborates upon the figure of Sayyid Ahmad Bashari (d.868/1463-64), a rural Uwaysī *shaykh* active in the villages of the Upper Zarafshan valley. See Devin DeWeese, An Uvaysī Sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr..., 3.

[219] Devin De Weese, An Uvaysī sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr ..., 5. This sort of warning is important, for the *Uwaysiyya* sometimes is listed among Sufi orders, without further explanation. Massignon lists it also with an artificial *isnād,* going back to a purposed Companion—in fact, this figure never met the Prophet and was initiated by him in a dream. See his article "Tariḳa" in EI vol. 4:2, pp. 667-672. Trimingham's explanation seems to fit into Sanūsī's use of the term Uways in connection with the 'Muhammadiyya'; the two are often placed together or in close proximity in discussions. And this does not, of course, refer to the East African Uwaysiyya discussed in Bradford G. Martin, Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth Century Africa (Cambridge, 1976), 160-166. This is a late nineteenth-century Qādirī sub-order.

*shaykh*s in the *silsila* and reciting *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for their souls.[220] This practice is based on *sūrat* al-Mā'ida (5: 35), where it is explained that God commands believers to be pious and find the way that can make them closer to Him. Abah Anom's view on *tawassul* to the dead is based on *surat* Āl-'Imrān (3: 169), where God says "Think not of those who are killed in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are alive, with their Lord, and they have provision." Abah Anom explains that when the Prophet ascended into heaven (*mi'rāj*), he received a welcome from the previous Prophets, and, according to a well-known story, met with the Prophet Mūsā and received the latter's advice concerning the obligatory daily prayer.[221] On another occasion of his ascension, the Prophet Muḥammad met the Prophet Ibrāhīm, who sent his greetings to the nation (*umma)* of the former. These events, in Abah Anom's view, are historical facts; for him, the late prophets could communicate or establish a

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[220] In the TQN, daily *dhikr* includes reciting *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), his family, his Companions, his wives and his descendants. Then the recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa is made for the souls of the order's *shaykh*s in descending order from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī until the most recent *shaykh*, exactly as is stated in the ceremony of *khataman.* In the *manakiban,* the recitation of *tawassul* is similar to how it proceeds in the *khataman,* but with special *du'ā'* of the *manāqib.* See Abah Anom, 'Uqūd al-Jumān, 4-15. See also for the *tawassul* recitation in the *manāqib* ceremony, as well as its *du'ā',* in Tājudz-Dzākir fi Manāqib As-Syekh Abdul Qodir (Suryalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1988), 69-79. This work is not attributed; however, Abah Anom has contributed preface. The only name we find is under the *du'ā'* of *manāqib,* p. 79, Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Ḥasan. We do not know whether he is the writer of the work or only the *khaṭṭāṭ.* Al-Imām al-Rabbānī here is Mujaddid al-Alf al-Thānī Aḥmad al-Fārūq al-Sirhindī. See Muḥammad Haqqī al-Nāzilī, Khazīnat al-Asrār wa Jalīlat al-Adhkār, 189.

[221] Juhaya S. Praja quotes the *ḥadīths* from Muḥammad ibn 'Isā al-Tirmidhī, Sunan al-Turmudhī [al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ], Cairo edition, *ḥadīth* number 3595, and Muḥammad ibn Yazīd Ibn Mājah, Sunan Ibn Mājah, *ḥadīth* number 1385. At first, the obligatory daily prayer was 50 times a day, but on the advice of Prophet Mūsā to ask for a reduction from God, it was reduced finally to only 5 times a day. See Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. 164.

connection with the living. Therefore, *tawassul* to the dead has juridical as well as historical basis.[222]

In dealing with this topic, the Pondok Pesantren has printed a book translated from the Arabic, written by a *wakil talqīn*, Ḥājjī 'Alī ibn Ḥājjī Mohamed of Singapore, entitled *Hakekat Tawassul & Wasilah Dalam Pancaran Kitab dan Sunnah* (Tasikmalaya: PP Suryalaya, 2000). The original title is *Ḥaqīqa al-Tawassul wa al-Wasīla 'alā Ḍaw' al-Kitāb wa al-Sunna,* written by Mūsā Muḥammad 'Alī.

The practice of *rābiṭa,* on the other hand, is based on *sūrat* Āl-'Imrān (3: 200). The word *rābiṭa* is derived from the root *rā', bā'* and *ṭā',* and signifies *al-wuṣla wa al-'alāqa*, i.e., connection or attachment and bond or affiliation.[223] Abah Anom's view on *rābiṭa* is based on *sūra* Yūsuf (12: 24), whence he understands that Yūsuf was saved from the temptation of Zulaykhā' because he was favoured with a connection *(rābiṭa)* to his Lord. Furthermore, it is explained that *rābiṭa* is like the act of someone who exercises the knowledge of sewing. When he cuts the material, he tries to remember exactly how his teacher performed this task. Thus the *rābiṭa al-*

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[222] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 163-165.

[223] Louis Ma'luf, Al-Munjid fi al-Lugha wa al -A'lām, 245. See also J.M. Cowan ed., The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 322, 1073 and 634. A detailed discussion of *rābiṭa* is offered by Fritz Meier, in his book, Zwei Abhandlungen Über die Naqšbandiyya (Istanbul: In Komission bei Franz Steiner verlag Stuttgart, 1994), and also in his Meister und Schüler im Orden der Naqšbandiyya (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1995). See also his "Almoravids and Marabouts" in his Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism, transl. John O'Kane with editorial assistance of Bernd Radtke (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 335-421.

murshid consists of inner communication with his teacher on the part of a disciple when the latter performs the *dhikr,* in order to achieve submissiveness (*khushū'*).[224]

According to a Qādirī source, *rābiṭa* is superior to *dhikr.* It involves keeping in the forefront of one's mind an image of the *shaykh* (*taṣawwur al-shaykh* / visualization or adoration of a guide). This is, for the disciple, more beneficial and suitable than the *dhikr* because the *shaykh* is the medium (*wāsiṭa*) by which the disciple attains the supreme Reality (*ḥaqq*). The more the strands connecting him with the *shaykh* increase, the more the emanations from his inner being increase and he soon attains his goal. The disciple must, therefore, first experience annihilation with the shaykh (*fanā' fī al-shaykh*), so that he may then attain annihilation with God (*fanā' fillāh*).[225]

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Al-Sanūsī (1787-1859) explains that *rābiṭa* is hardly practical except by one whose soul is refined by nature (or in whom the tendency is innate). In order to attain this, one must visualize interiorly the image of one's shaykh. One imagines his image as though on one's right shoulder. Then a line is pictured from the right shoulder to the heart, which acts as a passage, whereby the spirit of the *shaykh* can take possession of that organ. If this process is maintained continuously one's attaining absorption in the *shaykh* (*fanā' fī al-shaykh*) is

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[224] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 167. Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī mentions another type of *rābiṭa* i.e., *rābiṭa al-qabr* in Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'amala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 532.

[225] See the popular later Qādirī manual Al-Fuyūdāt al-Rabbāniyya, ed. by Ismā'īl ibn M. Sa'īd (Cairo: Shirka Maktaba wa Maṭba'a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa awlāduh, 1353 A.H.), 203. See also Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 213.

ensured.[226] Al-Sanūsī includes *rābiṭa* as a form of meditation, and as a guard against random thoughts: 'He has additional support who props himself up on the"bond with the *shaykh*," that is, conjuring up the image of the *shaykh* in vision, seeking protection from the attacks of the wild beasts of the valleys of destruction.'[227] Once I asked Abah Anom about *rābiṭa*, and how a disciple performs it. He answered that one should try to imagine that the shaykh is present, and in front of one's self. Also, one should recite among other things, *Allāhumma iftaḥ lanā futūḥ al-'ārifīn....*[228]

From the above explanation we may conclude that various sources from different *ṭarīqas* tell us same view, i.e., that possessing a *shaykh* to enter the *ṭarīqa* is obligatory (*wājib*), for the latter's role is very significant in giving guidance during the spiritual journey. In addition, he is the link to previous masters all the way back to the Prophet (pbuh) himself. The practice of *sharī'a* and *dhikr* through *talqīn* and other practices such as *tawassul* and *rābiṭa* should be done in accordance with the Qur'ān and *sunna*. However, Abah Anom acknowledges certain exceptional figures who received special privileges from the Almighty, such as the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), the prophets Ibrāhīm, Khiḍr, and Musa (a.s) and Uways al-Qaranī.

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[226]Al-Sanūsī, Al-Salsabīl al-Mu'īn fī al-Ṭarā'iq al-Arba'īn, 117. See also Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam 212-213.

[227] Al-Sanūsī, Al-Salsabīl, 48. Yet in his account of the *Junaydiyya* (a late order, no doubt deriving from a vision of al-Junayd) he differentiates ordinary visualization of the *shaykh* (p.56) as part of the normal *khalwa* exercises from *rabṭ al-qalb bi al-shaykh* (p. 57). See also Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 213.

[228] Personal interview, March 1999.

f. The Philosophical understanding of *dhikr* in the TQN

f.1. The essence of *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt*

Abah Anom writes that the essence of *al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* is the noblest (and the most beneficial)[229] as well as the most influential *kalima,* for it is the *kalima lā ilāha illā Allāh.*[230] Abah Anom refers to the Prophet (pbuh) who says: "The noblest of what I have said, as well as the prophets before me, is *lā ilāha illā Allāh.*"[231] The Prophet is also quoted as saying that, whoever says *lā ilāha illā Allāh* with real sincerity, he will enter paradise.[232] He also says that there is no fear among the people of *lā ilāha illā Allāh,* either in their graves or on their resurrection. Another *ḥadīth* quoted by Abah Anom says that if there is a person who recites *lā ilāha illā Allāh* while having committed sins as large as the earth, he will be forgiven by God.[233]

That *kalima* is also called "*al-kalima al-ṭayyiba*", which purifies the one who recites it of clear idolatry (*al-shirk al-jalī),* just as it also can cleanse his soul of hidden idolatry (*al-shirk al-khafī*), making him pure and sincere. This *kalima* is also

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[229] The words in brackets exist in the manuscript of Miftāh al-Sudūr, 4 (second version)

[230] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 263. See also Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl al-Awliyā', vol. 2, 101.

[231] Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, Musnad al-Imām ibn al-Hanbal, vol. 3 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, n.d.), 142. Al-Ghazālī says that the meaning of *ikhlāṣ* is that the inner state renders support to the pronouncement (*musā'adat al-ḥāl lil maqāl*). See his Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 1, 311

[232] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Miftāh al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 88. This *ḥadīth* is followed with another: "He was asked, 'O Messenger of God, how can one say the words sincerely?' He answered, 'By keeping away from things forbidden.' The Prophet (pbuh) said, 'Be sincere! Even a little will suffice you!' (*akhliṣ yakfika al-qalīl*). See Miftāh al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ (English transl.), 150.

[233] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 263.

able to free the hearts (of human beings) from the veils of material attachment (*ḥujub*[234] *al-'alā'ik al-'unṣuriyya*), and to cleanse souls of vices (*tuzakkī al-nufūs 'an al-radhā'il*) and animal attributes. The *kalima lā ilāha illā Allāh* will unveil the attitudes of honesty (*al-ṣidq*), sincerity (*al-ikhlāṣ*), inspired knowledge (*al-'ulūm al-ladunniyya*)[235] and hidden secrets (*al-asrār al-ghaybiyya*) and make one witness various divine manifestations (*anwā' al-tajalliyyāt al-ilāhiyya*) to the one who recites it permanently (*lidhākirihā 'alā al-dawām*) with one condition: that this is taken from the pious heart of one who negates anything except God, not the word which is heard from the mouth of an ordinary person.[236] The Prophet (pbuh) says that God refrains from condemning to hell-fire the person who recites *lā ilāha illā Allāh* towards God only (according to a *ḥadīth* narrated by Bukhārī and Muslim).[237]

Abah Anom quotes the Prophet (pbuh), who says that God waives the punishment of hell-fire for the person who recites *lā ilāha illā Allāh* when seeking

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[234] *Ḥujub* the plural form of *ḥijāb,* means veils or curtains; there are seventy thousand of these veiling human beings from God. According to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the world is a veil of the Hereafter, the Hereafter is a veil of the lord of both, and every creation (*kullu makhlūq*) is a veil of the Creator (*al-khāliq*). See his Al-Fath al-Rabbānī wa Fayd al-Rahmānī, 97.

[235] *'Ilm al-ladunnī* is God-given direct knowledge or unmediated knowledge of the divine. Al-Ghazālī defines it as knowledge possessed by the saints that entered their hearts directly from the creative Truth Itself. See his Kimyā' al-Sa'āda, 16-17. Reference is given to the Qur'ān (18:65-66): "One of our servants ... whom We had knowledge peculiar to Us ...." This passage concerns the encounter between the Prophet Mūsā and God's servant (identified with al-Khiḍr).

[236] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah ed. Harun Nasution, 263-264. Aḥmad Naqshbandī, Jāmi' al-Usūl al-Awliyā', vol. 2, 101.Abah Anom quotes Aḥmad Naqshbandī but changes the word *al-nākir* [line eight from the bottom] which may in fact be a misprint, to read *al-dhākir*, which seems to make more sense. Then in the following line, the word *al-takmila* by Naqshbandī, has been changed by Abah Anom to read *al-kalima.* Al-Ghazālī says that the effective and useful factor is constant invocation (*al-dhikr 'alā al-dawām*) with the presence of the heart, (while) the invocation on the tongue without the presence of the heart is of little use. See his Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 1, 309.

[237] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 263-264.

His face (according to a *ḥadīth* narrated by Bukhāri and Muslim). In another *ḥadīth* he says that the person who engages in *dhikr* among negligent people is like a green tree in the midst of dry stalks. The prophet is also quoted as saying that the person who remembers God in the midst of the forgetful is like a live person amongst the dead, to which statement Abah Anom adds verses from the Qur'ān (39:22, 61: 9, 62: 2, 2: 129, and 12: 108) in illustration.[238] Abah Anom then makes an appeal to his followers:

> O all brothers, be alert and be quick to seek the forgiveness of your Lord with these spiritual caravans (*al-qawāfil al-rūḥāniyya*); the time is short, the way is (almost) cut off and there is no friend to guide us towards that *'ālam*. We do not come to this ruined, contemptible world (*al-dunyā al-daniyya al-kharāba*) only to eat and drink and pursue evil desires (*al-muhimmāt al-nafsāniyya al-khabītha*), while your Prophet is waiting for your arrival with sadness.

In connection with this, and realizing the fact of the division of the *umma*, Abah Anom quotes the *ḥadīth* saying that: "I feel sad for my nation, which at the end of time[239] will be divided into seventy-three groups." According to another *ḥadīth* narrated 'Abd Allāh ibn Zayd from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, it is explained that the Prophet (pbuh) said: "The Banī Isrā'īl will divide into 71 groups ... while my nation will divide into 73 groups. All will enter the fire of hell, except for one group. People asked: 'Which one is that group?' and the messenger of God said: 'those who are on the same journey with me and my Companions.'"[240] Abah Anom then refers

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[238] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 264-265. This second hadīth may also be found quoted in the Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazālī, vol.1, 301. For both *ḥadīth*, see Miftāh al-Falāh, 16-18.

[239] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 265.

[240] For a slightly different version of the *ḥadīth* on *firqa*, see Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlāni, Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq 'Azza wa Jall, vol. 1 (Damascus: Dār al-Bāb, n.d.), 84-85. The

to the Qur'ānic verses 7:181 and 51:56 (*wa mā khalaqtu al-jinn wa al-ins illā liya'budūn*).

According to Abah Anom, the actual meaning of *liya'budūn* is *liya'rifūn*, i.e., if one does not know Him, how is one going to worship Him? Hence "*al-ma'rifa*" can only be obtained when the veils of one's *nafs* are lifted from the mirror of one's heart, with the purity of the heart. Those who receive that favor will perceive in it the beauty of the hidden treasure (*al-kanz al-makhfā*) that lies deep in the inner heart (*sirr lubb al-qalb*), as is stated in a *ḥadīth Qudsī*. "I am the hidden treasure, I want to be known. I create the creation in order to be known."[241] Based on this *ḥadīth,* Abah Anom says that it is clear that Allāh creates human beings to know Him (*lima'rifatih*). He states further that there are two types of *ma'rifa* (knowledge / gnosis): the *ma'rifa* of God's attributes and the *ma'rifa* of God's essence. The former type is the portion (share) of physical body (*al-jism*) in the two worlds, (this world and the Hereafter), while the latter is the portion of the sanctified soul (*al-rūḥ al-quds*)[242] in the Hereafter. Here Abah Anom quotes the phrase "Looking at their Lord," (Qur'ān 75: 23).

Abah Anom also informs us that the Prophet (pbuh) taught the *kalima al-ṭayyiba* to the Companions in order to purify their hearts (*litaṣfiya qulūbihim*), to cleanse their souls (*wa tazkiya nufūsihim*), and to connect them to the divine

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seventy-three *firqas* are explained here in detail. Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 265-266.

[241] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 266.

[242] Ibid., 266. See also Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Baqarah (2: 87): "I strengthen human beings with *rūḥ al-quds*".

presence (*wa īṣālihim ilā al-ḥaḍrat al-ilāhiyya*) and genuine happiness (*al-sa'āda al-qudsiyya*). According to him, furthermore, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (k.w.) once said: "I once heard the master of creation (*sayyid al-khalā'iq*), the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh), say that the *sayyid al-malā'ika* [Jibril] (said) that, "I had never descended with any *kalima* greater than *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, on which stand erect the skies and the earth, mountains and plants, shores and seas."[243]

Abah Anom mentions some of the other names given to the *kalima lā ilāha illā Allāh,* saying that it is the word of sincerity (*kalimat al-ikhlāṣ*)[244], the word of surrender (*kalimat al-Islām*), the word of closeness (*kalimat al-qurb*), the word of piety (*kalimat al-taqwā*),[245] the word of salvation (*kalimat al-najāt),* the phrase of heaven/loftiness *(kalimat al-'ulyā)*[246] (which in another *ḥadīth* is called the word of

[243] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 266-267.

[244] This is called *kalimat al-ikhlāṣ,* because the principle in it invokes action of the heart, which is man's knowing with his heart the Unicity of God. Since external acts of devotion can be performed to glorify God, they can also be performed for other worldly interests such as hypocrisy, praise, and commendation; that is why the word *ikhlāṣ* is so designated. See Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh, 97.

[245]These names are to be found only in the manuscript of Miftāh al-Sudūr (second version), page 12 lines 3-4, but not in the printed text. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the manuscript lines are missing by accident from the printed texts or were purposely omitted. It is likely that the copyist mistakenly left them out when preparing the handwritten version for the printed edition. The missing sentence in full is *kalimat al-ikhlāṣ, wa hiya kalimat al-Islām wa hiya kalimat al-qurb wa hiya kalimat al-taqwā wa hiya.* This particular *ḥadīth* can be found in al-Dārimī, al-Nasā'ī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

[246] In Miftāh al-Falāh, 104 we read *kalimat Allāh al-'ulyā* (the Most Supreme Word of God). See Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Tawba (9:40). "... He made the word of those who disbelieved the lowest, while God's Word it was that became the highest ...." Al-Iskandarī explains that due to the fact that when the light of this Word is revealed in the heart, it comes after the attainment of strength through God. Consequently, the Gnostics, who are immersed in the light of the Majesty of God, look down on worldly conditions and mighty kings as contemptible. They are not concerned about warfare, nor do they give any consideration to the pleasures and beauties of this world whatsoever.

Oneness *(kalimat al-tawḥīd)),*[247] the word of devoutness (*kalimat al-taqwā),*[248] the word of pleasantness *(kalimat al-ṭayyiba),*[249] the call of calling to the Truth *(kalimat da'wat al-ḥaq),*[250] the sentence of the surest bond (*kalimat 'urwat al-wuthqā*)[251] and the sentence of the price paid for paradise (*kalimat thaman al-janna).* [252]

On this matter, Abah Anom continues by quoting the Prophet's (pbuh) statement, "renew your faith." In answer to how this is be done, the Prophet said:

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[247] *Kalimat al-tawḥīd* means the word affirmation of the Oneness of God. The utterance of Oneness is the loftiest of words; the roots of the good word are firmly in the heart, while its branches are in the heavens. Qur'ān, *sūrat* Fāṭir (35:10) says: "... Unto Him good words ascend ...." See also Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ, 96, 102.

[248] The Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Fatḥ (48:26) says: "He imposed upon them the word of self-restraint...." Al-Iskandarī explains that "the one who says *lā ilāha illā Allāh* protects himself against unbelief, and because the phrase is a protection for your body from the sword, for your property from plunder, and for your children from captivity. If the tongue is united with the heart, the phrase becomes a protection from your heart unbelief; and if it is successful, it becomes a protection for your limbs from sin." See his Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 103.

[249] This word is taken from Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ibrāhīm (14:24): "God sets forth a parable – a good word ...." The explanation of this can also be read from Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 102.

[250] Qur'ān *sūrat* al-Ra'd (13:14) says: "Unto Him is the call of the Truth ...." This means delimitation, namely, that this call of the Truth belongs to Him, not to someone else, as God Most High in *sūrat* al-Kāfirūn (109:6) says: "Unto you is your religion and unto me is my religion." In other words, one has one's religion, which is not for someone else other than him. Al-Iskandarī, in his Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 99, explains that "the reason for its meaning the delimitation is that Truth is the opposite of falsehood.... As for the call of the Truth being from the Truth, verily it is He who calls the heart to His presence. Were it not for His call to that presence and the granting of His success in that union, then from where is the human intelligence able to unite with the Majesty of the presence of God Most High? Moreover, the principles of movement and the beginnings of life ultimately lead to the power of God and His decrees." Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Rūm (30:4) says: "God's is the decision in the past and in the future...."

[251] Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Baqara (2:256) says: "... And he who rejects false deities and believe in God has grasped a firm handhold...," that is, saying *lā ilāha illā Allāh.*

[252] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 267. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh mentions 19 names for *lā ilāha illā Allāh,* the rest that have not been mentioned above are as follows: the word of virtue (*al-kalimat al-iḥsān),* the word of justice (*al-kalimat al-'adl),* the good in speech (*al-ṭayyib min al-qawl),* the firm word (*al-kalimat al-thābita),* the everlasting word (*al-kalimat al-bāqiya),* uprightness (*al-istiqāma),* the sublime similitude (*al-mathal al-a'lā),* the covenant (*al-'ahd),* the keys of the heavens and the earth (*maqālīd al-samāwāt wa al-arḍ),* the word of Truth (*al-kalimat al-ḥaqq),* the veracity (*kalimat al-ṣidq*), and the word of common agreement (*al-kalimat al-sawā').* See his Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 96-106. For a slightly different version of this phrase, see also Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 1, 305.

"by intensifying one's efforts to recite *lā ilāha illā Allah.*" He also said: "Whoever multiplies the *dhikr Allāh* he will be free of hypocrisy (*al-nifāq).*" This because "the *dhikr Allah* is the sign of faith (*'alam al-īmān*), being free from hypocrisy, fortification (*ḥiṣn*) against attacks by satan and sanctuary (*ḥirz*) against the heat of hellfire." Abah Anom then refers to the Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ibrāhīm (14: 24-25), where it is stated that God has affirmed this strength in the hearts of His beloved, and again to verse (14:27) where this is further emphasized.[253]

Abah Anom says that God has planted the tree of *tawhīd* and that its roots are firmly set in the seven layers of the earth; indeed, it is set in the deepest level of earth, and its trunk extends branches high up into the sky well above the *'arsh*, then it scatters its seed of *tawḥīd* into the nursery of one's heart to grow inside the tree of *tawḥīd.* Thus, its roots are firmly established in a secret place. This tree will bear the fruit of *tawḥīd,* which will bring contentment *(riḍā')* to God and result in virtuous acts *('amal ṣāliḥ),* and a life of reality for human beings (*ḥaqīqat al-insān),* which is called *(ṭifl al-ma'ānī*). This is further illustrated in the Qur'ān, *sūrat* Fāṭir (35:10) and re-emphasized in Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Kahf (18:110), according to Abah Anom.[254]

As we stated earlier, to achieve the maximum objective of the *dhikr*, certain conditions should be fullfilled: performing the ablution perfectly (*wuḍū'al-tāmm*), and, in the case of voiced *dhikr*, reciting the *dhikr* forcefully and speaking it out loud

[253] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 267.

[254] Ibid., 267-268.

with a powerful voice to produce the lights of *dhikr (anwār al-dhikr)* in the soul of the performers (*dhākirīn)* and make their hearts alive.[255]

It is important also to observe carefully how to recite the *kalima al-nafy wa al-ithbāt,* as well as the movement of the body during the performance of *dhikr.* Abah Anom explains the procedure of reciting this *kalima* in detail as we described earlier.[256] This movement of the *kalima al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* is aimed at closing the doors to the devil but leaving them open to human beings. This is based on *sūrat* al-A'rāf (7: 17), which explains how the devils try approaching human beings from all directions, from the front, from behind, and from their right as well as their left sides.[257] To perform the *dhikr,* however, one needs the way / the path (*ṭarīqa*). In the *dhikr* of the TQN, emphasis is laid not only on reciting out loud but also in secret; it is only in this way that *dhikr* will penetrate through the *laṭā'if.*

According to Abah Anom, prior to achieving *maḥabba* and *ma'rifa* one should believe in God in both utterance and action. First of all, prior to belief (*īmān*), one should listen to with sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*) and observe the sources of religion. Then

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[255] Ibid., 269. See also 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Minaḥ al-Saniyya (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d.), 20.

[256] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 268-269. See this disseratation pp. 344-345. As a matter of fact, a part of this quotation can be read in Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 529. In an almost similar way, this procedure of *dhikr* is practiced and attributed to Simnānī, as described by R. Gramlich, Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persien, section 2, Glaube und Lehre (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976), 401 ff., as quoted by J. Elias, The Throne Carrier of God, 127. The only difference is that in the first beat according to Abah Anom's explanation, the word *Īa* should be exhaled from the navel to the brain; however, the last three beats of reciting the rest of the *kalima* remain similar.

[257] M.A. Aly S. Faruq, 80 Keterangan Dzikrullah (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Sintoris Pondok Pesantren Istiqomah Mudawamah, 1991), 10. See also Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 312.

he contemplates it in his *fu'ād*; this is done until it penetrates the depth of his heart (*al-ṣanawbarī*). When it does so, that belief will produce piety in the form of practicing the command of God and avoiding what He prohibits both clearly and in secret. Thus in order to obtain sincerity in performing good deeds through the spirit of practicing *taṣawwuf*, one should first cleanse one's heart with the *kalimat al-ṭayyiba*.

The process of achieving *ma'rifa* in the TQN is through *dhikr jahr* and *dhikr khāfī*. The process of fulfilling the *laṭā'if* is enacted. It then will arrive at the peak of *ma'rifa* through the procedure of *dhikr nafy wa al-ithbāt* (reciting *lā ilāha illā Allāh*), until the process of *takhallī* (emptying of oneself from bad attitudes and actions) is completed. Then one continues on to *taḥallī* (to fulfill oneself with virtues), and finally, one performs good deeds in reality to achieve *tajallī*.[258] To achieve this sincerity, one should train one's heart. This is why Abah Anom also explains the meaning of the *dhikr* of the heart. Needless to say, one cannot be a *dhākir* when one's heart is empty of God.[259]

As a matter of fact, *al-ikhlāṣ* is one of the key concepts in al-Ghazālī's thought. Originally it meant "to keep something clear and pure, or free from mixture." In the Qur'ān, it is mostly used to mean "absolute devotion to God" in opposition to *ishrāk*.[260] Furthermore, it means that man's action is motivated by a

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[258] *Tajallī* means manifestation, particularly manifestation of the divine attributes (*tajallī al-ṣifāt*) or essence (*tajallī al-dhāt*).

[259] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 320.

[260] L. Gardet, "Ikhlāṣ," in E I 2, vol. 3, 1059-1060. *Shirk* is setting up partnership with God. Abah Anom explains that *shirk* is equal to impurity (*najas*), "there is no benefit for you in professing oneness (*tawḥīd*) with your tongue while there is *shirk* in your heart; it is no use for you to clean your

single pure intention. For example, when one gives alms, one's motive ought not be mixed with vanity, fame, and so forth. Finally, it means to orient one's every single thought and act for the supreme goal of the meeting with God in the next world. This is called the absolute sincerity (*ikhlāṣ muṭlaq*). This discussion is closely related to one's thought on intention (*niyya*); thus sincerity of purpose is seen as a medicine that reduces the temptations of this world, and keeps one focused on the objectives of the next world. Someone whose mind turns towards the attainment of worldly objects cannot have pleasure and perfection in prayer, fasting and other divine acts. The true meaning of *ikhlāṣ* is what the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh) said: "Allah is my Lord and to keep firm to what has been ordered by Him."[261]

Al-Iskandarī explains that the devil does not cease being with someone until one is purified, when one becomes sincere, the devil leaves him, the good does not come to one in just any way but only through the door of sincerity.[262]

f.2. The impact of *dhikr* on one's spiritual education

Abah Anom has dedicated an entire chapter of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* to this issue, which he entitles *fī bayān dhikr Allāh wa atharihi fī al-tarbiyat al-rūḥiyya*.[263] Having

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physical body while your heart is full of *najis*. Abah Anom, Miftah al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 314.

[261] Al-Ghazāli, Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 4; chapter seven in this volume is on will, intention and truthfulness.

[262] Al-Iskandarī, Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 24, 27.

[263] This means "in explanation of *dhikr Allāh* and its influence in spiritual education." Chapter five of Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr of Abah Anom is the first chapter in the second part of the work. There is no manuscript copy available of this chapter written by him, but as we have discussed above, this chapter and chapter six on the explanation of the temptation of satan in *dhikr Allāh*. We have furthermore demonstrated that it was composed by him, for the author himself indicates this in the

explained earlier that the practice of *dhikr* has numerous advantages. Abah Anom, in this chapter, counsels: "know the path of our *shaykh* is only the path of *dhikr* (*ṭarīq al-dhikr faqaṭ*), and no other. In the path there is the *dhikr* of the tongue and the *dhikr* of the heart, through which the victory may be achieved, a request answered, and needs fulfilled. The *dhikr* is from God, returns to Him, and is with Him. If one is asked to do anything else, leave it and come back to *dhikr* for the repetition of God's names elevates (one) to heaven."

Abah Anom further explains that, while one performs the *dhikr*, one's heart will be with the Lord and the Lord will be with one in turn. He is never far away. One comes closer to Him through them (God's names) and He knows one as a result. Whoever knows Allah, will know wisdom. Abah Anom then quotes *sūrat* al-Kahf (18:30): *inna la nuḍī'u ajra man aḥsanu 'amala* (we do not neglect the reward of those who perform the best deed). According to Abah Anom, the *shaykh* believes that *dhikr Allāh* has its best result when the *awrād* and *aḥzāb* [264] are open to the

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preface to the second part of the Indnonesian translation of the work. See chapter five in Abah Anom's Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 304-311.

[264] *Al-awrād* is the plural form of *wird*, which means a specific time of day or night devoted to private worship (in addition to the five prescribed prayers). *Al-aḥzāb* is the plural form of *ḥizb*, which means group. See J.M. Cowan ed., The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 1060, 173. In this context, it means a form of prayer drawn up by the founder or a successor to be recited at set times ...The terms *awrād* and *aḥzāb* in Sufi understanding means litanies, composed of divine names, formulas of remembrance, and Qur'ānic verses, and these have been common among Muslim from the earliest times. See W.C. Chittick, "Dhikr," in E R, vol. 4, 342. Some *aḥzāb* became particularly famous, such as *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* (Incantation of the Sea) of the *Shādhiliyya*, This *ḥizb* contains many Qur'ānic quotations, especially the mysterious letters at the beginning of certain *sūras* such as *kāf hā' yā' 'ayn ṣād, ṭā' sīn, ḥā' mīm, ḥā' mīm 'ayn sīn qāf.* See Al-Hizb al-Bahr li al-Imām al-'Ārif al-Shādhilī (q.s.) Sāhib al-Ijāza K.H. Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq Dalhar (Magelang: n.d.), 5-6. On the powers ascribed to its recitation, see Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Ẓunūn. Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum, Arabic text and Lat. tr. G. Flügel, vol. 3 (Leipzig-London, 1835), 58. In Magelang (central Java), I witnessed the followers of the *al-Shādhiliyya* practice this *ḥizb* in their gathering. Another word related to this is *rātib* (pl. *rawātib*), which means something fixed, and therefore the fixed office of a *ṭarīqa*, for example the *Rātib al-Ḥaddād* ('Abd Allah ibn 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād d.1720), the founder of the *Ḥaddādiyya* (- *'Alawiyya- 'Aidarūsiyya*), which is famous and widely recited in the

owner (*aṣḥābihā*), through the influence (*āthār*) of *dhikr Allāh.* It is important that all disciples who make a journey towards God should go through the door of *dhikr* because it has a stable foundation (*aṣlun thābit*) in the earth, and because its branches extend to heaven. *Dhikr* can of course be performed individually in accordance with the procedure and the numbers taught in the Sufi path. Collective *dhikr,* however, which is performed at a specified time, has a far stronger influence (*aqwā ta'thīran*) in removing the veil from one's heart than individual *dhikr* does. Furthermore, Abah Anom explains that, in collective *dhikr,* the reciter (*dhākir*) will obtain two rewards: one for his own *dhikr* and one reward for listening to the *dhikr* of others. God has ordered believers to help one another in terms of devotion (*al-birr*), and piety (*al-taqwā*), to which task collective *dhikr* lends itself.[265]

In Abah Anom's view, the objective of *dhikr Allāh* is to prevent Muslim believers from being heedless of God Almighty, because this heedlessness will lead one to commit sin (*al-ma'ṣiyya*). Hence, *dhikr* will help people to avoid disobedience. When *taṣawwuf* calls for one to empty the heart (*takhliyyat al-qalb*) of vices (*al-radhā'il*), and fill it with virtues (*al-faḍā'il),* one's heart becomes full of the certitude of holy light (*al-anwār al-qudsiyya*), making one more connected to God, so that one prefers to remember God rather than follow personal desire or that of any other except Allah, because "He is the one who is sought (*al-maṭlūb*); the one who is

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Hijaz, Hadramawt, the east African coast and Indonesia (especially by descendants of Arab immigrants).

[265] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 304-305.

preferred (*al-marghūb*) and the beloved (*al-maḥbūb*)." As Abah Anom explains, from Him are we created, and to Him do we return as our end."[266]

According to Abah Anom, God has created the world (*dunyā*) as the house of burden (*dār taklīf*), and has created the Hereafter as a house of nobility (*dār tashrīf*). He explains that people are not burdened in the world with impossibility (*muḥālan*) but are given tasks within the realm of possibility (*mumkinan*) that require outer and inner struggle (*al-mujāhada al-ẓāhira wa al-bāṭina*) in order to distinguish between vice (*al-khabīth*) and virtue (*al-ṭayyib*). He finds confirmation of this in *sūrat* al-Zalzalah (99:7-8). Moreover, God Almighty is self-sufficient; He neither benefits from anyone's obedience nor is He harmed by anyone's disobedience; the benefits and the harm touch only His servants. There is a test to examine a believer to determine whether he is allowing his carnal soul to lead him into evil (*nafs ammāra bi al-sū'*) and is able to shape his desires (*al-shahawāt*) accordingly. One may be strongly attracted though Allāh orders one to resist and fear to do evil (bad things).

Thus, the individual who embarks on a spiritual journey will find both desires and the path of God awaiting him. He is faced with a difficult choice. If he prefers to follow his desire he will make God angry. But if he prefers the command of his God, he must make himself hate his desire; and no other choices remain. Therefore, Abah Anom suggests that it is better to choose for the sake of one's soul. Abah Anom explains that the sickness of the heart may be hidden (*al-'illa al-khāfiya*) from one's physical eyes (*al-'uyūn*), but still perceived by internal sight. Abah Anom believes

[266] Ibid., 304-305.

that there should be a hidden light (*nūr khafī*) invisible to physical eyes, which can be perceived by one's internal sight (heart) in order to defeat spiritual sickness. In such an instance the one beset by desires will emerge from the darkness towards the light, with God's permission.[267]

Abah Anom writes that it has been shown by the gnostic masters (*al-shuyūkh al-'ārifīn)* through their sufi practices that *dhikr Allāh* is able to produce the lights (*al-anwār*), privileges (*al-khaṣā'iṣ*) and secrets (*al-asrār*) that heal the diseased hearts of believers, referring in this instance to *sūrat* al-Baqara (2:152) (remember Me, I will remember you/*fadhkurūnī adhkurkum*). Abah Anom further explains that if a person remembers and mentions God, the cover of heedlessness will be unveiled, and he/she will become the one who remembers (*dhākiran madhkūran*), and the one who is grateful (*shākiran mashkūran*), here referring to al-Baqara 153 (and be grateful to Me and never be ungrateful to Me) / *washkurūlī wa lā takfurūn*). In this situation, from Abah Anom's point of view, one will obtain the flowing fragrance (*al-nafaḥāt*), a quantity of blessings (*al-barakāt*), refuge from evil (*al-sayyi'āt*) and other rewards. In support of this Abah Anom refers to the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Aḥzāb (33: 35).[268]

Abah Anom reminds the *ikhwān* not to forget that the people who possess hearts (*ulū al-albāb*), are those whose hearts remember Him while standing up

[267] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 305-306. Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī discusses the inner eye in his Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 524. Al-Kurdī quotes from al-Ma'dān who says that a servant of God has two eyes in his face through which he sees worldly affairs, and two eyes of his heart through which he sees the affairs of the Hereafter. Whenever God wants His servant to be good, (the inner eye) will be opened to the latter, through which he will see the unseen that God promised.

[268] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 306.

(*qiyāman*), sitting down (*qu'ūdan*) and lying down (*sūrat* Āl-'Imrān (3:191)). The gnostic *'ulamā'* (*al-'ārifūn*) say that physical sustenance (*rizq al-ẓāhir*) is given to human beings by moving physical bodies (*biḥarakāt al-ajsām*), whereas inner sustenance (*rizq al-bāṭin*) is supplied by moving hearts (*biḥarakāt al-qulūb*). The Qur'ān says that, indeed, *dhikr* is the best way to heal the heart and the way to make it peaceful (al-Ra'd 13: 28).[269]

From this one can see that Abah Anom encourages people to work hard for the sake of both wordly life and the Hereafter. The two types of *rizq* can be achieved by performing physical and spiritual endeavours. In another of his works, *Akhlāq al-Karīma*, Abah Anom writes that the requirements for inner and outer progress, in this world and the Hereafter, can only be achieved through good deeds completed with peacefulness of the heart, quietness, a submissiveness (*khushū'*) that is spiritually full of strong belief in God, and purity; only thus do people receive His help and favor, enabling them to obtain the outer and inner perfection that is dreamt of. Therefore, the belief in the heart that one should take care not to be penetrated by doubt, hypocrisy, and arrogance, which are the main causes of the spreading of diseases of the heart, is achieved by managing one's society or nation (*umma*). Abah Anom, furthermore, explains that the praise of God, no matter how great the sin and danger that can affect a human being whose heart suffers from illness, is an accepted

[269] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqshbandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 306-307. The last verse is also quoted by Abah Anom in his Akhlāq al-Karīma, 10 and 14. Verse 191 of Āl-'Imrān is also quoted in the same book page 15. Al-Iskandarī quotes from an unidentified Gnostic, who supposedly said: "Sustenance of the outer man comes from the movements of the body; sustenance of the inner man comes from the movements of the heart; sustenance of one's most interior being is through tranquility; and sustenance of the intellect is through extinction of one's consciousness of tranquility, so the servant is tranquil for the sake of God, through God, and with God." See Al-Iskandarī, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh, 9 (repeated on page 23).

remedy for curing the disease of the heart, as is stated by the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh): "Remembering God can be an accepted (*mustajāb*) remedy to cure all diseases." And *dhikr Allāh* is also said by the Prophet to constitute a recipe for cleansing oneself of these diseases.

Abah Anom also states that the cause of all disease is heedlesness of God (*ghafla ila Allāh*), forgetfulness of the heart, or the mind's forgetfulness of God because the heart and the mind have already been blanketed by other influences, besides that of God. The heart and the mind are preoccupied by desires for other things; such as wealth, nobility, position, praise, flattery, etc. According to Abah Anom, by always remembering God, people's wicked minds will be closed to all else except God. With the fulfillment of the heart's remembering of God, it will soothe, decrease and even banish all ideas except for God. The mind, which constitutes a separate veil between human beings and God, will by remembering Him be opened to the eternal, to whom one should dedicate one's self. This resembles Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's view, who says that forgetfulness is a veil.[270] Abah Anom further says when the heart is forgetful, it will leave one open to desires and the temptations of the devil. Abah Anom then refers to *sūrat* al-Zukhruf (43: 36) and again to Al-Ra'd (13: 28) in this instance.[271] Rāzī explains that the presence of anyone other than God in one's heart could prevent His light from entering, despite the fact that the heart is

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[270] Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 269.

[271] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 8-10. See also Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 269. Rāzī says that when the veils of forgetfulness appear, this induces spiritual malaise, for 'in their hearts is a sickness,' Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Baqara (2:10), and ten other verses).

the secluded shrine of God, unlike the hearts of other creatures. He quotes the *ḥadīth qudsī:* 'Neither My earth nor My heavens may contain Me, but the heart of My believing slave may contain Me.'[272]

Abah Anom further explains that the purpose of *dhikr* is the continuous presence of the heart (*dawām ḥuḍūr al-qalb*) before God the Almighty, so that when one performs the *ṣalāt* it is considered as *dhikr*; just as paying alms, fasting and *ḥajj* are also *dhikr*. Other forms of *dhikr* are learning/understanding religion (*tafaqquh fī al-dīn),* either in a state of emergency (or worse), giving *fatwas* on God's law, reciting the Qur'ān, performing *ṣalawat* to the Prophet (pbuh) and reminding people of *amr ma'rūf nahy munkar,* etc. Indeed, worship has many types; however, the only thing that is remembered is "God the Almighty." There is neither worship nor obedience except to remember Him (God), according to Abah Anom.[273]

Abah Anom explains that when the shaykh teaches disciples the path of *dhikr*, this does not absolve them of performing other obedient actions. They are being taught how to purify the spirit for the sake of God, on the Sufi path, through collective and individual *dhikr,* in addition to obligatory and superrogatory deeds, for this is the strong principle that builds the perfect spiritual education.[274] Abah Anom further explains that there is no doubt that one who performs the *dhikr* of God, according to the Sufi path and in keeping with correct spiritual exercise, will

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[272] *Ḥadīth Qudsī* narrated by Ṭabarānī. See Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 273, 219. An almost similar *ḥadīth qudsī* has already quoted in a previous page, about the location of subtle centers (*laṭā'if*), where the *ma'rifa* of God meets divine light (*nūr ilāhī*).

[273] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 307.

[274] Ibid., ed. Harun Nasution, 307.

taste the sweetness of worship and obedience (*ḥalāwat al-'ibādāt wa al-ṭā'āt*), whereas the average believer, who most of the time is heedless of God, will not taste it. The one who performs the *dhikr* feels or contemplates (*tadabbur*) the meaning of the holy Qur'ān and the noble *sunna*, a feeling that will never be experienced by others.[275]

Abah Anom continues by explaining that Sufi teachers train disciples first to perform *dhikr* of the tongue, which increases in a gradual and regular fashion to become *dhikr* of the heart, which is made into a habit, and finally to *dhikr* of consciousness (*sirr*). The sign of *dhikr al-sirr* is that, on quitting the *dhikr*, it does not quit the *dhākir* but leads him/her back from absence of mind (or heart) from God (*al-ghayba*) into the presence of mind (or heart) with God (*al-ḥuḍūr*). Abah Anom then quotes from Ibn Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī who says: "One of the signs of *dhikr al-sirr* is that its fires never abate nor do its spiritual lights disappear."[276] Al-Iskandarī also explains regarding the nature of *dhikr*, that: "remembrance (*dhikr*) is like a fire that neither stays nor spreads. When it enters a house, it says, 'It is I; there is no one else but Me,' which is one of the meanings, of 'there is no divinity but God.' If it finds kindling inside, it consumes it and becomes fire. If it finds darkness therein, it

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[275] Ibid., 308.

[276] Ibid., 308. See also Ibn Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh, 8. The terms absence and presence (of the heart), although apparently opposed to each other, could express the same meaning from different points of view; for example, presence of the heart may be a proof of intuitive faith (*yaqīn*), so that what is hidden from it has the same force as what is visible to it. Absence means here the absence of the heart from all things except God.... This discussion is presented by Hujwīrī, in his Kashf al-Mahjūb, 248-251 (transl. Reynold A. Nicholson).

becomes light, thus illuminating the house. If there is already a light in the house, then it becomes 'light upon light.'"[277]

Rāzī explains that the beginning of *dhikr* in the heart of a disciple is like that of a newly-planted tree. A goodly word (*lā ilāha illā Allāh*) is like a goodly tree (Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ibrāhīm (14:24)), so that when the tree of *dhikr* is nurtured continuously, its roots reach out from the heart to all members and limbs of the body, from the crown of the head to the toenails, so that not a particle remains untouched by the roots of the tree of *dhikr*. When its roots are firmly established in the body, its branches extend toward the sky of the heart; this may be compared with the metaphorical illustration given in the Qur'ān (14:24): "Its roots are firm and its branches are in the Heavens." At this point, Rāzī claims, the heart takes over the tongue and performs the *dhikr*, *lā ilāha illā Allāh*. Whenever the heart ceases to repeat the *dhikr*, the tongue works again until the heart is fully engaged in *dhikr*. By the help of the tongue, the tree of *dhikr* nurtures and enables people to strive upward. When it attains full development, the blossom of witnessing will begin to appear on its branches, and from this blossom will gradually emerge in turn the fruits of unveiling and of God-given knowledge -- "It yields fruits in all seasons by the permission of its Lord."[278]

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[277] Ibn Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 6. See also Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Nūr (24:35), and Najm al-Dīn Kubra's Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl, 4-5.

[278] Qur'ān, *sūrat* Ibrāhim (14:25). See also Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 276. On page 281 of the same source, Rāzī explains that when one performs the *dhikr* (especially while the *kalimat al-nafy* is being recited), whatever thought comes to the mind or the heart whether good or bad must be negated, for it it leaves an impression and prevents the heart from receiving the impressions of the unseen. Until the mirror of the heart is cleansed and purified of

Abah Anom further explains that the *shaykh*s help the disciple to resist desires and defeat his ego, for the latter tempts one into evil (*ammāra bi al-sū'*) since its primary goal is to satisfy one's physical disposition (*ṭabī'at al-badaniyya*) and sensory desires (*shahwat al-ḥissiyya*). The *dhikr* functions as a way of enlightenment (*sabīl al-tabṣira*), just as a lamp illumines a dark room. Then *dhikr* elevates it from the rank of an evil soul to a gentle one (*min al-ammāra ilā al-lawwāma*). At that time, one regrets having committed sin and develops a willingness to ameliorate one's state through worship, with respect to God. One neither likes to be heedless of Him nor disobedient; instead, one repents and asks forgiveness and approaches God for guidance. If one is serious in one's spiritual journey (*sulūk*), and follows the guidance of a *shaykh* while always performing *dhikr* to God, then by the power of *dhikr*, the darkness (*al-ẓulumāt*) that makes one forgetful (*al-ghafla*) and disobedient (*ma'āṣī*) will gradually disappear from one's heart. One's ego will be empty of all low attitudes (*al-radhā'il*) and endowed instead with noble ones (*al-faḍā'il*); at that time, one will obtain the light that fills a person with the truth (*anwār al-ḥaqq*). One will then be at peace with God and remain with Him, loving God and being loved by God in turn.

Dhikrullāh is thus regarded as capable of elevating a believing servant (*al-'abd al-mu'min*) from earthly desires to heavenly knowledge (*min arḍ al-shahawāt ilā samā' al-ma'rifa*). According to Abah Anom this was best expressed by an *'ārif* to his disciples in the sentence: "In the highest names, one can ascend to the sky

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all impressions, it cannot receive the impressions of the unseen or God-given knowledge, nor the lights of spiritual witnessing and unveiling.

(obtaining the high degree) ... [a]fter that your heart is now with your Lord and your Lord is with you, not far from you, He makes you closer to Him and introduces you to Him."[279] Abah Anom, moreover, quotes a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*, narrated by Bukharī from the Prophet (pbuh) who said : "God says, I am as my servant thinks of me, and I am with him when he remembers Me in himself, I remember him in Myself, when he remembers Me in gathering I remember him in assembly better than he does." The distance of a man (servant) from his God or, conversely, their proximity, does not refer to time and distance; rather, the distance depends only on the extent to which the heart is heedless of God, while the closeness is due to the presence of the heart with God. The distance is the *ḥijāb* (veil) and the closeness the uncovering of the veil (*kashf al-ḥijāb*). The *ḥijāb* is dark (*ẓulma*) while the *kashf* is light (*nūr*). The dark is ignorance (*jahl*) and the light is knowledge (*ma'rifa*). The measurement of the *ma'rifa* of a believer towards his God is nothing other than the state of connectedness (*ittiṣāl*) with Him. This kind of link is not one of relations between essences, Abah Anom explains, because the essence of God is very high. The relationship here means belief in Him (*īmān*), certitude (*yaqīn*) in Him, love (*maḥabba*) for Him, holding (*i'timād*) on to Him and depending on (*rukūn*) Him, presence of the heart with Him and asking for His contentment (*riḍā'*), and His affection/love (*īthār*).[280]

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[279] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 308-309. There is no information on who this *shaykh al-'ārif* is.

[280] Ibid.,310.

Abah Anom quotes Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn 'Īsā al-Kharrāz (d.891)[281] as having said: "When God the Almighty elevates his servant to become a *walī* among his other servants, He opens to him the door of remembrance of Him (*bāb dhikrih*); therefore when he tastes the deliciousness of performing the *dhikr*, the door of nearness (*bāb al-qurb*) is opened to him which then elevates him to the places of intimacy (*majālis al-uns*), then places him on the throne of God's unity (*kursī al-tawḥīd*), then opens for him the veil and bids him enter the house of solitude (*dār al-fardāniyya*), where He uncovers for him the veil of glory and nobility (*ḥijāb al-jalāl wa al-'uẓma.*). When one experiences inner sight (*baṣīra*) of His *jalāl* and *'uẓma*, one is in the state of eternity with nothing except Him (Allah); therefore at that time he finds himself in the time of annihilation (*zamanan fāniyan*), when he is in His care and is saved from his enemy's desire." Abah Anom also quotes from Abu al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, who said: "an atom of the good deeds of the heart (*a'māl al-qulūb*) is the same size as a mountain of good deeds of the physical body (*a'māl al-jawāriḥ*)." [282]

Abah Anom reminds the disciple that he should fear the intrigues of the devil (the *dasā'is* of *shayṭān)*, for he prevents human beings from performing *dhikr Allāh,* due to the evil whispers *(waswasa khabītha)* he implants in their chests. This can be one cause of performing the *dhikr* with the tongue but without feeling its presence in one's heart, regarding which Abah Anom asks: "What is the benefit of that kind of

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[281] According to Hujwīrī, al-Kharrāz was the first who explained the doctrine of annihilation (*fanā'*) and subsistence (*baqā'*). He was the author of brilliant compositions and sublime sayings and allegories, and met Dhu 'l Nūn of Egypt as well as associated with Bishr and Sarī. See Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, 143.

[282] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 310. A different version of this quotation can be read in Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, Tanwīr al-Qulub fi Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 524.

dhikr?" Such *dhikr* although it is recited, is as if it were nothing (*wujūduh ka'adamih*) and therefore it does not benefit the reciter; it is not fruitful or effective. One should therefore distance one's self from such whispers. Disciples should understand that the negligence *(ghafla 'alā*) of *dhikr* is worse than heedlessness (*ghafla fih*) in the *dhikr.* And if one attempts to attain the presence of the heart (*huḍūr*), he should do so with his *shaykh* and his pious brothers who obtained intimacy *(uns*) in the journey towards God.[283]

According to Abah Anom, as a matter of fact, some of the spirits (*al-arwāḥ*) influence each other, and this continues through the exercise of good deeds (*al-tajriba al-'amaliyya*), showing that heedlessness always exists in heedless people (*ahl al-ghafla*), while presence (*ḥuḍūr*) always exists in the people of presence (*ahl al-ḥuḍūr).*[284]

Abah Anom explains in his *Akhlāq al-Karīma* that, even for a man who is patient in facing his situation, his mind is not a veil towards God while he is working, trading, learning, struggling, etc. All of those activities are only for the

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[283] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 310.

[284] Ibid., 310-311. A discussion on the recollection of the heart (*jam'iyyat al-qalb)* can be read in H. Landolt's commentary on Nuruddin Isfarāyinī's Le révélateur des mystères, chapter four *fī kayfiyya taḥsīl jam'iyyat al-qalb*, 123 (the Persian text). On page 40 of the same work Hermann landolt explains: "If the *dhikr* is for our author [Isfarāyinī], the means or the method to acquire what he also likes to call "the recollection of the heart" (*jam'iyyat-i dil),* then the condition for the success of this recollection is the retreat. On the other hand, if the retreat allows the 'domestication of the inferior soul, the closing of the five exterior senses and the opening of the doors of the mystery,' It is precisely to the effect of *dhikr* that Isfarāyinī ascribes not only a 'domestication', but a real transformation of the soul into 'heart,' a condition of the opening of these 'doors.' That is why he insists on the fact that the Qur'ān applies the notion of tranquility (*iṭmīnān*) to 'pacified soul' (89:27) and to 'hearts appeased by the *dhikr* of God (Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Ra 'd (13:29)). " See also Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, "Risālat al-Sā'ir al-Ḥā'ir al-Wājid ilā al-Sātir al-Wāḥid al-Mājid," ed. Marijan Molé in Annales Islamologiques (Cairo), IV, 46), See also, F. Meier, Die Fawa'ih, 159.

sake of God, as it is stated in the Qur'ān: "A man is the one who always performs *dhikr Allāh,* not being diverted from or being influenced by his trading activities; on the contrary he is steadfastness (*istiqāma*) in establishing the prayers and paying the alms" (*sūrat* al-Nūr (24: 37). The point of this verse, from Abah Anom's perspective, is that the people who always remember God, show diligence in their worship, especially in performing the *ṣalāt, zakāt,* which constitute the core of good deeds in performing *ḥabl min Allāh* as well as performing good deeds, in terms of human relationship (*ḥabl min al-nās).* A person of this sort is never diverted from pursuing such activities, no matter whether he is an employee, a wealthy man, or a scientist, for his strong *īmān* and patience will enable him to solve his difficulties. All that his vision encounters reminds him of the glory of God as his Lord; his heart praises that glory, speaking with his tongue the words *Alḥamdulillāh,* when his feelings are motivated, flowing from his mind the glory of God, his heart praises His blessing. Therefore, his tongue trembles when saying *washukrulillah.* When the test comes for him from his God, his mind places its hope in His contentment (*riḍā'*) with sincerity while saying *innā lillāh wa innā ilayh rāji'ūn.* Abah Anom further explains that the heart that is full of *kalima Allāh* is a heart that throbs with the rhythm of exaltation and the glory of God. The individual's mind is thankful towards God, as his whole life is dedicated to God. Therefore, he appears to be a creation with a personality that is decorated by a praiseful attitude, stating his love (*maḥabba*) towards God especially, and a sense of compassion towards human beings and the universe in general. Abah Anom then quotes the utterance of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, as

follows: "Indeed the *dhikr* will become a cause to the arrival (*wuṣūl*)[285] of human being towards God, from the cause, it is able to create love of human beings towards Him." Therefore human beings are not able to avoid faults or a hardness of the heart, or even incitement to evil (*ammāra),* unless they hope for the mercy (*raḥma)* of God and perform the *dhikr* to Him. The Prophet says: "Repeatedly remember God in all actions, indeed there is no good deed (*'amal*) that makes you increase your love towards God almighty, there is no *'amal* that can release a man from evil and mistakes in the world and in the Hereafter, except *dhikr Allāh.*" [286]

Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī says that, by making it a habit, the *dhikr Allāh* will heal inner diseases; for example, arrogance (*kibr*), pride (*'ujub),* hypocrisy (*riyā'),* jealous *(ḥasad),* distrust (*sū' al-ẓann),* hatred (*ḥiqd),* malice *(ghill),* trickery *(makr),* love of praise *(ḥubb maḥmada)* and many others, since by continuous *dhikr Allāh,* the thoughts of the devil (*al-khawāṭir al-shayṭāniyya*) will be averted.[287]

As we saw earlier regarding the implementation of the curriculum of the Inabah (in Chapter Four of this thesis), Abah Anom believes that spiritual education, through continuous, sincere and constant presence of the heart with God almighty, manifests a means that brings people (especially the residents of Inabah) towards the way of God. There is no doubt that the basic elements of Sufi theory and practices are applied properly to achieving the maximum results, i.e., the importance of *talqīn*

[285] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 17.

[286] Ibid., 18.

[287] 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, al-Minah al-Saniyya, 18. There are five types of stray thoughts (*khawāṭir*): those divinely inspired; those arising from the heart; those inspired by angels; those arising from the soul; and those of satanic origin. See Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, "Risālat al-Sā'ir al-Ḥā'ir al-Wājid ilā al-Sātir al-Wāḥid al-Mājid," ed. Marijan Molé in Annales Islamologiques 4 (1963), 52.

al-dhikr from the authoritative *shaykh*, the practice of two types of *dhikr* for fulfilling its requirements, the importance of the presence of the heart at all times, especially during the *dhikr*; and the sincerity of the heart for the sake of God Almighty alone. *Dhikr* has to be emphasized, in addition to all obligatory, superrogatory worship in a daily, weekly or monthly fashion, for without all of these, little benefit may accrue. It is not only that those practices apply to the residents of Inabah (considered as suffering from outer and inner illnesses), but also to all TQN members,[288] assuming that human beings in general are the *locus* of mistakes and forgetfulness (*al-insān maḥall al-khaṭa' wa al-nisyān*).

f.3. An Explanation of how *Dhikrullāh* Strengthens one against Temptation

Abah Anom explains in the last chapter (chapter six) of *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* how to weaken Satan by remembering God (*fī bayān iḍnā' al-shayṭān*[289] *bi dhikrillāh).* Our author refers to the *Fatḥ al-Rabbānī* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, who

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[288] Abah Anom, in his preface to his book Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotik dan Kenakalan Remaja, states which this book (that contains of curriculum of Inabah) is important as a provision of worship (*bekal ibadah*) for Muslims of TQN *ikhwān* in general and to help the government of the Republic of Indonesia to establish noble character in youth, especially for those victims of narcotics and other juvenile delinquents in Pondok Remaja Inabah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. It also serves as a guide for instructors and, in a wider sense, it can even be of benefit to all human beings (*kemaslahatan ummat manusia*).

[289] In Arabic, the devil is called *Iblīs*, and is also known as *Shayṭān*. Some Muslims consider him to be a *jinn*, created of fire, who disobeyed God by refusing to bow down to Adam. However, Sufis say that he was originally an archangel named al-Ḥārith who, thinking himself higher than Adam, refused to bow down to him, in disobedience to God. Consequently, he was cast out accursed and succeeded in tempting Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. See Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Miṣbāh al-Arwāh, 234 (English transl.). The word *Iblīs* has two plurals, *abālisa* and *abālīs*, and serves as a proper name of the devil (*'alamu jinsin li al-shayṭān*). See Abī al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin Al-Qushayri al-Naysābūrī, Risālat al-Qushayriyya fī 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1990), 272. Rāzī mentions it in the form of "demons" (*abālisa*). The spirits of the devils, rebellious spirits and demons are created by God from those of the *jinn*. See his The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 60-61.

says: "O people, weaken your devils by the recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* with sincerity and not merely the words themselves (*lā bi mujarrad al-lafẓ*)," and who then quotes the Prophet (pbuh) as having said: "Weaken your devils by saying *lā ilāha illā Allāh* for the devil will be fatigued by that recital, just as one of you may wear out his camel by riding it a lot and making it carry a burden." [290] In another famous *ḥadīth* quoted by Abah Anom the Prophet (pbuh) is said to have declared: " 'There is nobody without *shayṭān,*' to which the Companions said: 'Are you not without him O Prophet?' he said; 'I am not free either, except that God the most High and Glorious assists me in this condition; therefore I am saved.'"[291] Abah Anom then again refers to the Prophet's saying: "Unless devils cover the heart of the son of Adam, indeed the believers see a sky and an earth full of angels."[292] Abah Anom cites the description of how Iblīs approached human beings is found in the Qur'ān *sūrat* al-A'rāf (7:16-17): "Because You have sent me astray, surely I will sit in wait against them (human beings) on Your Straight Path. Then I will come to them from before them, and behind them, from their right and from their left, and You will not find most of them as thankful ones (i.e. they will not be dutiful to you)." We see something similar in *sūrat* al-Zukhruf (43:36): "And whosoever turns

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[290] Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Fath al-Rabbānī, 158. See also the English translation of this work, The Sublime Revelation (Al-Fath ar-Rabbānī), by Muhtar Holland (Houston: Al-Baz, 1992), 243. Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 311.

[291] Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs Iblīs (Cairo: Idāra al-Ṭibā'a al-Munīriyya, 1368 A.H.), 34. See also Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Ghunya li Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Haqq (Damascus: Dār al-Albāb, n.d.), vol. 1, 100.

[292] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 311-312. In this instance Abah Anom quotes the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-A'rāf (7:16-17), al-Zukhruf (43: 36), al-Nisā' (4: 60), and al-Aḥzāb (33: 41).

away blindly from the remembrance of the Most Gracious (Allah) i.e. this Qur'ān and worship of Allah, We appoint for him satan to be a companion of him," and finally to *sūrat* al-Nisā' (4: 60): "But Satan wishes to lead them far astray."

According to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jīlānī, saying *lā ilāha illā Allāh* with sincerity and not merely the words themselves (*lā bi mujarrad al-lafẓ*), and affirming thereby God's unity (*tawḥīd*), burns devils (both human and *jinn)*, because it is a fire (*nār*) to devils and a light (*nūr*) to those who affirm Unity (*muwaḥḥidīn*). Jīlānī is also quoted by Abah Anom as saying:

> How can you say: There is no God but Allāh, when there is many a God (*ilāh*) in your heart? Everything you relly upon and trust, apart from Allah, is your idol (*ṣanamuk*). It will not be of any benefit to make the affirmation of unity with your tongue (*tawḥīd al-lisān*), while at the same time being guilty of idolatry in your heart (*shirk al-qalb).* You cannot benefit the purity of the outer form (*ṭahārat al-qālab*) while defiling the heart (*najāsat al-qalb*). He who affirms Unity wears out his devil, but in the case of an idolater (*mushrik*) it is his devil that wears him out. Sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*) is the kernel of words and deeds (*lubb al-aqwāl wa al-afʿāl*), because when they are empty of it they are a shell with no kernel, the shell is good for nothing but the fire....[293]

Abah Anom next reiterates the methods of *dhikr* and the number of the formulas recited in the *ṭarīqa*, especially the *lā ilāha illā Allāh.* When the *lā* starts out from the middle of the body, at the bottom of the belly, and is pulled up towards the brain, and one says *ilāha* to the right shoulder, and finally, *illā Allāh* to the left shoulder, this constitutes, according to Abah Anom, one's protection from the

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[293] Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Fath al-Rabbānī, 158. See also the English translation of this work, The Sublime Revelation, 243-244, and also Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 314.

fortress (*ḥiṣn*) of *Shayṭān*. In support of this view he cites a *ḥadīth*: "*dhikr* of God the almighty may become the fortress protecting from the *Shayṭān*."[294]

Abah Anom calls upon his followers to fight nobly against *Shayṭān* and toward him off with the *kalimat al-ikhlāṣ* [*kalima la ilāha illā Allāh*] and by remembering God. He also quotes a *ḥadīth qudsī* (transmitted by the Prophet himself) in which it is said "*lā ilāha illā Allāh* is my fortress, whoever recites, he enters inside my fortress, and whoever enters inside my fortress, therefore he is secure from my punishment (*'adhāb),*" which is reiterated in al-A'rāf (6:201). He explains that God, the most courageous and the most powerful, has made it clear that hearts cannot be illuminated except through *dhikr Allāh*. Indeed, the clarity of hearts (*jalā' al-qulūb*) can only be achieved in this manner, since it erases the covering (*al-ghiṭā'*), darkness (*ẓulm*), possessiveness (*al-rayn*), heedlessness (*al-ghafla*), and expelling every kind of complaint (*tankashif al-kurūb*).[295]

In Abah Anom's view, *dhikr* is the key of piety (*taqwā*) and godfearing (*wara'*). Piety is in turn the door to the Hereafter (*bāb al-ākhira*), just as desire (*hawā'*) is the door to this world (*bāb al-dunyā*). Citing *Al-Baqara* (2: 63) in support, which reads "Remember God, then you will be pious through *dhikr*, Abah Anom further explains:

> The struggle against *shayṭān* is within us *(bāṭin*) and is [accomplished] with the heart (*al-qalb*), the soul (*al-janān*) and belief (*al-īmān*)." He then says: "If you attack him, your support (*madad*) is the beneficent (*al-raḥmān),* your helper (*mu'tamid*) is the godly king

[294] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 312.

[295] Ibid., 313.

> (*al-malik al-dayyān*), and your hope is to see the face of the beloved full of favors (*al-khalīl al-mannān*). Your war against disbelievers is a physical war (*jihād al-ẓāhir)* with sword and lance (*al-rimāḥ*) and your helper is a king (*al-malik*) and his assistants and our hope is to, by that struggle, enter paradise (*al-jinān*); therefore, if you are killed in this struggle of *ẓāhir* against the disbelievers (*mujāhadat al-kuffār*), your reward is eternal (*al-khulūd*) in the Hereafter (*dār al-baqā'*). If you are killed in the struggle against the devil (*mujāhadat al-shayṭān)* and he is opposed to you (*mukhālafatuk*) until your death comes, your reward will be to see the face of God when you meet Him. If you are killed by disbelievers you are a martyr (*shahīd).* If you are killed, having followed the *shaytān,* you will be rejected by the king who is powerful and brave (God Almighty)." The struggle against the disbeliever has an end and termination (*fanā'),* while struggle against *shayṭān* and the ego is never over and never ends (*lā ghāya wa lā muntahan*). He then quotes the Prophet (pbuh), who said: "The noble *jihād* is that which is against one's ego and desire, for God says in *sūrat* al-Ḥijr (15: 99). 'Worship your Lord until the certitude comes to you (belief through death and see God)'. The *ḥadīths* say: "We returned from a small *jihād* to a greater *jihād,* spoken when the Prophet returned from the Tabūk war;" "Struggle against *shayṭān,* the ego and desire should be done continuously because of its eternity and the difficulty they pose to its guardians and because one should be afraid of the bad ending (*sū' al-khātima*).[296]

For an explanation of the inner *jihād,* Abah Anom turns again to al-Jīlānī who explains that the inner battle includes the battle with the self, the passions, natural impulses and Satan, as well as repentance from sins and mistakes, the maintaining of that repentance, and the renunciation of forbidden desires. The outer battle, on the other hand, includes the battle with the unbelievers (*kuffār*), who stubbornly oppose Him and His Messenger. This (occasionally) involves risking their swords, their spears and their arrows, killing and being killed. The inner battle, therefore, is more difficult than the outer one, because it is something continuous

[296] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 313-314. The quotation within the quotation is from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī; see his Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq, vol.1, 103. The only phrase left out from Al-Ghunya is, "The worship is the opposite of *shayṭān* and desire (*hawā*), God says:'Then they will be thrown on their faces into the

and recurring; it entails the separation and exile of the self from forbidden things, obedience to the commandments of the sacred law and avoidance of what that law prohibits. Jīlānī also explains that if someone carries out the commandments of Allāh in both kinds of *jihād*, he will receive his reward in this world and in the hereafter. Wounds inflicted on the body of the martyr (*shahīd*) are like an incision into a vein in the hand. Death, in the case of one who does battle with his own self (*mujāhid li-nafsih*), and who repents his sin, is like a draught of cold water to a thirsty man. [297]

In his work *Akhlāq al-Karīma*, Abah Anom states the following: God has raised the level of human beings who wish to control their desires, until the Prophet sees them as being involved in the greatest struggle (*jihād al-akbar*), as he himself stated at the battle of Tabuk: "Let us return from a small battle to a great battle which is the war against the desire which is your real enemy that completely fills your chest." The meaning is that the nation (*umma)* should develop *akhlāq al-karīma* (noble character) or *akhlāq al-maḥmūda*, in order to marginalise the *akhlāq al-mahdḥmumā* (vice and bad manners).

Abah Anom further explains that scholars, especially the Sufi *'ulamā'*, say that the truly noble human being is he who is able to control his desires. For he is truly strong in his faith, and resolute in facing his enemy, who is a disease lurking in his heart; Abah Anom refers to *sūrat* al-Tawba (9:125) in support of this. According

(fire), they and the *ghāwūn* (devils, and those who were in error).'" This last taken from the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Shu'arā' (26:94).

[297] Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Fath al-Rabbānī, 84. See also the English translation of this work, The Sublime Revelation, 128.

to exegetes as well, the disease of the heart is the temptation of the devil and desires. If human beings follow them, vicious attitudes (*madhmūma*) will take over, such as ignorance, jealousy, etc. All of these attitudes create a negative impact; for instance, rudeness and belligerence, which is influenced by base attitudes. Finally, Abah Anom postulates that an individualistic society will eventually emerge, which erases the compassion that links one to another; in this way, the principles of mutual help disappear, and in the process mutual suspicion will take over. Then baseness will appear and truth will be useless; falsity and destruction will spread until wickedness and destruction are disseminated into the very midst of society. It will also lead to a physical conflict that will bring about the assassination of thousands of people, so that human life becomes misery and full of suffering. Injustice and cheating are also an effect of human beings allowing themselves to be taken over by desires or diseases of the heart. Abah Anom further explains that if one lets the inner diseases linger and develop, the development of human beings, but especially of the nation, will be disturbed, and even fail. In particular, the objective of achieving a balanced welfare between the outwardly and inwardly prosperous, and happiness in this world and in the Hereafter, will be placed in doubt.[298]

It is stated in the Qur'ān, Abah Anom reminds the reader, that *Iblīs* will approach people from the front, back, right side and left side. This concern is best expressed, in fact, by Jīlānī, who explains in quoting a *ḥadīth qudsī* that God has commanded people to ask God for protection from Iblīs on their right with His

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[298] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 1-3.

guidance (*hidāya*), on their left with His care (*'ināya*), from their rear with His hindrance (*'iṣma)* and from the front (*quddām*) with His assistance (*al-nuṣra*) until they cannot be infiltrated. He quotes a *ḥadīth* saying that whoever asks protection from God once, God will preserve him on that day.[299]

Abah Anom again emphasizes the importance of sincerity, and reminds his disciples not to visit places where the fire of one's natural urges may be stirred up, for it will destroy the house of religion (*dīn*) and of faith (*īmān*). According to Abah Anom, when the natural urges, the passions (*al-hawā*) and the devil (*shayṭān*) are stimulated, one's religion, faith and conviction (*īqān*) are blown away; thus one should not listen to affected and fanciful hypocrites (*al-munāfiqīn al-mutaṣanni'īn al-muzaḥrafīn*), for the natural inclination is to let oneself be taken in by fanciful, foolishly pretentious talk. By analogy, just like unleavened dough without salt, it will hurt the stomach of one who eats it, and wreck one's physical fitness.[300]

Abah Anom continues by stating that knowledge should also be taken from the mouths of men and not only from the pages of books. The worthy category of men are the people of the truth (*rijāl al-ḥaqq*), those who are pious (*al-muttaqūn*), the abstinent ones (*al-tārikūn*), the inheritors (*al-wārithūn*), the knowers (*al-'ārifūn),*

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[299] Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq, vol.1, 98. The prophet also says: "Close the doors of disobedience (*ma'āṣī*) by asking protection of God (*al-isti'ādha*) -- pronouncing *a'ūdhubillāh* --. Open the doors of obedience by saying *tasmiya* (saying *basmala* -- *bismillāh* --)." It is also reported in various traditions that *Iblīs* raises every day three hundred and sixty soldiers (*'askar*) to make believers go astray; thus, when a person asks for protection from God, He will see in his heart three hundred and sixty sights (*naẓra*), and every sight will destroy one soldier of the devil *la'natullāh.* From this explanation, it is obvious that remembrance of God is regarded as a protection for the individual against the devil.

[300] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 314. See also Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Fath al-Rabbānī, 158

the practising ones (*al-'āmilūn*) and the sincere (*al-mukhliṣūn*). Apart from pious devotion, there is only delusion and vanity. Sainthood (*al-wilāya*), according to our author, is given to the people of piety, in this world and in the Hereafter.[301] Real repentance consists in respecting the command of God in all its conditions. Moreover, he reminds us that all virtue lies in two things: To glorify and performing the command of God almighty (*al-ta'ẓīm li amr Allah*); and to behave and be full of love (loving care) for Allah's creation (*al-shafaqa 'alā khalqih*). Once again, in this context, Abah Anom refers to Āl-'Imrān (3:112).[302]

Then Abah Anom explains that God loves pious servants who perform good deeds and are patient. He states: "When you possess a good stray thought (*khāṭir*), you will recognize them and make them friends. As for a good stray thought, this can occur when your heart is enlightened by *ma'rifatullāh*; however, you may not tend to your stray thought until you validate the *ma'rifa* and it is seen by you to be good and valid (*al-khayr wa al-ṣihha*)." Abah Anom continuous, saying:

> Close your sight to the unlawful, and restrain yourself from desires, make it a habit to eat the lawful, preserve your inward being with *murāqaba* towards God and your outward [being] by following the *sunna* (of the Prophet); thus your stray thought will be valid and so will your *ma'rifatullāh* become firm. Indeed I educate the minds and the hearts (*al-'uqūl wa al-qulūb*), since the selves /ego (*al-nufūs* pl. *al-nafs*), natural impulses (*ṭibā'* pl. *ṭabī'a*) and customs (*al-'ādāt*) are not (educated), because there is nothing noble in them if minds and hearts

[301] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 315. The *ḥadīth* "*al-'ulamā' warathat al-anbiyā'* " is narrated by Abū Dāwud, al-Tirmidhī, Aḥmad, Ibn Mājah, al-Dāramī and Ibn Ḥibbān. See Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Fath al-Rabbānī, 158-159. This *ḥadīth* is also quoted in the same work on pages 11 and 336. Abah Anom mentions this *ḥadīth* in his Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution,282.

[302] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 315. The Qur'ānic reference, *sūrat* Āl 'Imrān (3:112), to *hablun min Allāh* and *hablun min al-nās* has been discussed earlier.

> are not educated towards *ma'rifatullāh.* "[303] As for the oneness (*al-tawḥīd*) that is *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, whoever performs *tawajjuh* while his heart is towards anyone other than God, he will be veiled from God. The same applies to whoever performs the *dhikr* while his heart [is directed] towards others rather than to what he is supposed to remember, as he will be veiled a thousand (layers of) veils. For indeed, the *dhikr* is an action of all, i.e., the states of hearts, the secrets of closeness, the stations of certitude, visible witnesses and the levels of unveiling the unseen. This is another reason that the *dhikr* is the castle of God almighty, for whosoever enters it, he will be secure from outer and inner afflictions (*al-āfāt al-ẓāhira wa al-bāṭina*). The origin of *dhikr* is the taste of its pleasantness and sweetness, but when it seizes one, it results in submissiveness (*khushū'*), tears (*dumū'*), burning (*iḥtirāq*), and drowning (*ightirāq*). This is, in and of itself, a sign of victory or opening (*al-fatḥ*). An invocator is not considered a *dhākir* (the person who performs the *dhikr)*, until he sees wonders (*al-'ajā'ib*), strange things (*al-gharā'ib*), great secrets (*al-asrār al-'aẓīma*) and an elevated manner (*al-kayfiyya al-fakhīma*).[304]

Prior to achieving *ma'rifa*, the individual should pass through the level of *maḥabba* (love of God). The love of God, according to Abah Anom, is a golden bridge towards achieving happiness in this *dunyā*, prior to the happiness of the Hereafter. Therefore every believer who is pious should continue his efforts in trying to increase his love for God.

The best known Sufi interpreter of the theory of *maḥabba* or *ḥubb al-ilāhī,* is Rābi'a al-Adawiyya (d.135 A.H.). She achieved a level of devotion where she loved God not for the fact that God helped her avoid hellfire or promised her paradise, but rather for His own sake. Her genuine love was rewarded by God with a vision of His light. Her famous saying is: "I love You God with two loves. Love because of myself and love because of Yourself. As for the former, that is my

[303] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 314-315. See also Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Al-Fath al-Rabbānī, 158.

[304] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 316.

condition that I always remember Thee. And as for the latter that is Your condition; unveil the cover until I see Thee." [305]

Rābi'a's best known prayer is: "O God, if I worship thee for fear of Hell, burn me in Hell, and if I worship thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise; but if I worship thee for thy own sake, grudge me not thy everlasting beauty."[306] As a matter of fact, love is one of the basic attitudes of the spirit, the spirit that God gave to Adam in the first place.[307] Unlike human beings, the seed of love in angels was never nurtured to perfection, for their spirits were not attached to any bodily frame. The love of human beings, on the other hand, can increase and be nurtured to perfection, and might bear the fruit of God's love for man and vice versa. In support of this, Abah Anom refers to Qur'ān (5:57).

As for how to increase the growing love for God, Abah Anom refers to what the Prophet (pbuh) once said to Ali (k.w.): "The characteristic of love of God is by

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[305] Quoted by Harun Nasution, "Kedudukan Tasawwuf dalam Islam," in his (ed.) Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, 9-10.

[306] A.J. Arberry, Muslim Saints and Mystics (London, 1966), 51.

[307] The Qur'ān *sūrat* al-Ḥijr (15: 29) says: "When I have fashioned him and inhaled in him of My spirit, fall ye down in prostration before him." Rāzī mentions other attributes: luminosity, knowledge, forbearance, familiarity, permanence, and life. Further attributes arise from each of these. From luminosity: hearing, vision, and speech and from love: yearning, seeking and sincerity. From knowledge: will and cognition. From forbearance: dignity, modesty, endurance, and tranquillity. From familiarity: pity and compassion. From permanence: steadfastness and persistence. From life: intelligence, understanding and other modes of perception. Some others are also derived before and after the attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame. Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 66.

loving to perform the *dhikr* of God and the signs of hatred of God is to hate *dhikr* of Him."[308]

Furthermore, Abah Anom says that the heart that is full of *kalima Allāh* is a heart that throbs with the rhythm of exaltation and the glory of God. In such a case, the mind is thankful towards God, and one's whole life is dedicated to God; therefore, one appears to be a creation with a personality that is decorated by a praiseful attitude which expresses love (*maḥabba*) towards God especially, and a sense of compassion for human beings and the universe in general. Abah Anom understands that *dhikrullāh* is capable of creating love for God on the part of human beings. The latter are not able to avoid faults or hardness of heart, as well as incitement [to evil] (*ammāra),* unless they hope for the *raḥma* of God and perform the *dhikr* towards Him. Abah Anom quotes the Prophet's saying: "Remember God constantly in all actions, indeed there is no *'amal* that makes you increase your love towards God almighty, there is no *'amal* that can release a man from evil and mistake in the world and in the hereafter, except *dhikrullāh.*"[309]

According to Abah Anom, the taste of love is an attitude that already exists in human beings; this taste is always restricted in someone until he expresses the taste of love for his beloved, manifests submission, obedience, service and loyalty, and shows himself capable of obeying what God and His messenger command and of distancing himself from what He prohibits (*fi'l al-ma'mūrāt wajtināb al-munhiyyāt*).

[308] Abah Anom, Akhlaq al-Karīma, 18. This *ḥadīth* is also quoted by Juhaya. "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 147.

[309] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 17-18.

This is because love for God is compulsory and a task in life for all believers and *muslimīn*. "Remember," God says in al-Baqara (2:165).[310] Based on this verse, Abah Anom says that love for God should be more than love towards all existence (*mawjūd*), meaning human beings and the universe, for it is not certain that someone who loves creation (*makhlūq*), will also come to love its creator (*al-khāliq).* In reality, loving God the Creator is a way to achieve happiness in this *dunyā* before succeeding to life in the Hereafter.[311]

Abah Anom quotes a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet related on the authority of Abū Hurayra: "He who loves to meet God, God will love to meet him. And he who does not love to meet God, God will not love to meet him." He also quotes Anas ibn Mālik, who informs us that the Prophet narrated a *ḥadīth qudsī*, "A servant best draws near to Me by performing the obligations I have enjoined on him. He continues to draw near to Me by means of superogatory acts of worship until I love him. For him whom I love, I become his ear, his eye, his hand, and his support."[312]

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[310] The Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Baqara (2:165) says: " And of mankind are some who take (for worship) others besides Allāh as rivals (to Allah). They love them as they love Allāh. But those who believe, love Allāh more (than anything else) ...." A *ḥadīth* narrated by 'Abd Allāh (r.a.), where the Prophet (pbuh) says: "Whoever dies while still invoking other than Allāh as a rival to Allāh, will enter Hellfire." And I said, "Whoever dies without invoking anything as a rival to Allāh, will enter Paradise." See Sahīh Bukhārī, vol. 6, *hadīth* no. 24.

[311] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 19-21. Abah Anom refers to *sūrat* Āl-'Imrān (3:14): "Beautified for human beings is the love of things they covet; women, children, much of gold and silver , branded beautiful horses, cattle and well-tilled land. This is the pleasure of the present world's life; but Allah has the excellent return (Paradise) with Him."

[312] Abī al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Hawāzin Al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, Risālat al-Qushayriyya fī 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf, 318. See also the English translation Principles of Sufism by Al-Qushayri by B.R. Von Schlegell (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1990), 325-326.

Abah Anom concludes that only by performing *dhikr*, by focusing one's mind on God and by shaping in oneself the personality of a *mu'min*, can a Muslim who loves God the Almighty and who always dedicates his outer and inner self towards Him feel that he himself is led by God, and that all his good deeds are seen and controlled by God. This corresponds to a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "Worship God as if you see your Lord, and when you do not see Him, indeed He sees you" (narrated by Bukhārī).[313]

After Rābi'a's *ḥubb al-ilāhī*, Dhu al-Nūn al-Miṣrī came forward with his *ma'rifa* experience. In the eyes of scholars, *ma'rifa* is knowledge *('ilm*). Thus in their opinion all *'ilm* is *ma'rifa* and all *ma'rifa* is *'ilm*, and everyone who is knowledgeable *('ālim*) with respect to God is a gnostic (*'ārif*), and vice versa. However, among the Sufis, *ma'rifa* is the attribute of one who knows God by His names and attributes and is truthful toward God by his deeds; who then purifies himself of base qualities and defects; who stands long at the door; and who withdraws his heart continually from wordly matters. This enables him to enjoy nearness to God, who verifies him as true in all his states. The temptations of his soul come to an end, and he no longer inclines his heart to any thought that would incite him to other than God, for when he becomes a stranger to men and is free of the calamities of his soul, when he is purified of joy in, and concern for, other than God, when his intimate prayers with God Most High in secret are constant, when he is sure in every glance of Him of his return to Him, and when God inspires him by

[313] Abah Anom, Akhlāq al-Karīma, 21.

making him aware of His secrets concerning his destiny, he is, at that time, called a "gnostic" *('ārif)* and his state is called "gnosis" (*ma'rifa*).[314]

Dhu al-Nūn goes on to state "The spirit of all the prophets raced in the plain of gnosis, and the spirit of our Prophet (pbuh) led them all to the meadow of union. The conduct of God Most High -- he endures you and is forebearing with you because he imitates the characteristics of God. The ones who know God the most are those whose bewilderment concerning Him is greatest." Dhu al-Nūn al-Miṣrī is said to have once been asked," 'By what means do you know your Lord?' His reply was, "I know my Lord by my Lord. If it were not for my Lord, I would not know my Lord." It was his view that "for everyone there is a certain form of punishment, and the punishment of the gnostic is being cut off from His remembrance. Even though ascetics are kings in the Hereafter, in comparison to the gnostics, they are beggars." Also according to Dhu al-Nūn, "There are three signs of the gnostic: the light of his gnosis does not block out the light of his abstemiousness; he does not believe in any inward knowledge that contradicts an outward ordinance; and the abundance of the blessings of God upon him does not impel him to rend the veils that cover God's hidden sanctity." [315]

According to Abah Anom, *ma'rifa* cannot be obtained except through the perfect way of the heart, which is clean and not influenced by the business of the world (*al-shawāghil al-dunyāwiyya*). The individuals who possess pure hearts are

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[314] Abī al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Hawāzin Al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, Risālat al-Qushayriyya fī 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf, 311-312, and idem, Principles of Sufism by Al-Qushayri, 316-317.

[315] Abī al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Hawāzin Al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, Risālat al-Qushayriyya fī 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf, 314-317, and idem, Principles of Sufism by Al-Qushayri, 316-317, 319-322, 324.

those who continue to perform *dhikr*, purifying themselves and drowning in the ocean of the knowledge of reality (*biḥār al-ma'rifat al-ḥaqīqa),* as it was comprehended by *ḥujjat al-Islam* (Imām al-Ghazālī (r.a.)).[316]

This is confirmed by Al-Qushayrī, who says, "One will reach the degree of gnosis, determined by the degree to which he is estranged from his self. When the shaykhs spoke on gnosis, each spoke of his own experience and indicated what came to him at a given moment." To distinguish between a scholar (*'ālim*) and a gnostic (*'ārif*), al-Qushayri reports that it is said, "The scholar is a source of imitation, and the gnostic is a source of guidance. The gnostic is more than what he says, and the scholar is less than what he says."[317]

Abah Anom insists that, "Everything about a Sufi *ṭarīqa* concerns the meritorious conduct of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and his ways and Allah's injunctions, one should realize that all the practices and discourses will become worthless and will not come closer to Allah, if one's actions are contrary to *sharī'a* and the *sunna.*"[318]

Abah Anom explains that the Prophet (pbuh) taught the *kalima ṭayyiba* to his companions (r.a.) in order to cleanse their hearts, to purify their souls and come closer to the presence of God to obtain divine happiness. When someone asks about *taṣawwuf,* the answer is:

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[316] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 319. As a matter of fact, a partial explanation of *ma'rifa* has been given earlier.

[317] Abī al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Hawāzin Al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, Risālat al-Qushayriyya fī 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf, 315-316.

[318] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 281-282.

> To cleanse the heart (*taṣfiyyat al-qulūb*) from what is preferred by human beings (*muwāfaqa al-bariyya*), to distance oneself from [bad] instinct manner (*al-akhlāq al-ṭabī'a*) and to be like to the attitude of humanity, to avoid disputes that are influenced by desires, then to place his attitudes towards the spiritual attitudes (*al-ṣifāt al-rūḥaniyya*), to connect with the sciences of reality (*'ulūm al-ḥaqīqa*) then to follow the entire *sharī'a* of the Prophet (pbuh).[319]

Abah Anom quotes Imām al-Ghazalī, who says: "Among the mottos (*shi'ārāt)* of the Sufis is: whoever accepts only *sharī'a* but does not want to know the *ḥaqīqa*, that person is sinful (*fāsiq).* Whoever takes only the *ḥaqīqa* but does not perform the *sharī'a,* he constitutes an unbeliever (*zindīq).* And one who performs *sharī'a* and practices *taṣawwuf,* this person is truly one of the *ahl* of *ḥaqīqa.*"[320] Abah Anom had mentioned earlier in *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* that the degrees of achieving God *(marātib al-wuṣūl*) consists of three stages (*marāḥil*): first *Islām*, second *īmān*, and third *iḥsān.*[321] A servant of God, if he is always busy with worship, is in the *māqam* of Islām or *māqam sharī'a* when that *'amal* moves towards his heart with purity (already empty of evil), containing sincere virtue. At that point a man reaches the degree of *īmān* or *maqām al-ṭarīqa.* When a human being worships only for the sake of God, as if God sees him, he is in the *māqām* of *iḥsān or māqām ḥaqīqa.* Therefore it is said: s*harī'a* is where you worship God, *ṭarīqa* is where you are towards God and *ḥaqīqa* is where you witness God.[322] In addition, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-

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[319] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 321.

[320] Some sources claim that this saying is originally from Imām Mālik. This saying is quoted in many literature, among others by Shaykh Muḥammad Hishām Kabbānī, The Naqshbandī Sufi Way History and Guided of the Saints of the Golden Chain, (Chicago: KAZI Publication, 1995), 15, 433. See Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmala 'Allām al-Ghuyūb, 417.

[321] There is a famous *ḥadīth* regarding *islām, īman* and *iḥsān.* This is based on the occasion when the Prophet was asked by Jibrīl, the dialogue between them was basically discussing this matter.

[322] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 322.

Sha'rānī says that a Sufi should also, ideally, be is a *faqīh,*[323] meaning that one should understand and perform *fiqh* in practice prior to applying *taṣawwuf.*

Abah Anom refers to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlāni'ṣ (q.s.) saying that:

> There is nothing in the purpose of the people of *taṣawwuf,* except to purify the *bāṭin* of human beings with the light of God's unity (*nūr tawḥīd*) and knowledge (*ma'rifa*). The Sufi through true *taṣawwuf,* will cleanse his heart from every thing besides God and his love for God, performing with strong/profound struggle (*jihādan marīran*), in emptying his heart except God, and to decorate it with *dhikr Allāh,* the most powerful and the most great." The prophet (pbuh) says: "The sign of love towards God is to love *dhikr Allāh,* while the sign of the upset of God, is to hate *dhikr Allāh.*" A servant who loves God, doesn't think that he possesses anything else, but attributes everything he has to the one that he loves, God. Shaykh 'Abd Qādir al-Jīlānī (q.s.) advises people by saying: "It is obligatory for human beings to see the life of the heart for the Hereafter (*ḥayāt al-qulūb al-ukhrawī*) in this world from the *ahl al-talqīn* before his lifetime ends, as God says in *sūrat* al-Nahl (16:43). To take *bay'a* from a shaykh is an important matter in *taṣawwuf*.... *Bay'a* after the prophet passed away is to follow a *bay'a* done by the Prophet himself. The '*ulama* who are *'arīf billāh* are the deputies/representatives (*nawāb*) of the Prophet in teaching human beings the *ādāb* of religion, outer and inner (*ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*). The inner manner (*ādāb bāṭin)* is more difficult for us to secure than the physical manner (*ādab ẓāhir),* because it requires a gentler battle (*mu'tarak khafī*) between a man and his ego, his *shayṭan* and the temptation of manipulated *dunyā* as well as diseases of the heart, such as hatred (*ḥiqd),* jealousy (*ḥasad*), pride (*'ujb),* dissimulation (*riyā'),* hypocrisy *(nifāq),* etc. Whoever follows *ṭarīqa* without following his leader (*imām*), who is *'ārif billāh* he will go astray at the first step; in fact, it is noble enough to be together with the *ṭarīqa* of *ahlī taṣawwuf* which is enlightened.[324]

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[323] 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Ma'rifat al-Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyya, vol. 1. 63.

[324] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 322-323. The complete translation of Al-Naḥl (16:43) reads as follow: "And We sent not (as Our Messengers) before you (O Muhammad (pbuh)) any but men, whom We sent revelation, (to preach and invite mankind to believe in Oneness of Allāh). So ask (you, O pagans of Makkah) of those who know the Scripture [learned men of the Tawra (Torah) and the Injīl (Gospel] if you know not."

It is also narrated that the prophet Mūsā (a.s.), who was among to the messengers of the possessor of determination (*'ulū al-'azm),* asked Khiḍr[325] about the science of reality (*'ilm al-ḥaqīqa*). In this light, it is obvious that there is a strong argument (*aqwā dalīl*) for the obligation to follow *taṣawuf,* the knowledge of the manner of the heart (*'ilm ādāb al-qulūb*).[326]

As can be observed, the Qur'ān speaks of God as *al-ẓāhir* and *al-bāṭin.* Exoteric Islam suffices for the generality of believers, but esoteric Islam, or Sufism, obviously addresses itself to some deeper need in the souls of pious Muslims. Islamic mysticism provides them with spiritual nourishment amidst the instability of daily life, a continuum with their past heritage, and a more intense form of devotion

[325] The Prophet Khiḍr (some pronounce Khaḍir) is an interesting figure in Sufi discourse, and acts as the spirit of Islamic gnosis. He is the ubiquitous and immortal personification of the initiatic principle. As we mentioned earlier, the reference is given to a passage in the Qur'ān (18:65-82) concerning the encounter between the Prophet Moses and God's servant (identified with Khiḍr). He appears also in the Alexander legend as the supreme guide on the path, who finally conducts him to the Water of Life. God has appointed him as *shaykh* and an exemplar, and sent to him Moses to be his *murīd* and to learn God-given knowledge (*'ilm al-ladunnī*) from him. The worthiness of Khiḍr to be *shaykh* is indicated by the words, "one of Our servants whom We had given mercy from Ourselves and whom We had taught knowledge from Our presence."See Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, 25, 243. This encounter relates to an issue that has been discussed relatively intensely in Sufi literature, whether *wilāya* (sainthood) is superior to prophethood. To mention some, for example Kitāb Khatm al-Awliyā' of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism by Bernd Radtke and John O'Kane (Great Britain: Curzon Press, 1996). Unlike *imāms* in the Shi'ī context, Sufis esoteric knowledge comes to them, not genealogically, but by spiritual progression through a twofold action of God: by transmission from the Prophet Muḥammad, through a chain of elect masters, and also by direct inspiration from God, often through the mediation of the Prophet Khiḍr, like Gabriel to Muḥammad,There are certain Sufi figures, among others such as 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Mas'ūd al-Dabbāgh in 1125/1713 (the initiator of al-Khaḍiriyya), claiming that they received litany (*wird)* and blessings from Khiḍr, Muṣṭafā ibn Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī encounterd Khiḍr on three occasions, and some others. See Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 114, 136. Other sources on Khiḍr, see Ian Richard Netton: Seek Knowledge Thought and Travel in the House of Islam (Sunny: Curzon Press, 1996), 59-69; "Sara Sviri, "Where the Two Seas Meet: The Story of Khiḍr," in Sufi 31 (Autumn 1996): 30-37. A new study on Khiḍr was completed by Patrick Franke, entitled Begegnung Mit Khidr Quellenstudien Zum Imaginären im Traditionellen Islam (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000). Kiyai Romly Tamīm of Rejoso explains in his work, Tuntunan Amalan Istighotsah, 9, where he quotes the procedure of the prayer of need (*ṣalāt al-ḥāja)* and the prostration of gratitude (*sujud shukr)* as being performed by Khiḍr. Abah Anom also mentions the similar procedure of that *ṣalāt al-ḥāja.*

[326] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 323.

harking back to the days of the Prophet. Abah Anom's point of view on some Sufi thought in this chapter reveals his belief that the teachings of the Qur'ānic verses and the Prophetic traditions serve as a means to cure the diseases of the heart, through which he established the curriculum for the *anak bina* (residents) in the Inabah. The youth in the latter in particular and the members of the TQN in general need this constant reinforcement to face life and to cure their diseases. In the case of the Inabah curriculum, it is that the hopes of parents, make Abah Anom think and create a solution to their problems through the treatment of constant remembering God by isolating them from the society and put them in intensive care *pesantren* with a specially designed method to rehabilitate them. Abah Anom believes that only by returning to His way can such problems could be solved, that only by detachment from others than God in one's heart and remembering Him constantly with sincerity can obstacles be overcome. The *anak bina* in Pondok Inabah need serious and integrated therapy to help them fight against temptation and make them experience spiritual education, such as through *ṣalāt* and *dhikr*. The true way of performing the *dhikr* will help them to fight against devils. The inner diseases that come from the devil can be eliminated or even healed through *dhikr* and at the same time, defences must be strengthened by availing oneself of the *dhikr*. The implementation of Abah Anom's beliefs and TQN's teachings is also demonstrated in his works, speeches, *maklumat*, the *pesantren* services and all of its activities, including those of the Pondok Inabah.

3. Concluding remarks and Some Observations on Abah Anom's works

After studying Abah Anom's *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, and observing its manuscript and printed text, it is clear that it needs to be reprinted with corrections after proof-reading by the author. Though clear in expression, its seemingly incomplete state raises questions of authenticity, which we have laid to rest after studying the evidence of the author's preface to the second part of the work (in the Indonesian translation). Our findings show that the available printed text does not seem to have been confirmed or checked by the author thoroughly. In addition to making the work more accessible to the *ikhwān* of the TQN, the printing of the Arabic text alongside an Indonesian translation, and possibly an English translation, will make the work better known to scholars of Indonesian Sufism and the TQN in particular.[327]

Our study of the existing manuscripts of the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* has helped us to understand the original concepts of Abah Anom's mystical view point. As far as his sources are concerned, we have seen that Abah Anom refers to various Islamic classical texts, not only those of *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* authors, but also those written by members of Sufi orders. His statement that he is just collecting the noble sayings and thoughts of great *'ulamā'* from various sources is an accurate one, even though he sometimes fails to mention either the authors or titles of the books

[327] I find the Indonesian translation generally reliable but it is up to Abah Anom himself to decide if it is necessary to have another version of translation of the work, or to revise it. Like other translation works the available Indonesian translation of Miftāh al-Sudūr by Prof. Abu Bakar Aceh is only functions partially representative of the work, therefore, the Arabic printed text of the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* is certainly the focus. It is however more precise than the English one. Further evidence of is the translator's introductory remark, which explains that Abah Anom himself who asked the former to write the introduction *(muqaddima)* for the second part of the work. See Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 300.

he cites. As we observed earlier, we have forward that some of them are precise quotations, whereas some are not.[328]

Abah Anom dedicates the first two chapters of the *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* to a discussion of *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* and its procedure; however, he does not indicate explicitly the formula of the *dhikr*. Nevertheless, from his overall discussion of the importance and virtue of the *kalima lā ilāha illā Allāh*, it is likely the latter formula that he has in mind. We know moreover that silent *dhikr* of remembering Allāh is performed throughout the day and night, and that it is constantly in the heart (*mudāwama*), and is performed as many times as possible; this makes it even more likely that the latter formula is his choice. It is also clear that Abah Anom follows TQN practice in prescribing voiced and silent *dhikr,* both of which can be performed collectively as well as individually. The *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* is performed out loud while *al-dhikr al-mufrad* or the *dhikr ism al-dhāt* is silent.

[328] At least two sources of Abah Anom need to be further discussed: First the Rashahāt 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt of al-Kāshifī al-Wā'izī, I suspect it must be Arabic version of this work that he refers to, but I do not have the precise information about this issue. This is based on the fact that it is unlikely that Rashahāt (in Persian) is circulated in Indonesia these days, for very seldom do people get access to the original language of the work or perhaps another total different work (?). Second is the Sirr al-Asrār, a popular Qādirī manual, where generally known in Indonesia as a reference of *Qādiriyya* practice but limitedly known in scholarly discourse as al-Jīlānī's. So far I have only been able to find two secondary sources that mention this work, Brockelmann's GAL and the primary sources of the bibliography of A.A. Rizvi's The History of Sufism in India, vol. 1, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1975), and in the Indonesian translation of the work, by K.H. Zezen Zaenal Abidin Zayadi Bazul Asyhab. The edition that I have access to is presented by the publisher as a respectful dedication towards Abah Anom in his anniversary of 83 years of age (1998), with the same preface given by Abah Anom dated Muharram 1417 A.H/June 1996. The translator mentions the work as Sirr al-Asrār fī mā Yahtāj ilayh al-Abrār, see page 6. This work consists of 24 chapters on *sharī'a, ṭarīqa and ḥaqīqa.* The amount is twenty-four that suits with twenty-four letters of *lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammad Rasūlullah* and also suits with the amount of twenty-four hours in one day and night. Whereas Brockelmann cites as Sirr al-Asrār wa Mazhar al-Anwār and so does A.A. Rizvi (Cairo edition, n.d.). See the former's GAL Supplement I, 779. See also chapter four of this dissertation. Just an example for the exact quotation, word by word we find on page 264 line 6-8 (part one) of the Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, taken precisely from this Qādirī source.

Nowhere is suggested, however, that the former *dhikr* is superior to the latter, or vice versa.

As a matter a fact, both forms of *dhikr* and their benefits have been discussed by a number of classical scholars. For example, Chittick refers to Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240 A.D), who often quotes one of his masters, Abū al-'Abbās al-'Uraybī, to the effect that in *al-dhikr al-mufrad*, the mention of only the name "Allāh" makes it the best. His reasoning is that, in invoking *al-nafy wa al-ithbāt*, "no god but God," death might strike in mid-sentence, and one could conceivably die in the "terror of negation;" in invoking the name of Allah alone, on the other hand, one can only die in the surety of affirmation.[329]

By contrast, Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 1256) states, " When one pursues the *dhikr* and persists in it, the attachment of the spirit to other than God will be gradually severed by the scissors of *lā ilāha*, and the beauty of the monarch of *illā Allāh* will become manifest and emerge from the veil of might." [330]

Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh (d. 1309) discusses even more formulas of *dhikr*; including the invocation of *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt, lā ilāha illā Allāh*, the invocation of *dhikr ism al-mufrad, Allāh*, the *lafẓ huwa*, and some others.[331] Without concluding

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[329] William Chittick, "Dhikr," in E R, vol. 4., 343. Chittick quotes from Ibn al-'Arabī, Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya, 1.329.2, 2,110.21, 2,224,34.

[330] Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return (New York: Caravan Books, 1982). English Translation by Hamid Algar, 270.

[331] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh, 40-44. See also (The Key to Salvation and the Lamp of Souls) A Sufi Manual of Invocation. Translated from the Arabic with an Introduction and Notes by Mary Ann Koury Danner (Cambridge: The Islamic Text Society, 1996), 88-93; another example may be mentioned here, on the formula of God's beautiful Names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*) and its virtue can be read from the same work on pages 34-40 or 79-87 (English transl.). The Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh is not the first work on the importance of *dhikr* in Sufism. However, the author, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh is the only one to devote an entire book to the subject.

that one formula is superior to the others, he explains and discusses them all based on their historical characters and their various advantages. To quote his words: "The invoker's 'There is no divinity but God' is not valid except by negating whatever is in one's soul and heart that is other-than-God Most High." He quotes one of the authorities as having said that to lengthen the vowel "ā" in *lā ilāha* is considered good and recommended because, during the time of elongation, he can visualize in his mind all opposites and contraries and expel them. To follow with *illā Allāh*, is to acknowledge the Divinity; the word *illā* is a light placed in the heart, illuminating it. However, it is believed that there is a certain risk when reciting this formula, because one might die in the interval of pronouncing *lā ilāha* before reaching *illā* Allāh, whereas another authority has said, in the case of "the change from disbelief to belief, omitting the elongation is more suitable but for the invoker the vowel elongation is better."[332] The aim of the invocation *lā ilāha illā Allāh* is to annihilate (*fanā'*) all others (*aghyar*) and to subsist (*baqā'*) in the divine. Al-Iskandarī also says that: "No one says correctly 'No god but God' unless he negates everything other than God from his soul and heart."[333] As for the invocation with the personal pronoun *huwa*, this has an indicative function. For exoterists (*ahl al-ẓāhir*), the sentence is not complete without its predicate; therefore, the complete saying should

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[332] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh, 28-29 or page 70-72 (English transl.). The explanation of the elongation of reciting the word *lā ilāha* for a believer is mentioned in the margins of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas' Fath al-'Arifīn, 4. The elongation is with *mad munfaṣil*, seven *alifs* and that is fourteen *ḥaraka*, each *alif* is similar length to one breath, while the elongation of the word Allāh is three *alifs*. In the case of change from disbelief to belief, the elongation is not recommended. To be more precise, the vowel *a* that is lengthened is the one on the letter *lām*, for both authors does not specify for there is more than one vowel *a* in the word *lā ilāha*.

[333] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh, 28

be, for example, *huwa qā'im* (He is standing). However, the esoterists say *huwa* indicates the ultimate goal of realization; they are content with it and need no further explanation. They recite it to extinguish themselves in the realities of nearness to God (*ḥaqā'iq al-qurb*) and in order to have the invocation of the Truth take possession of their innermost being. Therefore, what is other-than-He is nothing at all, there is no reason to refer to it.[334]

Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh has anticipated the confusion that might occur in choosing a method of remembrance. He then says that each invocation has its own state and time wherein it is better suited than another type of remembrance. For every station there is a particular utterance that is most appropriate to it; and for every invocation there is a spiritual state, that is more suitable than any other.[335]

In the case of *riyāḍa,* we saw that the spiritual exercise for each disciple is usually determined by the *shaykh* according to the personality of the individual, the ability to perform such exercise and many other factors. However, an established and uniform *riyāḍa* may attract more disciples and motivate the *ikhwān* of the TQN to practice it. This kind of spiritual education I believe must be tailored to enhancing the *murīd's* spiritual progress. What is most difficult is to ensure the heart's presence during the *dhikr.* According to Abah Anom, heedlessness [of God] of invocation (*al-ghafla 'an al-dhikr)* – neglecting to perform it -- is worse than heedlessness during the *dhikr* (*al-ghafla fīh*). Certainly the

[334] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ, 44 or page 93 (English transl.).

[335] Ibid., 93 (English transl.).

presence of the heart directed towards God during the *dhikr* is highly recommended.[336]

Abah Anom explains the procedure of *talqīn* (*kayfiyyat al-talqīn*) very briefly; however, his account is clear and straight forward, for he discusses its historical background in chapter three of his *Miftāh al-Ṣudūr* and the importance of *talqīn* in the chapter after it.[337] As for the subtle centers (*laṭā'if*), Abah Anom explains that there are seven of these;[338] however, in a Sundanese work entitled *Bidayatussaalikiin (Diajar Ngambah Ma'rifat ka Allah)* and written by a *muballigh* of Pesantren Suryalaya, K.H. Syihabuddin Suhrowardi (Ajengan Citungku Ciamis, 1982), the number of *laṭā'if* is set at ten, just as it is in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas. For Suhrawardī the first five are collectively called the world of (divine) command (*'ālam al-amr)* which includes *laṭīfat al-qalb*, *laṭīfat al-rūḥ*, *laṭīfat al-sirr*, *laṭīfat al-khafī* and *laṭīfat al-akhfā*. The other five are the *laṭīfat al-nafs* and the components of the world of creation (*'ālam al-khalq)*: i.e., water, soil, wind, fire (the four elements). However, he goes on to state on the following page that the *laṭā'if* are seven: the first five *laṭā'if* are the same as above, while in

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[336] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 310. With a slight different encouragement to perform the *dhikr*, regardless the absence of being presence with God, is given by Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī in his Al-Hikam vol. 1, the wisdom no. 47. "(Do not leave the *dhikr* for the absence of your presence with Allāh in it because your heedlessness from doing the *dhikr* [you neglect it] is worse than your heedlessness while you are performing it)."

[337] For example, see chapter four of the Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution especially pages 279- 281. A more complete summary of the procedure, one may read Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī's Jāmi' al-Usūl fī al-Awliyā' vol. 2, 91-92.

[338] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 273-274. The seven subtle centers are the places which Abah Anom explains are the locations that should be passed by the *kalimat al-tawḥīd* when one performs the *dhikr*. He also tells his new disciples when he implants the *ism al-dhāt,* when the *talqīn* is performed, and asks them to feel themselves, even though he understands when they do not touch the exact location.

addition there are the *laṭīfat al-nafs* and *laṭīfat al-qālab.*[339] As does Abah Anom, Suhrowardi identifies the location of each *laṭīfa* in the human body, the name of the soul (*nafs*) which exists there, and the attributes of the soul.[340]

The place of *dhikr* in the Shī'ī and Sunni tradition is quite important. Although it is not always the case that those whose *silsila* is traced back to 'Ali are Shi'ites, it is clear that the position of 'Alī in Sunnī Islam is not exactly the same as it is for Shi'ites. Hamid Algar tells us that it has long been assumed that "Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was the first person who received silent *dhikr* from the Prophet whereas 'Alī was for the voiced *dhikr.*"[341] However, he does not indicate who first received *dhikr* from the Prophet in terms of time. The role of 'Alī is highly respected in Sunnite belief, although it is different from the Shī'ī context; nevertheless, Naqshbandis who trace the *silsila* back to Abū Bakr, later on encounter in their secondary line Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Algar however does not investigate the position of either the *Qādiriyya* or *Naqshabandiyya ṭarīqa* in either the Shī'ī or Sunnī communities.

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[339] Syihabuddin Suhrowardi, Bidaayatussaalikiin (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Podok Pesantren Suryalaya, 1982), 37-39. This author is listed in the preacher/scientist (*muballigh/ilmuwan*) section, along with three University professors: Abubakar Aceh, Harun Nasution and Oteng Sutisna. See Yayasan Serba Bakti PP Suryalaya, Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan Ulang Tahun ke 95 PP Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya, 2000), 90-91. The two kinds of world (*'ālam)* also mentioned in Fath al-'Ārifīn of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, 3. The two kinds of *'ālam* and the theory of *laṭā'if* was also discussed by Prof. Hermann Landolt, in Nūruddīn Abdurrahman-i Isfarāyinī Le révélateur des mystères: Kāshif al-Asrār, 56-59.

[340] Such explanations include the color of the soul is quoted also by J. Spencer Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, 152-157.

[341] Hamid Algar,"A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order," in Naqshbandīs Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order. Ed. by Marc Gaborieau, et al., 5.

Abah Anom's view on how people should approach the life in this world (*dunyā*) is fairly reasonable. Taking an optimistic position is helpful, such as his saying that the tasks given by God to human beings are possible (*mumkināt*) to do, and that the only thing that people should remember is that they require struggle, both outer and inner (*al-mujāhada al-ẓāhira wa al-bāṭina*).[342] According to him, one sometimes does not struggle hard enough, but gives up very easily and yields to pessimism. Then hopelessness emerges, followed by frustration and forgetfulness of the One who is helpful. When one's heart is very confused and hopeless, at this moment, the devil will easily enter and maneuver the individual in the direction he wants. Therefore, we may find people either with material difficulties or faced with spiritual emptiness who are too frustrated when facing worldly life.

Abah Anom quotes Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshbandī as well as figures from other *ṭarīqas*, such as the *Shādhiliyya* and sometimes (again without mentioning the name) from the *Kubrāwiyya*. He quotes from the *al-Rashaḥāt,* especially from the discussion of how to approach worldly matters related to our daily needs, such as clothing oneself, sleeping, eating, and drinking.[343] Abah Anom's view on such matters is clear when he refers to *sūrat* al-Munāfiqūn (63:9), al-Baqara (2:60),[344] al-

[342] The complete quotation from Abah Anom on this matter can be found in chapter four of this dissertation. The spiritual struggle (*al-mujāhada al-bāṭina*) includes the continuation of remembering God (*dawām dhikrullāh*) with the presence of the heart (*huḍūr al-qalb*) with sincerity.

[343] Abah Anom, Miftāh al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 278.

[344] "A believer should not let his properties or the children divert him from the remembrance of Allah." "One should eat and drink of that which Allah has provided but not corruptly, making mischief on the earth."

Qaṣaṣ (28: 77) and al-Nūr (24:37),[345] for these relate to his opinion on abstinence (*zuhd*). According to Abah Anom, *zuhd* means the curtailment of expectation *(qaṣr al-amal).*[346] Abah Anom however, disagrees with the general misunderstanding of the meaning of *zuhd* that (according to him) leads Muslims to leave the world for the Hereafter, and results in Muslims being left abandoned and subjected to poverty. As he says: "*Zuhd* does not lie in the very simple act of dressing and meals but rather it lies in one's heart. One who is *zāhid* should be clean in his innermost being (*sirr),* heart (*qalb),* soul (*nafs*) and his limbs (*jawārih*)."[347]

His *'Uqūd al-Jumān,* is on the other hand very practical and concise guide the *ikhwān* of TQN to practice *ṭarīqa* on a daily basis. The explanation is clear and the language is simple; however, for the weekly ritual practice, the *khataman,* it fails to provide information on such basic issue, for instance, how much each formula may be reduced under certain circumstances.

'Uqūd al-Jumān is nevertheless very much appreciated by the *ikhwān* of the TQN for it helps them in fulfilling their obligatory practices as *murīds.* The spiritual progress of disciples is the prime concern of TQN spiritual education, and at the heart of this is *dhikr.* For as Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh says elsewhere: "The most excellent are those who most often remember God in all situations. Remembrance takes the place of all deeds, ... invoking strengthens the limbs and facilitates pious

[345] Abah Anom, Miftāḥ al-Sudūr, in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 278-279 and Abah Anom's Akhlāq al-Karīma, 16.

[346] Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, ed. Harun Nasution, 160-161. The term *qaṣr al-amal* is from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. See his al-Fath al-Rabbānī, 23. "Reduce your expectations, ... for abstinence (*zuhd*) is all a matter of reducing expectations (*qaṣr al-amal*)."

work. It eases difficult matters, open locked doors, mitigates hardships and lessens toil. It is a security for the fearful and deliverance from desert wastelands."[348] He also says that people should not abandon the invocation because they do not feel the Presence of God therein, for "heedlessness in the *dhikr* of Him is worse than your forgetfulness in the invocation of Him."[349]

As a syllabus that is implemented to rehabilitate the young drug abusers in the twenty-two Pondok Remaja Inabah, Abah Anom's work *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja* is an impressive book. Though it may seem to impose heavy task on people so young, in my field research, I noticed that *pondok* residents found it to be anything but a burden. When I stayed overnight in Pondok Inabah II, I witnessed an ordinary program and it formed part of their routine activity. In addition, this observation was reinforced by my conversation with residents at both Inabah I and Inabah II, who said that once they are in the *pondok*, they want to be healed. They also realize that God will help them only if they come closer to Him by performing all the prayers and *dhikr.* Therefore, they felt truly obliged to do what was required of them. I believe this also as a result of the sincerity of the trainer of the Pondok Inabah, and of Abah Anom, who developed the therapy in the first place. At the moment, the therapy seems open to imitation by anybody. Although once I heard a debate among the *ikhwān* of the TQN concerning this issue, Abah Anom very

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[347] Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Fath al-Rabbanī, 17,

[348] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbah al-Arwāh, 33 or 77 (English transl.).

[349] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, Al-Hikam, 14, poem no. 57.

diplomatically states, that the more people in God's way the better it will be for everyone.

The *Akhlāq al-Karīma Berdasarkan Mudāwama Dhikrullāh*, also by Abah Anom, is useful to TQN members as a manual for preaching (*da'wa*). Simple on the surface but profound in its message, one nevertheless encounters in it a fair amount of repetition.

This book explains how to build a noble character and how to battle against the lower self or ego (*jihād al-nafs*). The lower self and absence of remembrance of God (*ghafla ila Allāh*) are considered as internal factors that create inner diseases, while the external factor is the temptation of devils. The failure to remember God is caused by an attitude that leads one to fill one's mind with worldly matters and then inner diseases emerge, such as jealousy, greed, evil and many others. This phenomenon, as observed by Abah Anom, involves not only adults, but also the youths; this becomes the parents' responsibility. Abah Anom offers a solution, which is constantly to remember God in any situation, with the presence and sincerity of the heart (*mudāwama dhikrullāh ma'a ḥuḍūr al-qalb wa al-ikhlāṣ*). This good relationship with God (*ḥabl min Allāh*) will establish love for God (*maḥabba ila Allāh*) and therefore will gradually include the establishment of a good relationship with human beings (*ḥabl min al-nās*).

The *Tanbih*, which includes a short poem, the Chain of pearls (*Untaian Mutiara*) of Abah Sepuh, has a special position in Abah Anom's repertoire. The original language of this source is Sundanese. It has been, however, translated into Indonesian to allow people outside west Java to have access to it. From time to

time, either in his oral advice or in written form, in his *maklumat*, he frequently refers to the *Tanbih.*[350] This is quite understandable because the *Tanbih* best reflects the daily practical life of faith for the *ṭarīqa* and Muslims in general, as well as the nation. It explains how the *ikhwān* of TQN should behave with one another, and how to establish a good relationship with fellow members of other *ṭarīqa*s (in particular with brother Muslims), and how to be a good citizen of the nation. It also implies a positive attitude towards the government in power. Abah Sepuh does not explicitly mention the name of any country, and so it can also be applied to other national questions.[351]

Abah Anom's intellectual approach to Sufism has been shaped by written sources, the influence of his teachers (especially his father and master Abah Sepuh), the *silsila* as a whole and his own inner personal experience. The list of classical works that he refers to is quite impressive and indicative of his great interest and attention that constituted his religious instruction. His teaching and methods are an unbroken continuation of his master's, without any divergence, even as it concerns the development of the practice of *dhikr* to cure youth. Perhaps Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh is

[350] Abah Anom realizes that the *ikhwān* of TQN come not only from west Java but also from through-out the country, even from overseas. To establish and to manage a strong institution, it is necessary to preserve the unity as it is indicated in the *Tanbih.* In his view, the *Tanbih* does not seem to erase existing differences. On the contrary, it respects and preserves it as the identity of the big family of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. Different views should not lead to weaknesses but rather as a power and that is a harmonious family livelihood. K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin, "Sambutan Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya pada Acara Silaturrahmi dan Musyawarah Pengurus Korwil Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Prop. Jawa Barat," (typescript of speech delivered in Bandung, Maret 20, 1999), 3-4.

[351] My interview with Ḥājjī 'Alī, April 1999 a *talqīn* agent from Singapore We discussed this topic and he admits that TQN and *Tanbīh*, can be applied anywhere.

right when he says "certainly a man of Truth has certain signs that cannot be hidden."[352]

Abah Anom is prepared to introduce his curriculum in the beginning stages of the Inabah healing process; however, as a *shaykh*, he knows better whether a disciple should concentrate on *dhikr* or on something else. Nevertheless, *dhikr* is generally seen as primarily important at the start of and during the mystical journey, while the benefits of *dhikr* or the desired result, i.e., closeness to God -- as the object of the journey -- are part of a long term process. Thus to my understanding, virtue acquired between the time of *dhikr* and its principle objective may be said to be an aid towards the main goal of the spiritual journey. Like other Sufi orders in general, it is believed that whatever results are achieved by the individual, these are basically gifts from God.

To my observation, Abah Anom is quite sensitive (in a positive sense) and concerned with the current changing or actual situation of the country, for example: the establishment of so many political parties, the disturbances in various places in the country, the juvenile delinquency problem, the widespread drug problem, the issue of "*reformasi*" and the coming of the twenty-first century. I believe that he is quite well-informed as to the latest developments in the country, and he speaks publicly on these matters on certain occasions, such as Indonesian Independence day,

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[352] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Al-Ḥikam wa ma'ahā ba'd al-Mukātabāt wa al-Munājāt (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭabā'a al-Muḥammadiyya, 1973), vol.1., 7. A commentary written in this edition by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Abū al-'Alā Shahīr Baḥāmid. A number of *ḥadīth*, often in the form of *hadīth qudsī* (non-Qur'ānic "words of God" transmitted by a prophet), suggest that there are indeed such people with the protégé of God who may be hidden, and only God knows them. The term "a man of Truth" (*rijāl al-ḥaqq*), in the Sufi context is closely related to the friends of God (*awliyā' Allāh*)., whom Bayazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d.875 A.H.) called them the "brides of God." Further brief discussion on this matter, from various aspects, may be read in Hermann Landolt, "Walāyah" in E R, vol. 15, 316-323.

general election etc. However, his tacit endorsement of his followers' right to vote as they pleased, for example, in the general election of 1999 was much appreciated, because prior to the previous election in 1997, he was explicit in advising them to vote for a specific party.[353] The concerns of Abah Anom are continuously printed in his speeches, announcement or *maklumat*. During my research, this guidance was usually read by his disciple Maj. Gen. (retired) Sukriya Atmaja, in public meeting in Suryalaya and in other branches while for the far-off region, they are sent by mail. A certain source tells me that Atmaja is also the only *ikhwān* who has ever received Abah Anom's permission to recite *ṣalawat Banī Hāshim*[354] during the *manakiban* in Suryalaya or elsewhere, while his wife Ummi Imas Sukriya has received permission to recite *ṣalawat Badr*[355] once in a while in Suryalaya activities. I was impressed that both have beautiful voices.

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[353] Although Abah Anom remains loyal in his political attitude towards Golkar, however, he tolerates his disciples' choice to vote. For the most recent election, there are quite many "Islamic political parties." The decision is made to give political education to public and that attitude resulted in respect from many people. However, when it comes to interpretations given by his *talqīn* agents in different places, various interpretations are unavoidable.

[354] According to one story I heard in the Pesantren Suryalaya, this kind of *ṣalawāt* was received by Abah Sepuh from K.H. Cholil of Bangkalan. Once I went to Bangkalan (Madura island, East Java) and met K.H. Abdullah Schal, a descendant of Kiyai Cholil, and he wrote that *ṣalawāt* for me. "*Allahumma ṣali 'alā al-nabī al-hāshimī sayyidinā Muḥammad wa'alā ālihī wa ṣaḥbihī wa sallim taslīma.*" The only different from the *salawat* that is recited in Suryalaya is the lack of the words *sayyidinā* and *wa ṣaḥbihi*. Nevertheless, this *ṣalawāt* can also be found in Dalā'il al-Khayrāt of al-Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jāzūlī (Semarang: Toha Putra, 1387 A.H.), 178. In this book, after the word *ālihi* then followed by *waṣaḥbihi* but there is no *sayyidinā*. The invoking blessings on the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh) or *ṣalawāt* is called *taṣliya* (*al-ṣalāh 'alā al-nabī*) by Fritz Meier, see further discussion on this issue in his Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism, transl John O'Kane with editorial assistance of Bernd Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 549-588.

[355] *Ṣalatullāh salāmullāh 'alā Ṭaha rasūlillāh, ṣalātullāh salāmullāh 'alā yāsin ḥabībillāh, tawassalnā bibismillāh wabil hādī rasūlillāh wa kulli mujāhidillillāh biahlil badri ya Allāh.* The marriage of this couple was arranged by Abah Anom some years back. My family and I are grateful to this couple for their hospitality during my stay in their house in Suryalaya for couple of weeks and also to Mr. Ucu Suparta for the rest of the time of stay in his house too in the complex of the Pesantren Suryalaya.

Abah Anom shows his great appreciation for any scholars who intend to study Islam deeply and sincerely, regardless of what western scholars or orientalists have used to approach their studies, however in the case of studies of *dhikr,* however, it is known that western scholars often "neglect the centrality of its concept in the Qur'ān where the term is employed," in favour of emphasizing such externals as the bodily movements and techniques of concentration performed by various Sufi orders. While they have not always been of primary interest within the Sufi tradition itself, this has been discussed by William C. Chittick.[356] Nevertheless, I found that Abah Anom is quite open to his western visitors and accepts them wholeheartedly.

In terms of the pedagogical methods of the TQN's Pondok Pesantren, Abah Anom is quite open to change. The Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, through the Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah, held for instance a national conference on "The Pesantren Facing the Twenty-first Century," in Tasikmalaya, January 30-February 1, 1999. The main speakers were experts in the field of education, including representatives from the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) Jakarta, IKIP Bandung, and Gadjahmada University of Yogyakarta. Among the important topics discussed in the conference were the challenges facing the Pesantren, the *madrasa,* the school and Institution of Higher Learning, the Pondok Inabah, and the Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya in the twenty-first century (each of which topics was examined quite deeply). There are several important points were made by Abah Anom in his speech at the opening of

[356] W.C. Chittick, "*Dhikr,*" in E R, vol. 4, 341.

the conference regarding the beginning of the third millennium and the issue of globalization, which entails various aspects of life including the progress of science and the technology of communication and information. Abah Anom expressed the hope that discussion would lead to a deeper spiritual and religious understanding. According to Abah Anom, globalization in fact, does have a spiritual meaning in that the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh) was a mercy to the universe (*raḥmatan lil 'ālamīn*), and for the togetherness of human beings. Religion can be an alternative for human beings in allowing them to affirm their identity as human beings. Islam, he said, may be able to provide clear and strict answers to solving modern problems. He challenged the speakers and discussants to provide concepts for the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya to maintain its existence and remain relevant in guiding society in the twenty-first century.[357]

Abah Anom is neither the first to write about Sufism in general and the importance of *dhikr* in particular, nor will he be the last; hence, the question of originality really does not apply. For him what is foremost in religion is the Truth, not the person who has spoken it. That is the reason why throughout his works, as we observed, he sometimes only explains, rather than states the name of each person quoted. The passages are often cited literally word-by-word and sometimes paraphrased; however, in many passages he mentions the source as well as the author he refers to.

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[357] K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin, "Sambutan Sesepuh PP Suryalaya pada Acara Pembukaan Seminar Nasional Pengembangan Pondong Pesantren Menyongsong Abad ke 21," (typescript of speech delivered in Suryalaya, January 30, 1999), 1-2.

It may be observed that not all issues from both *ṭarīqa* of origin are discussed in Abah Anom's works, and certainly not all those addressed by Shaykh Sambas: for example, the subject of *murāqaba.* But this does not prevent him from filling the empty space that cannot be found in detail in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* such as, among others, the importance of noble character, the significance of *talqīn al dhikr*, the procedure of *dhikr*, and its virtue and role in spiritual education, both in the implementation of his *pesantren* and on the society at large.

Conclusion

The challenge of modernization and national development has been met in Indonesia by an approach on the part of planners that recognizes the integrative value of Islam on the socio-cultural level. Indeed, the overall success of the venture was achieved not by trying to transform the cultural and political character of the people, but by incorporating Islam into the national framework.

The future of Islam in Indonesia, and in Southeast Asia at large, therefore depends entirely on the ability of the "*umma*" to find the exact balance between the politico-ideological approaches of the militants[1] on the one hand and the socio-cultural mindset of the more moderate Islamic movements on the other. Although still clouded in mystery and impossible to chart satisfactorily, the very fact that diametrical positions can coexist proves Islam's vitality in the face of modernization's onslaughts.[2]

An important role in the process of integration is played by the *ṭarīqa,* which has deep roots in Indonesia, and has long been one of the main factors in the Islamization of Indonesian culture and society. It has had a positive impact beyond the circle of the Sufi organized *murīds,* but in turn, in certain places the *ṭarīqa* has

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[1] The militant groups perhaps include those who are neither moderate nor ordinary Muslims.

[2] Abdurrahman Wahid, "Developments of Islam in Southeast Asia,": The Indonesian Quarterly, XIV/ 1 (1986).

been "Indonesianized," sometimes beyond recognition.[3] As in the case of other religious groups, the transformation among those who belong to *ṭarīqas* depends on several empirical variables, such as education, economic opportunity and political loyalty, all of which contribute to deciding how far they are going to interact with new ideas and sources. These empirical variables, furthermore, develop dynamically. For this reason, the role of intermediaries in the *ṭarīqa* is very significant, for they are able to revitalize the order from inside, not only in terms of social affairs but also in reformulating the concept of the *ṭarīqa* itself.[4]

In the case of *pesantrens* that are linked with individual *ṭarīqas*, there is an added dimension. For here the intersection between education and religious renewal is of vital importance. Of course, to give direction to such an enterprise, a leader knowledgeable in the Islamic disciplines is required. The *pesantren*'s survival still depends mainly on the religious charisma of its central figure. He is supposed to be an expert in doctrine, an inspirational leader and a skilful educator. However, while such an individual may have been sufficient to the success of a *pesantren* in the past, our more complicated world requires a more elaborate structure capable of assisting him and, if need be, of replacing him. A more recent phenomenon has been the introduction of administrative legal foundations (yayasans) designed to establish the *pesantrens* on a sounder financial footing.[5]

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[3] Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," in Der Islam 1 (1990): 179.

[4] Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Kesyahduan Sufi dalam Transformasi Sosial," Pesantren no.3/vol.II/1985, 58.

[5] The issue of Yayasan did not come into the public discourse until 1970's, and at present, has been approved by the parliament to become regulation (*Undang-Undang*).

Perhaps the best example of a *ṭarīqa*-linked *pesantren* that has played an integrative role while remaining open to the world is that of Pesantren Suryalaya, where considerable effort has been invested in developing its resources, both at the conceptual and social levels. Its educational and social services have even been extended to serve society at large. As a center of spirituality, moreover, it has retained its power to attract the devout. Indeed, without expecting the members of the *ṭarīqa* generally, it may be hoped that they can provide a model that Muslim society in the future is more mature and full of self-confidence. This is not unfounded speculation, for *ṭarīqa* members possess strong Islamic roots and are at the center of the Islamic traditional and intellectual debate in Indonesia. At the same time, they are well aware of what remains to be one in terms of social welfare as well as in actualizing Sufi concepts in a problematic society -- in conjunction with the *sharī'a* tradition and the development of science and technology.[6]

Just as Pesantren Suryalaya provides a model for the future of *ṭarīqa*-linked *pesantren* education, the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriya Naqshbandiyya* (TQN) itself is a model of the integrative power of Sufism in the country. As an amalgamation of the practice of *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya* orders, the TQN is something of an Indonesian phenomenon, although it has gained many followers in other Southeast Asian countries. From the time of its founder, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Sambasī (d.1875), the author of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn*, until the time of K.H.A.

[6] Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Kesyahduan Sufi dalam Transformasi Sosial," 58.

Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin of Suryalaya, (b. 1915), its teachings are still being practiced and developed. Other branches of the TQN in central and east Java are also thriving, among them the Pondok Pesantren Futuhiyyah in Mranggen and Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum in Jombang. They have been successful in disseminating the TQN in the conventional way, while at the same time, in the case of Suryalaya, adapting its practices, such as *dhikr*, to schemes designed to rehabilitate young drug abusers. Abah Anom has shown in very real terms how important the influence of *dhikr Allāh* (remembrance of God) is in spiritual education;[7] it weakens evil impulses, restores self-confidence, purifies the heart and helps one achieve tranquillity in one's life.

From the historical accounts of the existing Sufi orders -- especially the *Qādiriyya*, the *Khalwatiyya*, the *Shaṭṭāriyya* and the *Naqshbandiyya* -- how they started to spread in Southeast Asia generally and in Indonesia specifically, in the thirteenth century. We also saw how from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries they continued to flourish and expand, often offshoots of the traditional orders, e.g., the *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*, the *Naqshbandiyya Mazhariyya* and the *Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya*. Other orders such as the *Sammāniyya* and the *Tījāniyya* brotherhoods, developed followings in certain areas of the country in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Although the development was not always on the same level, the fact remains that certain Sufi orders have had a stronger influence in regions than others. In addition, the followers of these orders often studied the

[7] See Abah Anom' chapters 5 and 6 of Miftāh al-Sudūr, in the Tarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya, ed. Harun Nasution, 304-324.

writings of scholars belonging to other *ṭarīqa*s. Finally in the twentieth century, an organization grouping together the *mu'tabara ṭarīqas* was established, which, along with the existing Sufi orders, continued to survive until the present day. The influence of Sufi orders in Indonesia has not only had an impact on the Muslim community but also sometimes beyond this latter, such as on non-Islamic mystical sects, like the *aliran kebatinan* or *aliran kepercayaan.*

The spread of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas's disciples throughout the country (i.e., in Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumatra and Kalimantan) is a reflection not only of the wide popularity of his teachings but also of the attraction of Sufi doctrine. His foremost successor, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Banten (b.1840), likewise played a significant role, although he was, in turn, followed by a number of disciples who branched out on their own, splitting the TQN in the process. Yet despite the fact that the order lacks a single, unifying leadership, the teachings espoused by the various branches remain similar.

The continuing political role of the Sufi orders in Indonesia since colonial times has enriched not only the religious life of the Muslim community but its political role as well. The latter aspect seems to have developed more after independence. However, the intervention of state political interests sometimes confused the issue, even to the point of changing the political attitudes of the general population, the *shaykh* (*kiyai*) and his followers. Thus, whereas for decades the Sufi orders were involved in social protest movements, they became less active in this domain when modern political organizations came on to the scene.

The Sufi orders received public attention once again in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in Java, when Kiyai Musta'in Romly in East Java presided over a modern political association of Sufi orders. Abah Anom in west Java also found numerous followers among the Indonesian elite and educated members of society and made the *ṭarīqa* a modern urban phenomenon. Moreover, at almost the same time as did Kiyai Musta'in Romly, Abah Anom joined the government party Golongan Karya (Golkar), although it was not his political affiliation did not lead to the dispute witnessed in east Java. This is perhaps because he is not really involved in Muslim mass organizations like the Nahdlatul Ulama, although their religious practice remains similar. In central Java, Mranggen seems to have changed its political affiliation from the PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) to the PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) in the interval since its establishment in 1999. Nevertheless the Sufi orders' genuine role continues to be that of helping people who are more interested in obtaining spiritual satisfaction through performing Sufi practices.

The body that unites the Sufi orders, the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu 'tabaroh (an-Nahdliyyah)*, that serves as an umbrella-group for the various *ṭarīqa* organizations in Indonesia. It is an expression of the sense of moral responsibility felt by the *'ulamā'* to preserve the traditional, original Islamic Sufism. Its role appears to have been a significant one, in that it has helped ordinary Muslim believers (*'awāmm*) face the challenge of indigenous non-Islamic mystical tendencies. The two institutions (JATMN and JATMI) have had to make a judicious selection from the many *ṭarīqa*s and mystical groups active in Indonesia, the number of which always exceeds the approved *ṭarīqas* by a wide margin.

From our discussion of some Sufi terminology we learned that the same term is used in different Sufi orders with slightly different understandings; for example, the concept of the types of *dhikr* practiced is a little different for representatives of one or the other of the two that make up the TQN, as in the case of Amīn al-Kurdī and al-Jīlānī. The same is the case with the usage of the term *talqīn*, in the context of Sufism and in the sociological context of Islam in Java in particular. As for the term *laṭā'if,* this is even more complex problem, as is that of *murāqaba,* as we observed in our previous survey.

Representing an attempt at clearing up this confusion, the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas was written as a manual for the TQN, amalgamating the teachings of the two *ṭarīqas* of separate origins. It sets forth an initiatory ritual and a procedure consisting of two types of *dhikr* practice (vocal and silent *dhikr*), while at the same time making clear the sources of this liturgy. It also offers an account of the spiritual progress that a TQN adept might achieve through meditation, and finally grounds these practices in an extensive *silsila*, although the latter is primarily *Qādiriyya* and is silent on Sambas's *Naqshbandiyya shaykh*s. And yet, despite this careful groundwork, we have seen how in the second generation of the TQN, not all aspects of the teachings in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* were developed to an equal extent; each *shaykh* seems to have emphasized certain issues in their works, even though their overall practice has remained the same.

The reader will find many similar elements within Kiyai Muslih's various works (TQN's figure of central Java); nevertheless, there are several passages that

contain detailed explanations of, for example, the *laṭā'if*,[8] the five questions mentioned above,[9] the discussions of *īmān*, *islām* and *iḥsān* and their interpretation according to earlier scholars,[10] and a careful explanation of how to sit while performing *dhikr*.[11] Moreover, in most places, he mentions his sources.[12]

In the case of the *murāqabāt*, we find certain similarities along with a clear development of Kiyai Muslih's thought in his various works,[13] in each of which we find as well a list of the *murāqabāt* to be practiced at particular prayer times. Sometimes Kiyai Muslih refers to Qur'ānic verses that are not mentioned by Shaykh Sambas;[14] however, in most cases their sources are the same. There are, moreover, some topics that seem to be unique to his works, such as the issue of holding one's breath (*ḥifẓ al-anfās*),[15] the concept of redemption/compensation (*'ataqa qubrā* or *fida' akbar*)[16] and references to the decisions of the Nahdlatul 'Ulama Congresses.[17]

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[8] Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol.1, 17-22 under the chapter how to practice the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya*.

[9] Muslih, Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah vol.1, 40-61.

[10] Ibid., vol.2, 10-28.

[11] Ibid., vol.2, 2-10.

[12] Among his sources are Khazīnat al-Asrār, Tafsir Marāḥ Labīd of Nawawī al-Bantenī vol.1, Tafsīr Ṣāwī, and Jāmi ' Usūl al-Awliyā'.

[13] See his 'Umdat al-Sālik, 87-140, his Risala Tuntunan TQN vol. 2, 31-60, and in his al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya, 52-64,

[14] For example in the case of *murāqaba la ta'ayyana* he refers to *al-An'ām* 130, on *murāqaba ḥaqīqat al-Ka'ba* to al-Baqara 150 and to *murāqaba* number twenty, he refers to al-Bayyina 5. See his Risala Tuntunan TQN vol.2.

[15] See his Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah, vol. 1, 22-24 and his al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya, 65-67.

[16] '*Ataqa kubra* or *fida' akbar* is a kind of *dhikr* that is performed with struggle (*mujāhada*) to purify the soul by reciting certain formulas, for example, the recitation of 100,000 times of *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ or *tahlīl* 70.0000 times to redeem *nafs al-ammāra* or other *nafs*. In practice the recitation can be

Kiyai Romly's discussion on *talqīn* and *bay'a* does not seem to be very clear in terms of the distinction between the two, which are drawn out by certain other authors. On the other hand, he only explains the processes and the formulas that should be recited by both the *murshid* and the *murīd*, whether they recite them together or one after the other. From his two pages[18] of explanation, one might conclude that there is no difference between *talqīn* and *bay'a*.

Like Shaykh Sambas and Kiyai Muslih, Kiyai Romly explains the procedure of the practice of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* as well as that of the *Naqshbandiyya* in separate chapters. This likewise occurs in his treatment of the sayings of *ahl al-ṭarīqa*.[19] As for his position on the 20 types of *murāqabāt*, like Kiyai Muslih, Kiyai Romly does not always cite exactly the same verses of the Qur'ān as Shaykh Sambas, although his explanations remains basically the same. In the section on the *khataman* of the TQN, unlike others, Kiyai Romly refers to its seven advantages[20] -- a description found neither in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Sambas nor in other works of Shaykh Muslih.

Regarding the *silsila* of the TQN, Kiyai Romly traces the line back via his father Kiyai Tamim to Kiyai Cholil, who in turn was initiated by Shaykh Aḥmad Hasbullah ibn Muḥammad of Madura, who was a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim

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performed little by little (gradually). This explanation is found where he explains *murāqabat al-aḥadiyya*. See his Risalah Tuntunan Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah ,vol.2, 27.

[17] Muslih, al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya, 67-69.

[18] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 2-3.

[19] For comparison, see Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Fath al-'Ārifīn, 3-5, Muslih, 'Umdat al-Sālik fī Khayr al-Masālik, 45-86, and Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 4-10.

[20] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 32.

Banten; after this point, the names in ascending order are the same as in the *silsila* of the TQN of Rejoso and of Suryalaya. Concerning the smallest and the greatest number of Naqshbandī *dhikr khafī* to be performed, Kiyai Romly differs from the other Shaykhs in stating explicitly, that the minimum should be 5,000 and the maximum 25,000 in one day and night. In the chapter on *tafakkur*,[21] where he explains its advantage and its levels may be considered unique in its treatment.[22] Again, unlike the works of other *kiyai*s', Kiyai Romly's *Tuntunan Amal Istighotsah* [Ara. *istighātha*] constitutes a detailed guide for additional (non obligatory) practice for the members of the TQN, while his work, *Thamarat al-Fikriyya* is mostly a repetition of Shaykh Sambas' *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn,* except for a very few differences as explained in chapter three above.

With regard to its objectives, the Pesantren Suryalaya of west Java has taken on a number of activities and roles to attain its aims, either through the formal educational system (beginning with kindergarten and extending to university) or through the use of wide-spread, non-formal educational methods. These latter which include the activities of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya,* as well as other social services, including Pondok Remaja Inabah, and many others, as has been discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

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[21] *Tafakkur* means, meditation, contemplation. The most elaborate explanation of the doctrines of *fikr* or *tafakkur* in Islam is found in al-Ghazālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn vol. 4. *Bāb al-Tafakkur.*

[22] Romly Tamim, Thamarat al-Fikriyya, 36-39.

The *raison d'être* of the establishment of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya and its contribution to the spiritual development of the people of the region go hand in hand. Abah Anom's later decision to build Pondok Inabah to rehabilitate young drug addicts in addition to providing conventional Islamic education was a practical demonstration of the *pesantren*'s objectives. It is evidence not only of Abah Anom's deep love of his country but also of his spiritual commitment to responding to the needs of society.

Abah Anom, as we have observed is a very strong and charismatic leader, having inherited many good qualities from his father, Abah Sepuh. His own spiritual achievements have won a positive response from a wide audience, not only in his own country but also overseas. His genuine concern for all strata of society is reflected in his policies to establish a foundation (Yayasan Serba Bakti), his decision to share responsibilities with *talqīn* agents and his establishment of various social institutions within the Pesantren. These also show his patriotism and national pride, as well as his adaptability to the challenges facing modern Indonesian society in general and Muslim believers in particular. His writings show a deep understanding of Islamic teachings and reflect his efforts to implement them in practice. As the elder (*sesepuh*) of Pondok Pesantren, Abah Anom plays different roles: he is consulted by committees at all levels of the Yayasan Serba Bakti; he is directly responsible for certain sections within the latter; he is the head and the chief resource person of the Pesantren Suryalaya and all its activities in general; and perhaps most importantly, he is the *murshid* of the Suryalaya branch of TQN.

The educational role of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya is extensive and varied. The establishment of different educational institutions within the *pesantren* has motivated many in the community to pursue further studies. The traditional curriculum of *pesantren* remains the same, while the *madrasa*s and higher education institutions reflect the *pesantren*'s role as an agent of change. The foundation of Pondok Inabah shows Abah Anom's deep concern for future generations. It also indicates his courage to develop and implement the teachings of the TQN in the society.

The social role of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya extends as well into such areas as local education, women's issues, employment, economic and religious activities. This wide range allows this institution to contribute to the development of the society.

Much of the attention and interest that the TQN has generated outside Indonesia can be attributed not only to its formal institutional development but also to its spiritual development. The latter phenomenon is shown in the visits by foreigners to the Pesantren out of sympathy for its teachings, as well as out of academic interest in its various activities. Of particular interest to Western observers is the Pondok Inabah and its activities, due to its unique approach to rehabilitating drug-addicted youth. Nevertheless, this represents only one aspect of the overall role played by Pesantren Suryalaya, and by the TQN as a whole, in ensuring the spiritual development of the people.

Abah Anom has written extensively on Sufism in an attempt to give direction to this project, producing many books, *maklumat* and speeches. From the works surveyed in chapter five, we have seen that he grounds himself primarily in Islamic classical texts, especially in his *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, the only work written fully in Arabic. At the same time, however, his ideas are made accessible through translations, sermons and the *talqīn* process, handled mainly these days by agents. TQN teachings are spread especially on such occasions as *manakiban*, daily religious practices and in the *khataman* ceremony. The curriculum of the Inabah in particular, explained in his *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotik dan Kenakalan Remaja*, reflects this concern for a practical application of Sufi teachings -- an inclusive rather than exclusive approach to *ṭarīqa* membership.

This does not however mean that the TQN is lax about the formalities of membership in the order, for the *talqīn* (and or *bay'a*) is compulsory for anyone who intends to join, and can only be taken from a *shaykh* or his authorized representative. The *bay'a* is meant to strengthen one's will to practice the teachings of the *ṭarīqa*, while the *talqīn* and *bay'a* together function to cement the ties between *murshid* and *murīd*, ties that extend uninterruptedly (either through physical meeting/appointment or spiritual connection) from one teacher to his student all the way through, back until the Prophet (pbuh) himself. The student's dependency on his teacher is relatively strong, for without the permission of the *shaykh*, he cannot rise in the level of spiritual training. With God's grace, the *shaykh* functions as a 'washer of the corpse' with respect to his disciple. Whatever progress or constraints

are faced by the *murīd*, should be brought to the teacher, for the latter is responsible to guide and show him the way to attain God.

As we saw earlier with regard to the implementation of the Inabah curriculum in chapter four of this thesis, Abah Anom believes that spiritual education (through continuous, sincere and constant presence of the heart with God) manifests a means of bringing people, especially the residents of Inabah, towards the way of God. There is no doubt that the basic elements of Sufi theory and practices are applied properly to achieve the maximum results. Yet nowhere are these practices applied with more dramatic results than in the case of the residents of Inabah (considered as suffering from outer and inner illnesses).[23] Informing this is the view that human beings are the place of mistakes and forgetfulness (*al-insān maḥall al-khaṭa' wa al-nisyān*).

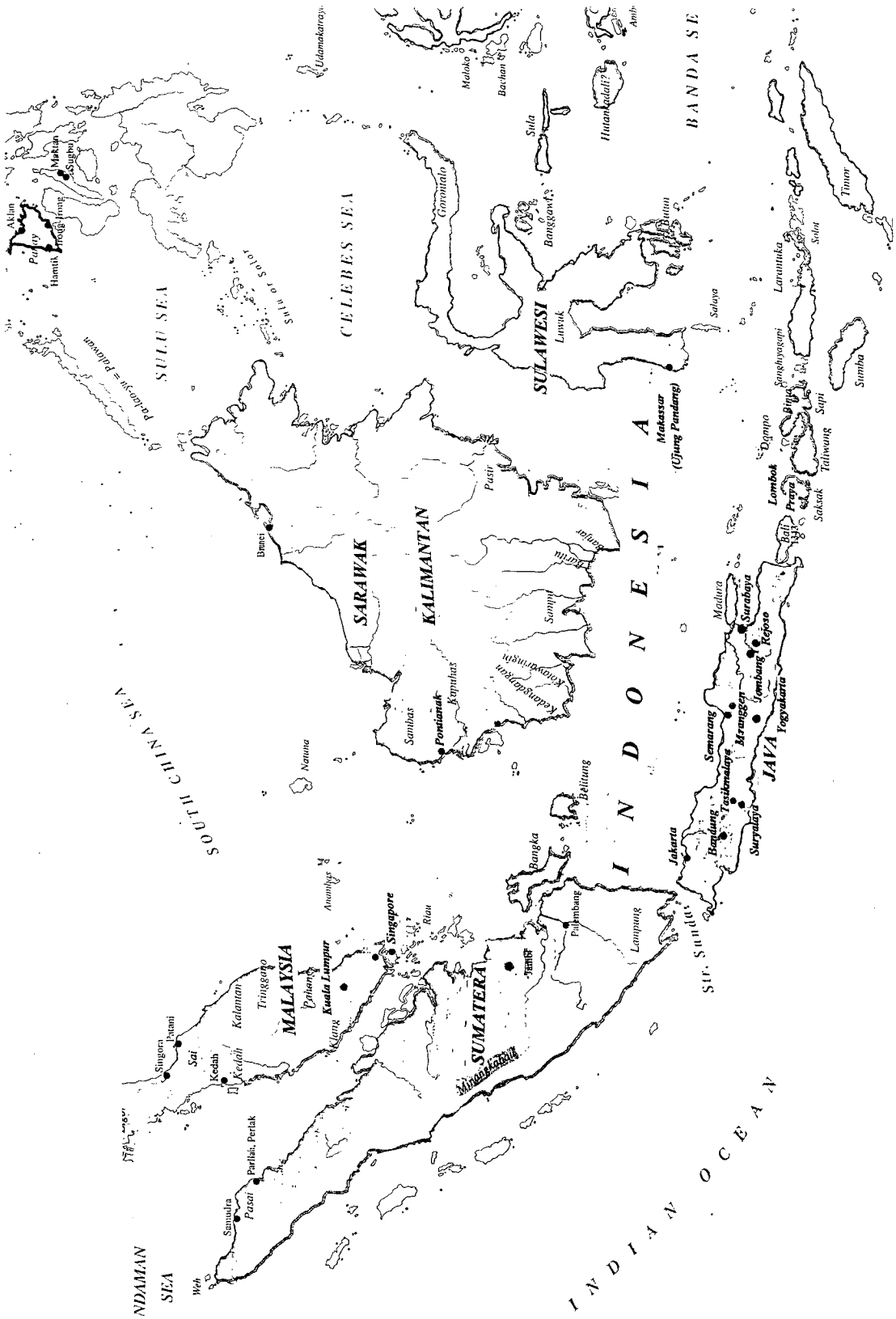
It has already been observed that the Qur'ān speaks of God as *al-ẓāhir* and *al-bāṭin*. Exoteric Islam suffices for the generality of believers, but esoteric Islam or Sufism obviously addresses itself to some deeper need in the souls of pious Muslims. Islamic mysticism provides them with spiritual nourishment amidst the instability of daily life, a continuum with their past heritage, and a more intense form of devotion harking back to the days of the Prophet, Abah Anom's contribution has been to

[23] Abah Anom's preface to his book, Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotik dan Kenakalan Remaja, states that this book (that contains of curriculum of Inabah) is important as provision of worship (*bekal ibadah*) for Muslims of TQN *ikhwān* in general and to help the government of the Republic of Indonesia to establish noble character especially for those victims of narcotics and other juvenile delinquency in Pondok Remaja Inabah Pondok PesantrenSuryalaya, as a guidance for its instructor and even it can be useful for the benefit of human beings (*kemaslahatan ummat manusia*).

extend this spiritual sustenance to the greatest number of people feasible. The youths in Inabah (*anak bina)* in particular and the members of the TQN in general need to be strengthened in order to face life and to cure their diseases. Abah Anom believes that only by returning to His way will one's problems be solved. The youths in Pondok Inabah in particular need serious and integrated therapy, especially in fighting against temptations, the inner diseases that come from the devil; these can be eliminated or even healed through *dhikr*, which at the same time strengthens one and helps prevent their reoccurrence.

Map

A map of Indonesia and surrounding countries showing the principle location of TQN (Suryalaya) activity (taken and adopted from *Historical Atlas of South-East Asia* by Jan M. Pluvier. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995 and *Atlas untuk Sekolah Lanjutan* by Adam Bachtiar, Jambatan, 1957).


SULU SEA
CELEBES SEA
BANDA SEA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
INDONESIA
SARAWAK
KALIMANTAN
SULAWESI
JAVA
SUMATERA
MALAYSIA
Sulu or Solor
Palawan = Palawan
Aklan
Pusay
Hamtik
Hong Kong
Maktan
Sugbu
Udamakarray
Maloko
Bachan
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Gorontalo
Banggawi
Butun
Luwuk
Salaya
Makassar
(Ujung Pandang)
Timor
Solot
Larantuka
Sumba
Sanghiyagapi
Sapi
Taliwang
Dampo
Lombok
Praya
Saksak
Bali
Madura
Surabaya
Rejoso
Jombang
Mranggen
Yogyakarta
Semarang
Tasikmalaya
Suryalaya
Bandung
Jakarta
Sumatra
Pasai
Parlak, Pertak
Weh
Singora
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Sai
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Kuala Lumpur
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Klang
Singapore
Riau
Anambas
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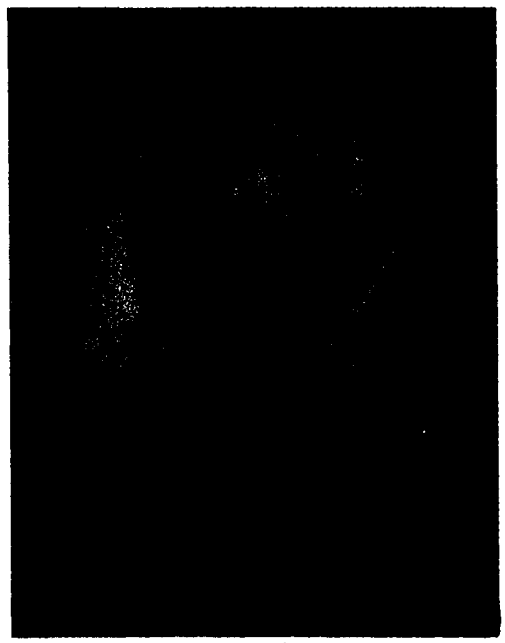
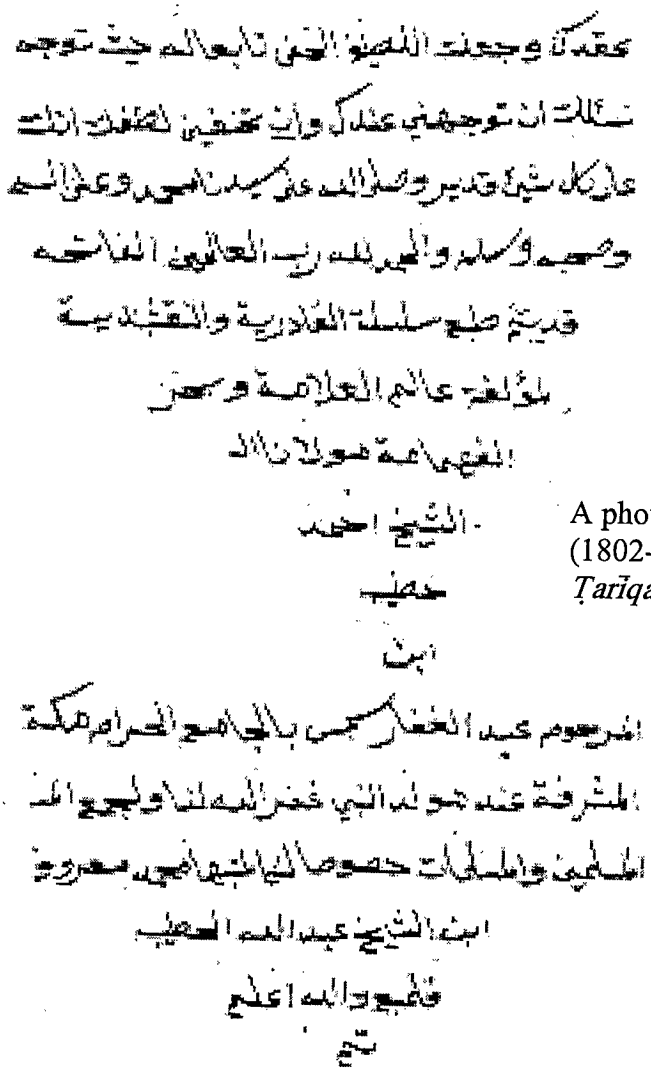
Pictures

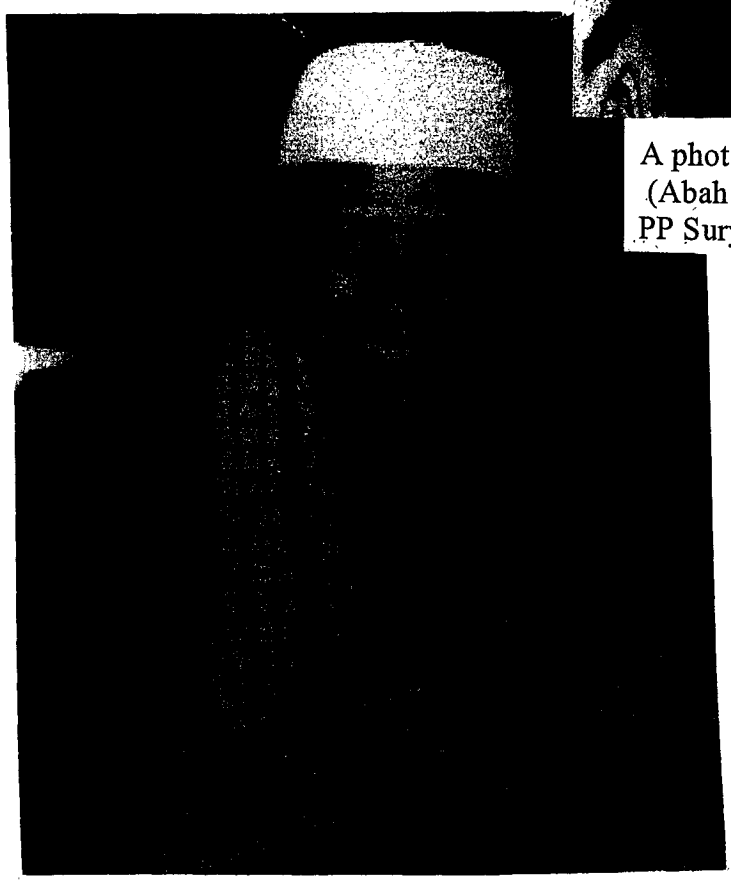


A photograph of Shaykh Ahmad Khaṭīb Sambas (1802-1875), the founder of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* (TQN).

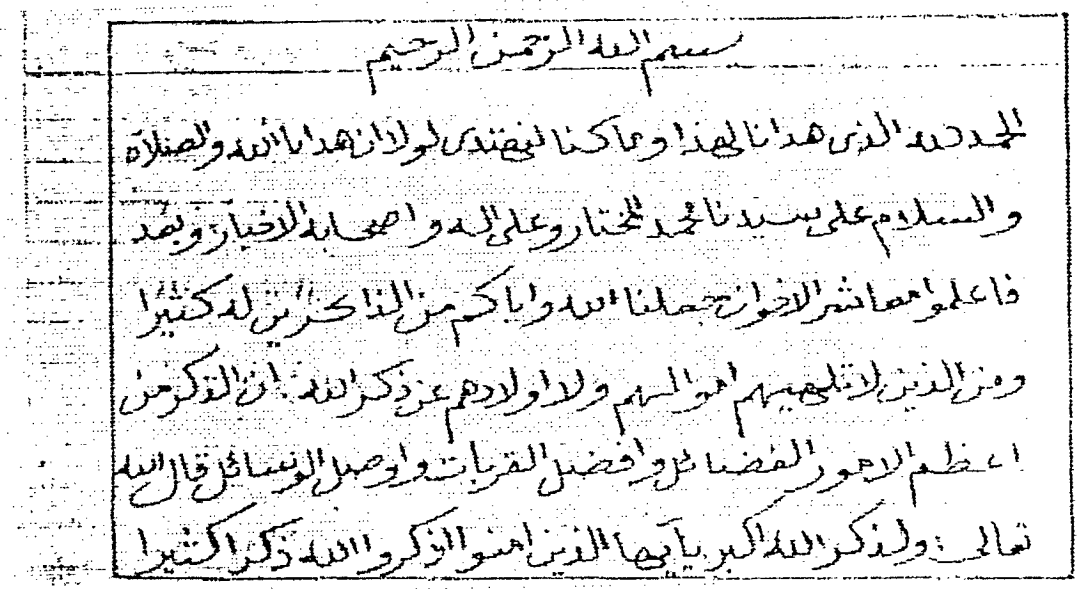


The colophon of manuscript of *Tariqat yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah* (another copy of *Fatḥ al-'Arifin* of Shaykh Sambas).

A photograph of K.H. Abdullah Mubarok (Abah Sepuh, 1836-1956), the founder of PP Suryalaya, west Java.

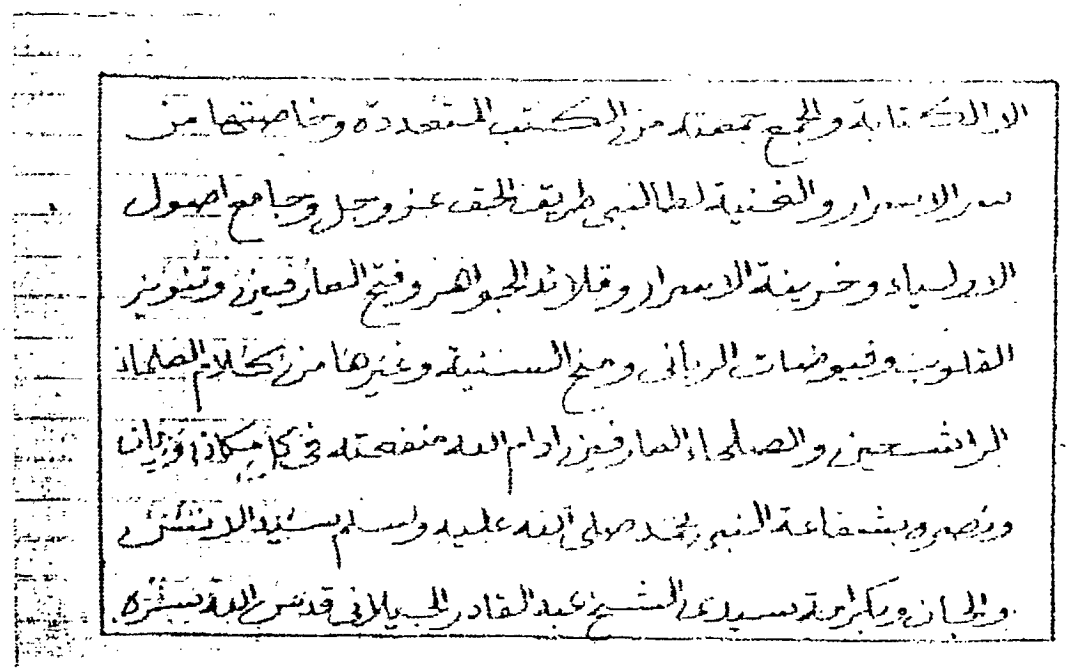


A photograph of K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin (Abah Anom, b. 1915), the current head of the PP Suryalaya,Tasikmalaya, west Java.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

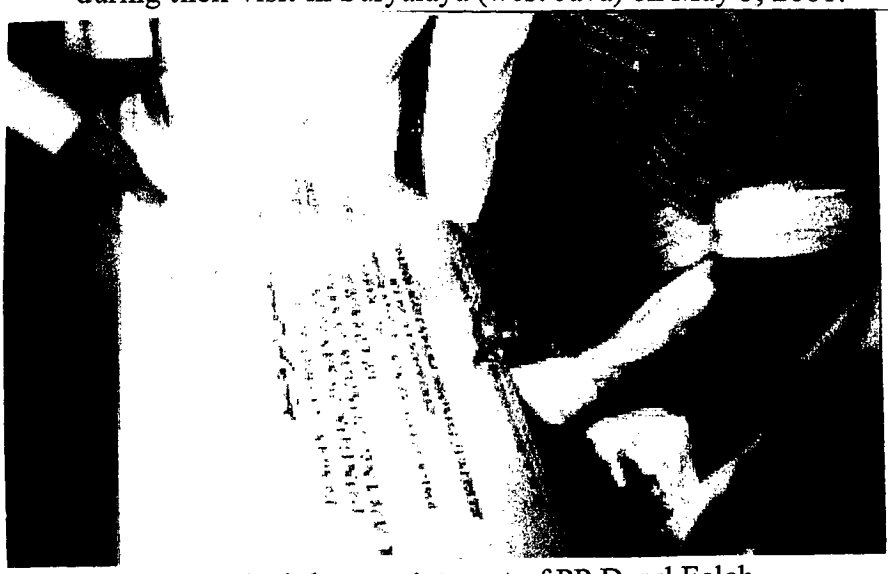
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدي لولا ان هدانا الله والصلاة
والسلام على سيدنا محمد المختار وعلى آله واصحابه الاخيار وبعد
فاعلموا معاشر الاخوان جعلنا الله واياكم من الذاكرين له كثيرا
ومن الذين لا تلهيهم اموالهم ولا اولادهم عن ذكر الله ان الذكر من
اعظم الامور الفضائل وافضل القربات واوصل الوسائل قال الله
تعالى ولذكر الله اكبر يا ايها الذين امنوا اذكروا الله ذكرا كثيرا



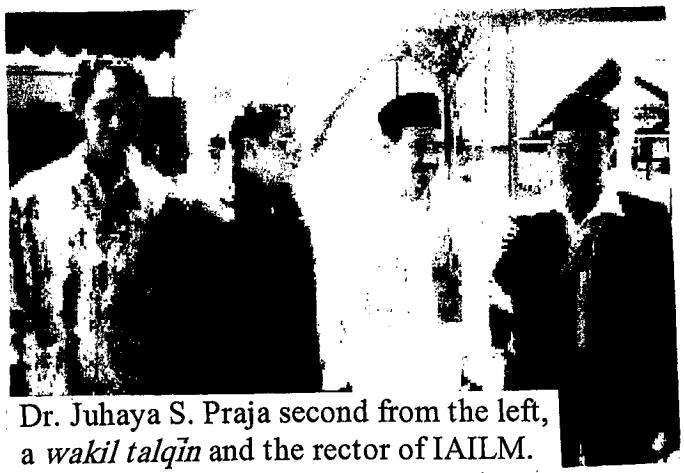
الا الكتابة والجمع جمعته من الكتب المتعددة وخاصتها من
سر الاسرار والغنية لطالبي طريق الحق عز وجل وجامع اصول
الاولياء وخزينة الاسرار وقلائد الجواهر وفتح العارفين وتنوير
القلوب وفيوضات الرباني ومنح السنية وغيرها من كلام العلماء
الراشحين والصلحاء العارفين ادام الله منفعته في كل مكان وزمان
ونصره بشفاعة النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم سيد الانس
والجان وبكرامة سيدي الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني قدس الله سره

Fascimiles of pages 1 and 2 from the manuscript of *Miftāf al-Ṣudūr* of Abah Anom (second version).

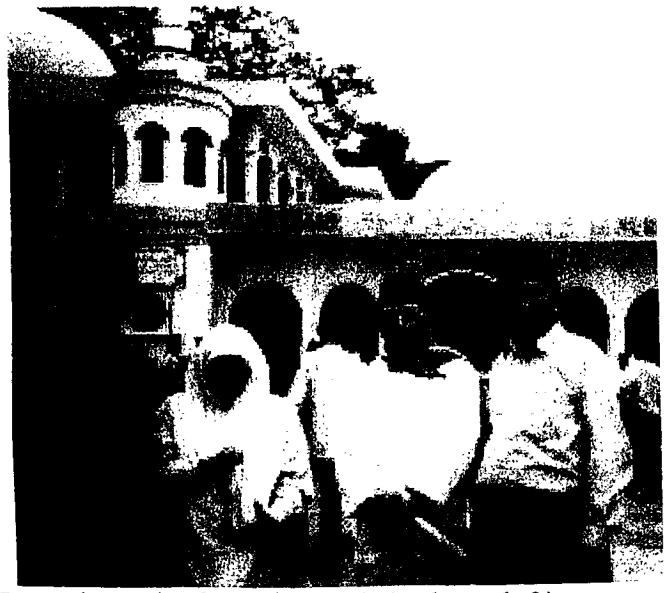
Shaykh Nazim al-Haqqani (in middle), Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani (to his right) and Abah Anom to his left), during their visit in Suryalaya (west Java) on May 5, 2001.



Abah Anom launched the appointment of PP Darul Falah as Cianjur branch of PP Suryalaya, March 22, 1999.



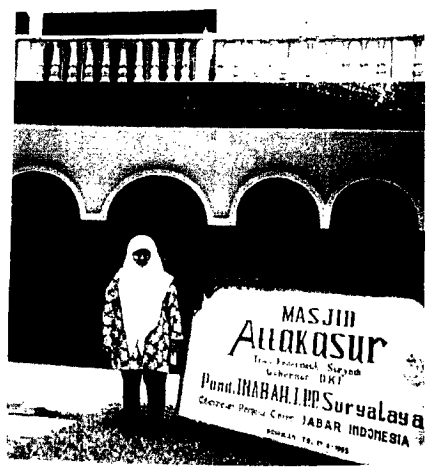
Dr. Juhaya S. Praja second from the left, a *wakil talqīn* and the rector of IAILM.



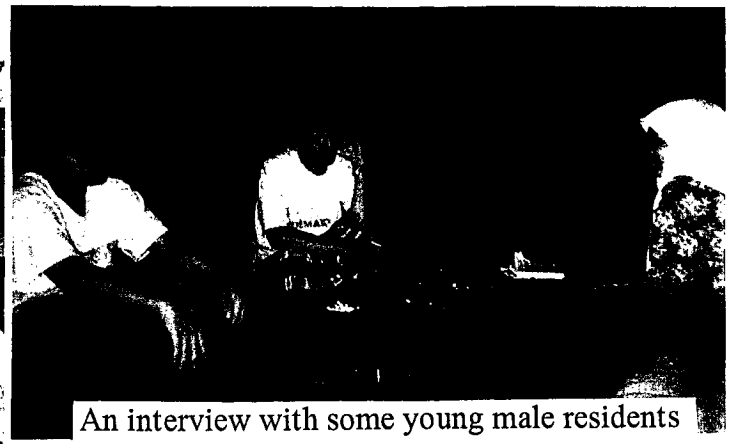
Mr. Yusuf Hamzah, at the far right, with (right to left) Mr. Ucu Suparta, the author, and her husband, in front of Masjid Nurul Asror, PP Suryalaya, after *manakiban* ceremony.

The author and her husband in front of the entrance of PP Suryalaya.

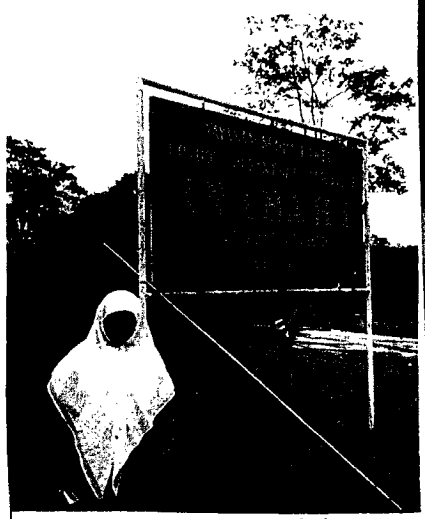
A night time visit by the author to the graveyard of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi in Pamijahan, west Java.



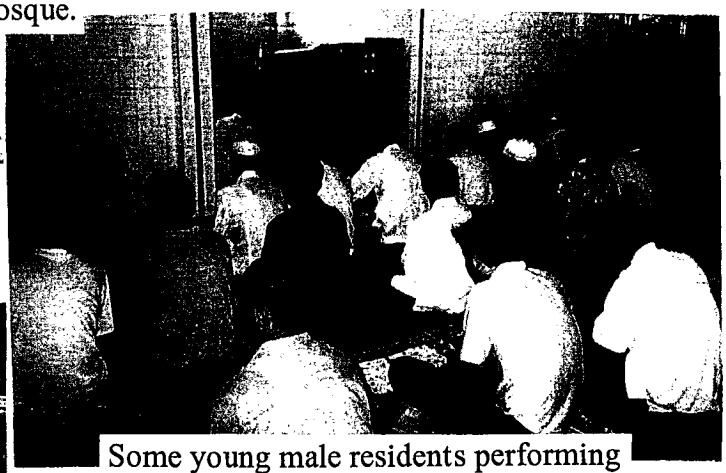
The entrance of the Inabah I mosque.



An interview with some young male residents of Inabah I.



The author in front of the entrance to Inabah I in Ciamis, west Java.



Some young male residents performing the *dhikr* inside the Inabah I mosque.

A photograph of the young female residents of Inabah II, in the dining room.

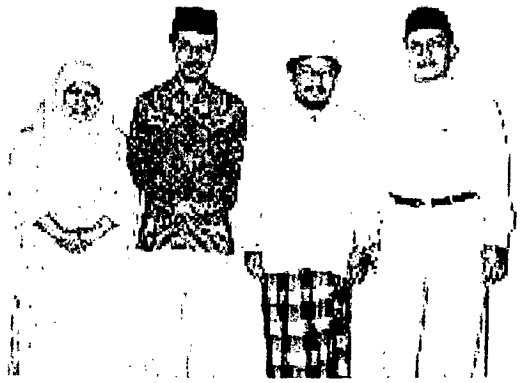
K.H. Anang Syah, the instructor of Inabah I (wearing batik) during *manakiban* ceremony in Suryalaya.

(From left to right) A photograph of H. Sukriya Atmaja, the author, her husband, H. Mansur (a *wakil talqīn* for Sabah, Malaysia), and Mr. Ucu Suparta.

A *manakiban* ceremony at Mr. Sukriya's residence. His wife, Ummi Imas Sukriya is in the front row, at the far left.

Hj. Rosliana Gaos, the instructor of Inabah II (dressed in white) and her husband, K.H.M. Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul (at the far right).

K.H. Abdullah Syarif (the oldest *wakil talqīn*).



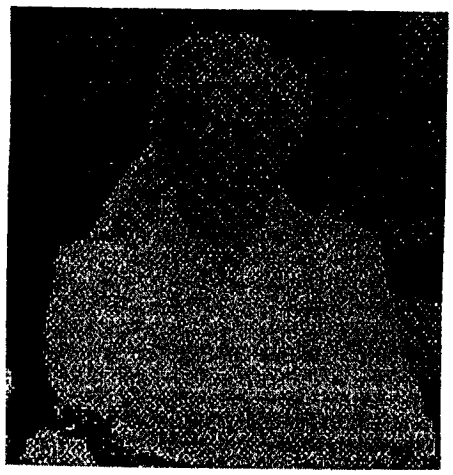
Ustādh Wahfiudin, a *wakil talqīn* for Jakarta (on the far right), and K.H. Zezen ZA Bazul Asyhab one of the *wakil talqīn* for west Java (to his left).

Ustādh Zuki, a *wakil talqīn* for Kedah, Malaysia (on the far left, in the picture above).

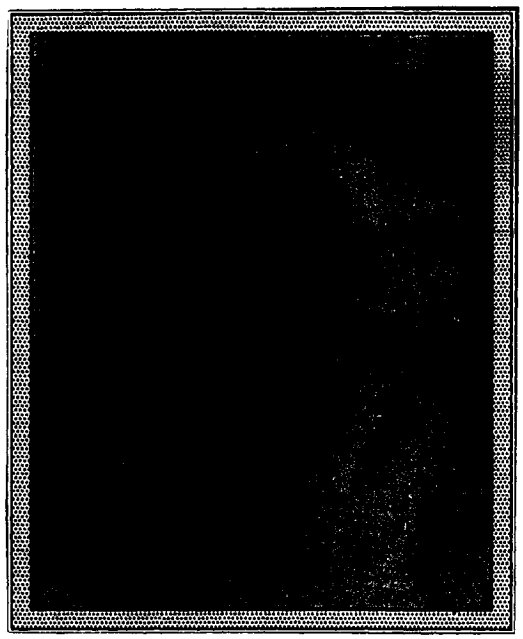
H. Ali ibn H. Mohamed, *wakil talqīn* for Singapore (fourth from the right of the front row, wearing white hat) leading a delegation at Pesantren Suryalaya.

Inabah at Masjid Khadijah complex established by TQN Suryalaya, Singapore branch.

Ustādh H. 'Alī ibn H. Mohamed, a *wakil talqīn* of Singapore.



K.H. Dr. Idham Khalid, the former *mudīr 'āmm* of the *Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah* (JATMN).

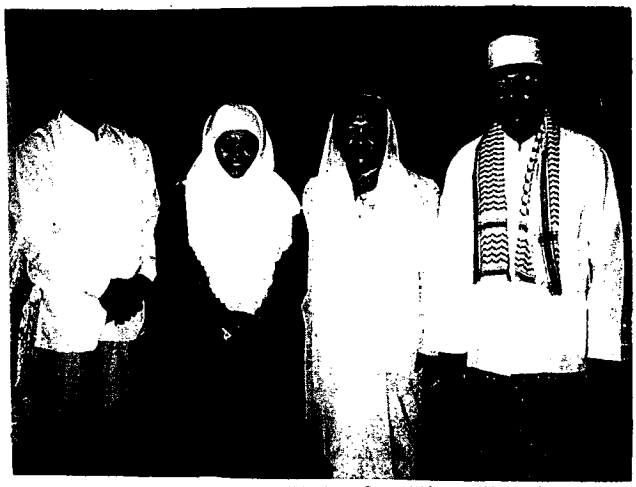


A photograph of K.H. Muslih ibn 'Abd al-Rahman of Mranggen (central Java, 1917-1981).

A visit by Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, a representative of *Naqshbandiyya* order for North America to K.H. Dr. Idham Khalid in 1997.

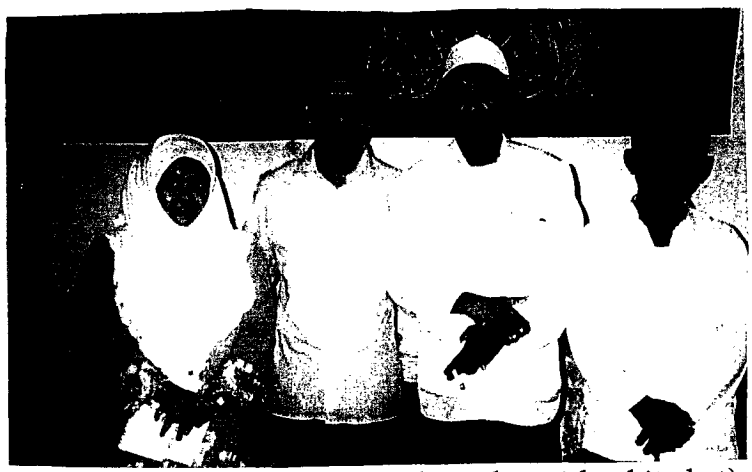
A *manakiban* ceremony in Jakarta, two *talqīn* agents for west Java in the middle of the front row.

(In middle) H.M. Ali Hanafiah, the instructor of Inabah in Surabaya (east Java).

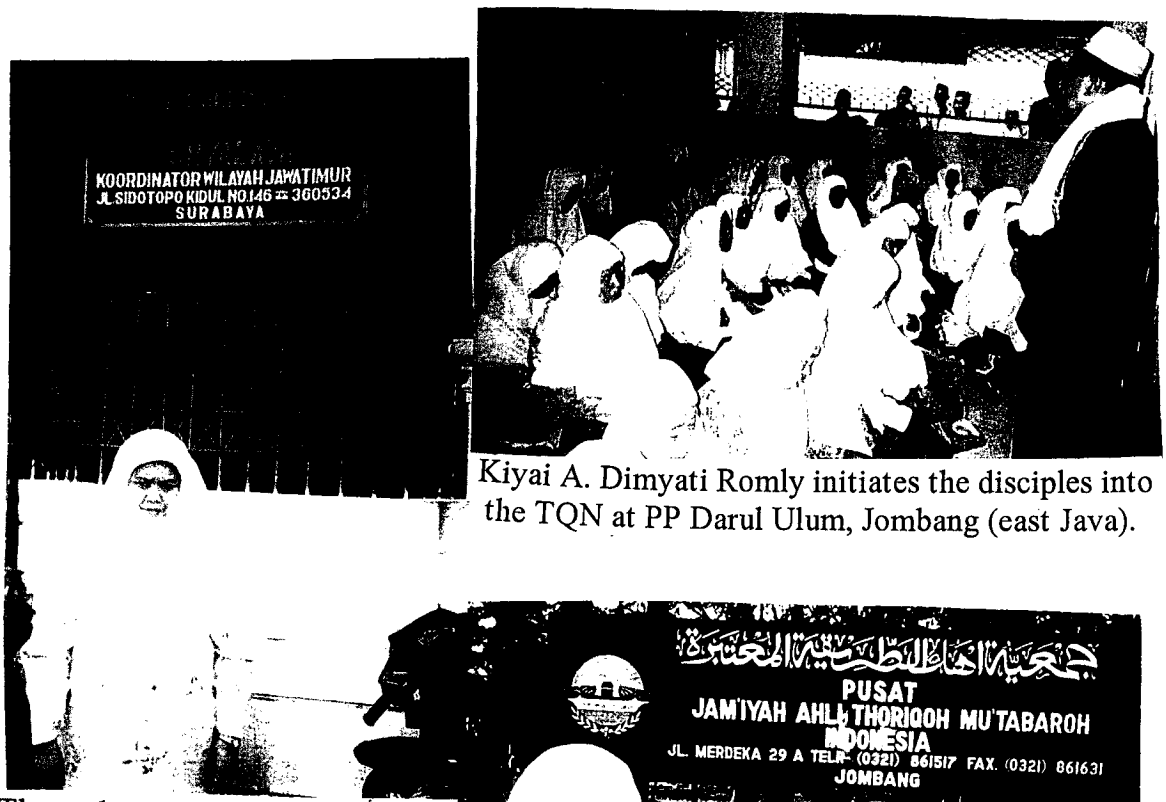


K.H.A.Z Arifin Khan Jombang (*wakil ra'īs 'āmm* of the JATMN for the period 2000-2005) at the far right, his wife is next to him.

K.H. Mudhaffar Fathurrahman of Jepara (central Java), second from the left and his wife next to him.



K.H. Abdullah Schal (second from the right, with white hat), a descendant of K.H. Cholil Bangkalan, Madura (east Java).



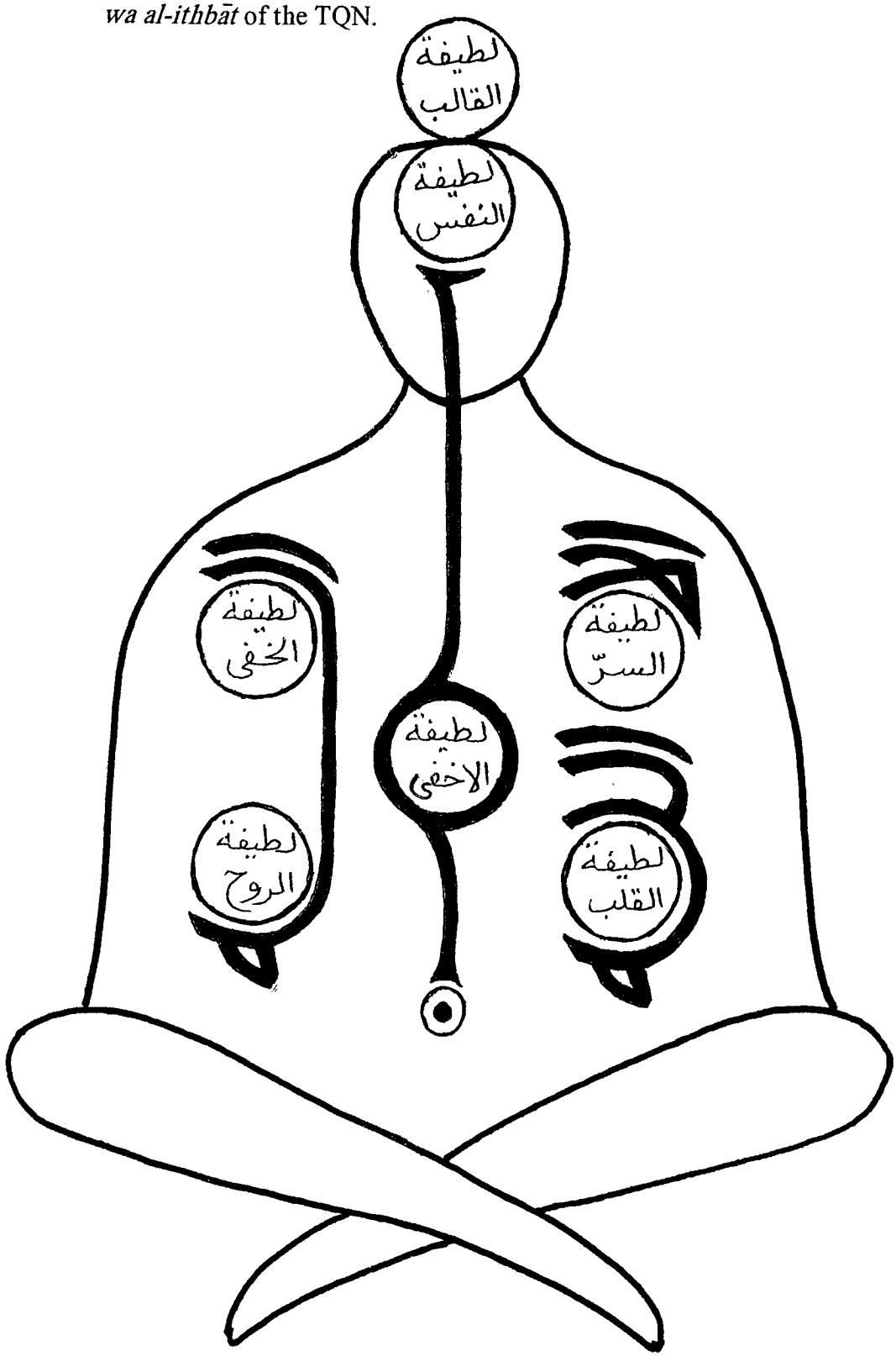
Kiyai A. Dimyati Romly initiates the disciples into the TQN at PP Darul Ulum, Jombang (east Java).

The author in front of the office of PP Suryalaya branch for Surabaya.

The author in front of the Central Board of *Jam'iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Indonesia* (JATMI), Jombang, east Java.

Appendices

Appendix 1 : A diagram of the location of the seven subtle centers (*laṭā'if*) in the human body and the procedure of *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbāt* of the TQN.



Appendix 2: Translation of the text on a typical JATMN membership card for the 1990-1995 period, consisting of 12 pages (dimensions 8 cm x 10,5 cm).

Page 1. Here is placed the logo of the association, which features the Ka'ba against the background of the organization's name in Arabic, surmounted by a quotation from the Qur'ān, *sūrat* al-Jinn (72:16) "*wa an law istaqāmū 'alā al-ṭarīqa la'asqaynāhum mā'an ghadaqā*."

Page 2. A warning against admittance into a *ṭarīqa* without a bay'a:

"It is the decision of the congress dated December 23, 1962 in Surakarta, given that some teachers have asserted to their students that 'there is no need to do initiation into a *ṭarīqa* because the *ṭarīqa* is not a *sunna* of the messenger,' that saying this will cast one into unbelief (*kufr)* if he states this denial." (The congress referred to here is the *Mu'tamar* of the Nahdlatul 'Ulama).

Page 3. Photo of cardholder. Below this is a warning that the card is only valid if its holder has been initiated by his *murshīd/khalīfa.*

Page 4. A section for details of personal identification. Note here that the card (and therefore membership) is valid for both men and women (*jenis kelamin: laki-laki/perempuan*, i.e., gender: male/female), and that the card bears the names and stamped signatures of the members of the Idaroh Aliyyah, *mudīr 'āmm* (general chairperson), K.H. Dr. Idham Chalid, and *sekretaris 'āmm* (general secretary), K.H. Mudhoffar F.R.

Page 5. A section where the member records his pledge of allegiance to an approved order, stating his/her name, age and address. There is a space for the registrant to

record the name of the order to which he/she has performed bay'a (*telah mengikuti bay'at* "has been initiated into the *ṭarīqa*"), which shaykh (*guru*) or representative (*khalīfa*) presided at the ceremony, and where and when this took place. Below this is the pledge itself, which may be translated thus: "Will practice the given litanies (*awrād*) correctly. May God Almighty grant conformation (*tawfīq*), guidance (*hidāya*) and assistance (*'ināya*), and steadfastness (*istiqāma*) and finally good ending (*ḥusn al-khātima*), passing away with the recitation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*."

Page 6. A statement of spiritual principles incumbent on the member:

1. The disciple believes that his goal cannot be achieved except through the master's connection (*shaykh*'s *wasīla*).
2. To ask for contentment and to offer service, to be sincere towards the master and/or *khalīfa,* if only for the sake of God (for the matter of willingness and love/*jawhar al-irāda wa al-maḥabba*).
3. The disciple's personal affairs are open to the master.
4. It is not allowed to talk about the master (back-biting, humiliating, playing someone against him, saying bad things, hurting his feelings, etc.).

The Rules of membership:

1. The one accepted as a member of the JATMN must have fulfilled chapter seven of the statute by completing the application in written form with the entrance fee in the amount of 500 rupiahs.
2. After the request is accepted, one will receive one's membership card.

Page 7. The Obligations of members

1. To obey and to be loyal to the JATMN

2. To support and help in all undertakings and efforts of the JATMN.
3. To possess the spirit of *murshid/murīd,* which is teaching/learning matters in the field of one's own *ṭarīqa.*
4. To demonstrate such noble qualities as compassion/kindness (*shafaqa/raḥma*) towards those below one and respect/ exaltation (*tawqīr/ta'ẓīm*) for those above, as well as by helping each other in virtue, piety and goodness towards the living and the dead.
5. To give donations to the *Jam'iyya Ṭarīqa.*

Termination of membership:

1. The *ṭarīqa* member is declared to have withdrawn when he/she:
    a. Has died
    b. Has requested of his/her own volition [to do so], offering reasonable and acceptable arguments.
    c. Is dismissed for having dishonoured the religion of Islam or the *Jam'iyya Ṭarīqa* and / or has violated the disciplines of membership.

Pages 8, 9 and 10 :

Containing the Arabic text of the *ṣalawāt al-ṭarīqa* (*Ṭarīqa du'ā'*) of the JATMN, i.e., the prayers recited at the meetings of JATMN executives and members.

" In the name of God the beneficent and the merciful. O God bless and grant salvation to the (Prophet) Muḥammad, (his) family and all of (his) Companions.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of God, the Lord of the universe.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the spirit of the firm Gabriel.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the prophets and the messengers.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the martyrs and the strugglers
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the rightly guided and those who guided.

O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the scholars and the performers of good deeds.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the friends of God and the sincere ones.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of those who are happy and the lucky ones.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the pious and the good ones.
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of substitutes and the obedient ones
O Allāh guide us on the straight path. The path of the pure and the ones who do the *dhikr*."

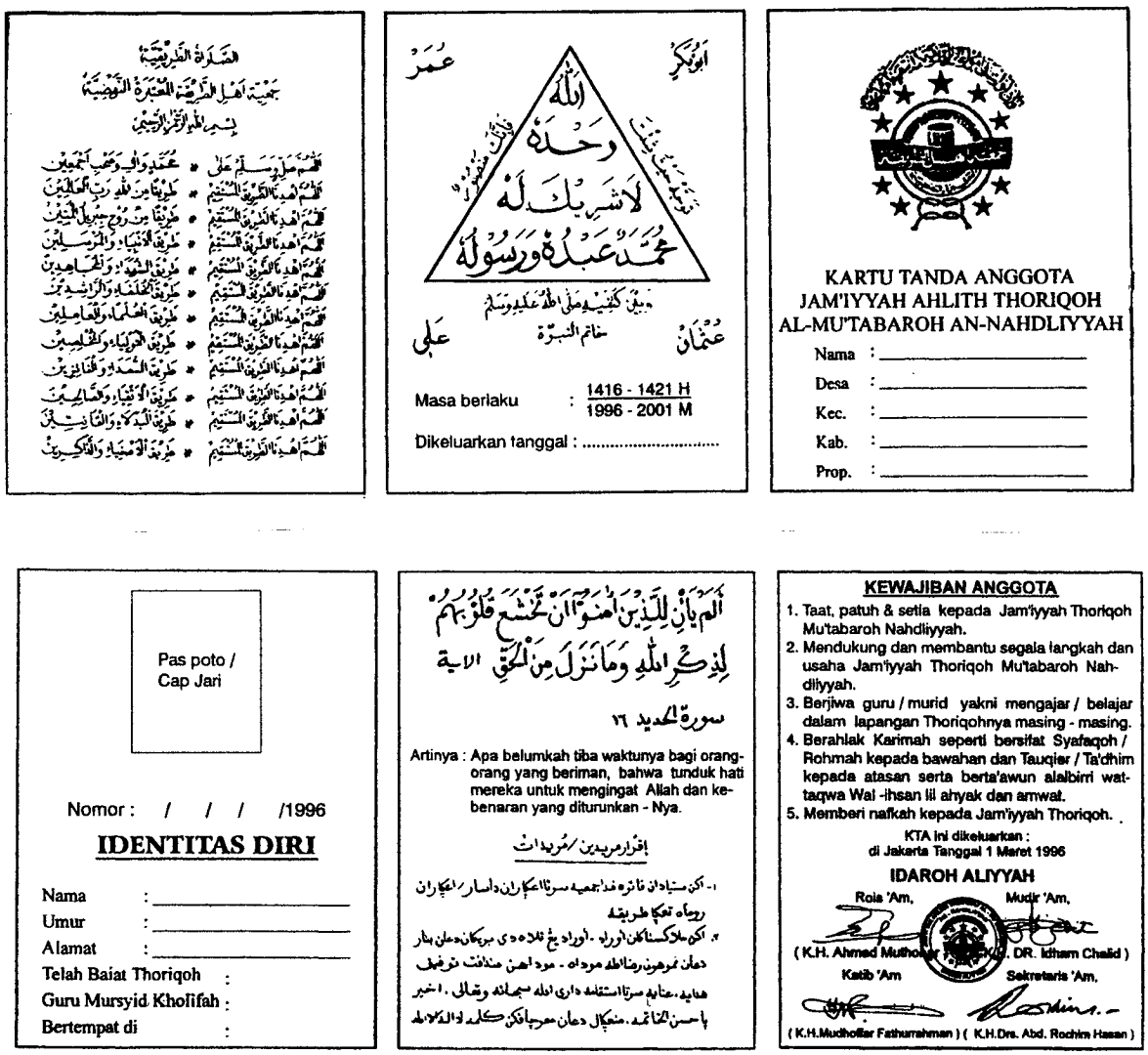
Page 11. An explanation (*al-bayān*), expanding on the meaning of *dhikr* and explaining two other conditions of initiation:

1. The *dhikr* is the presence of the heart with God, such as [happens] in prayer (*ṣalāt*), paying alms (*zakāt*), fasting (*ṣawm*) and commanding the good and preventing evil, etc.
2. Initiation of women is to be done without touching the hand
3. The messenger of God (pbuh) said to 'Āisha: 'I initiated you by the word which he speaks, never touch his hands the hand of a woman in the initiation and he did not initiate them except with his sayings.'

Page 12. Contains an emblem in the form of a triangle, with the names of four Rightly-Guided caliphs in each corner; i.e., Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Alī. At the top of the triangle, the words *wa bayn katifayh* (peace be upon him), may be found. On the right side of the triangle one reads *tawajjah haythu shi'ta* (observe wherever you want), while on the left is inscribed *fa innaka manṣūr* (indeed You are the Helper), and inside the triangle the words, *Allāh waḥdah lā sharīka lah Muḥammad 'abduhu wa rasūluh* (God is He by himself, He has no partner, Muḥammad is His

servant and His messenger). At the bottom of the triangle, there is written *khātam al-nubuwwa* (the seal of prophecy) and the words *na'l al-nabī*.

Appendix 3: A (slightly reduced) photocopy of a JATMN membership card issued in 1996. It is a two sided sheet, each side divided into three panels. A translation of the text may be found on the following pages.



الصلاة الغريقية
جمعية أهل الطريقة المعتبرة النهضية
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اللهم صل وسلم على ... محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريقنا من الله رب العالمين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريقنا من روح جبريل المتين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق الأنبياء والمرسلين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق الشهداء والصالحين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق العلماء والراشدين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق العلماء العاملين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق الأولياء والمقربين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق السعداء والفائزين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق الأتقياء والصالحين
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق الأبدال والنجباء
اللهم اهدنا الطريقة المستقيم ... طريق الأمناء والمكرمين

أبو بكر — عمر
الله
وحده
لا شريك له
محمد عبده ورسوله
صلى الله عليه وسلم
خاتم النبوة
علي — عثمان

Masa berlaku : 1416 - 1421 H
1996 - 2001 M
Dikeluarkan tanggal : .....

KARTU TANDA ANGGOTA
JAM'IYYAH AHLITH THORIQOH
AL-MU'TABAROH AN-NAHDLIYYAH

Nama :
Desa :
Kec. :
Kab. :
Prop. :

Pas poto /
Cap Jari

Nomor : / / / /1996

IDENTITAS DIRI

Nama :
Umur :
Alamat :
Telah Baiat Thoriqoh :
Guru Mursyid Kholifah :
Bertempat di :

أَلَمْ يَأْنِ لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَنْ تَخْشَعَ قُلُوبُهُمْ لِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ وَمَا نَزَلَ مِنَ الْحَقِّ الآية

سورة الحديد ١٦

Artinya : Apa belumkah tiba waktunya bagi orang-orang yang beriman, bahwa tunduk hati mereka untuk mengingat Allah dan kebenaran yang diturunkan - Nya.

إقرار مريدين / مريدات

KEWAJIBAN ANGGOTA

1. Taat, patuh & setia kepada Jam'iyyah Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyyah.
2. Mendukung dan membantu segala langkah dan usaha Jam'iyyah Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyyah.
3. Berjiwa guru / murid yakni mengajar / belajar dalam lapangan Thoriqohnya masing - masing.
4. Berahlak Karimah seperti bersifat Syafaqoh / Rohmah kepada bawahan dan Tauqiar / Ta'dhim kepada atasan serta berta'awun alalbirri wattaqwa Wal -ihsan lil ahyak dan amwat.
5. Memberi nafkah kepada Jam'iyyah Thoriqoh.

KTA ini dikeluarkan :
di Jakarta Tanggal 1 Maret 1996

IDAROH ALIYYAH

Rois 'Am, Mudir 'Am,
(K.H. Ahmad Muthoha) (K.H. DR. Idham Chalid)
Katib 'Am Sekretaris 'Am,
(K.H.Mudhoffar Fathurrahman) (K.H.Drs. Abd. Rochim Hasan)

Side 1 (top row), reading right to left:

Panel 1. Beneath the logo of the JATMN, personal identification is requested, especially full details on one's location in Indonesia (village, sub-district, district, province).

Panel 2. The triangular diagram here is identical to the one described in Appendix 2, except that the phrase *wa bayn katifayh sallallāhu 'alayh wa sallam* is placed below the triangle, and below that the period of validity reads 1416 to 1421 A.H./ 1996 to 2001A.D.

Panel 3. Containing the *al-ṣalawāt al-ṭarīqa,* the text of which is identical to the list in the previous appendix (Indonesian translation).

Side 2 (bottom row), reading right to left:

Panel 1. The obligations of members:

1. To obey and to be loyal to the JATMN
2. To support and help all steps and efforts of the JATMN.
3. To possess the spirit of *murshid/murīd* which is teaching/learning matters in the field of one's own *ṭarīqa.*
4. To demonstrate such noble qualities as compassion/kindness (*shafaqa/raḥma*) towards those below one and respect/ exaltation (*tawqīr/ta'ẓīm*) for those above, as well as by helping each other in virtue, piety and goodness towards the livings and the dead.
5. To give donations to the *Jam'iyya Ṭarīqa.*

Below this may be found the signatures of members of the Idaroh Aliyah as of March 1, 1996. These are the general chairperson (*ra'īs 'āmm*) K.H. Ahmad Muthohar, and his general secretary (*kātib 'āmm*), K.H. Mudhoffar Fathurrahman, as well as the general director (*mudīr 'āmm*) K.H. DR. Idham Chalid, and his general secretary (*secretary 'āmm*), Abdurrahim Hasan.

Panel 2. A quotation from the Qur'ān (*sūrat* al-Ḥadīd (57:16)) and its translation into Indonesian.

The pledge of the disciple (m/f)

1. Will be obedient and loyal towards the *Jam'iyya* as well as towards the statutes and rules of association of the *ṭarīqa.*
2. Will perform the litanies (*awrād*) that have been given truly while requesting the contentment of God, may one receive *tawfīq, hidāya, 'ināya, istiqāma* from God almighty, achieving good ending, passing away while reciting the *kalima lā ilāha illā Allāh.*"

Panel 3. This panel provides space for a photo and various details on one's connection to an order,

Appendix 4:[1]

The committee structure and personnel list of the Idaroh Aliyah of the JATMN for the period 2000-2005

The Advisory Board

1. K.H. Dr. Idham Chalid Jakarta
2. K.H. Ahmad Muthohar Abdurrahman Mranggen Demak
3. K.H. Maimun Zuber Sarang Rembang
4. K.H. Makky Makshum Jombang
5. K.H. Muhammad Qurtubi east Kalimantan
6. Tuan Guru H.M. Turmudhi west Nusa Tenggara
7. Tengku Syeh H. Abu Bakar Aceh
8. K.H. Idris Boyolali
9. K.H. Abdullah Faqih Langitan Tuban
10. K.H. Dimyati Pandeglang Serang

The Legislative Board

1. The general chairperson (*ra'īs 'āmm*) K.H. Habib M. Luthfi Ali bin Yahya Pekalongan
2. Vice general chairperson, K.H. AZ Arifin Khon Jombang
3. First chairperson (*ra'īs awwal*) K.H. Muhaimin Gunarto Temanggung
4. Second chairperson (*ra'īs thānī*) K.H. Asep Burhanuddin Bandung

[1] Aula, April 2000, 24-25. Habib Lutfi bin Yahya (the *ra'īs 'āmm*) is appointed as one of the four *khalīfas* of Naqshbanbdī. See Yayasan Haqqani Indonesia, Profil (Jakarta: Jayakarta Agung Offset, 2001), 6.

5. Third chairperson (*ra'īs thālith*) K.H. Adnan Lampung
6. Fourth chairperson (*ra'īs rābi'*) K.H. Mudhoffar Fathurrahman Japara
7. General secretary (*kātib 'āmm*) K.H. Ahmad Zaini Mawardi Mranggen
8. Vice general secretary (*wakil kātib 'āmm*) K.H. Muhammad Munir Chudlori Mranggen
9. First secretary (*kātib awwal*) K.H. Muhammad Masroni Demak

The Executive Board

1. The general executive (*mudīr 'āmm*) K.H. Luthfi Hakim Muslih, BcHk Mranggen
2. Vice executive (*wakil mudīr 'āmm*) K.H. Ulin nuha Arwani Kudus
3. First executive (*mudīr awwal*) K.H. Drs. Thoha Abdurrahman Yogyakarta
4. Second executive (*mudīr thānī*) K.H. Hasan Amin Buntet Cirebon
5. Third executive (*mudīr thālith*) K.H. Anwar MZ Mataram
6. Fourth executive (*mudīr rābi'*) K.H. Hasbullah Cilacap
7. Secretary, K.H. Drs. Abdurrahim Hasan Jakarta
8. Vice secretary, H. Muhammad Purwono Slamet Jakarta
9. General Treasurer (*amīn al-ṣundūq 'āmm*) H. Muhammad Bambang Irianto Surakarta
10. Vice general treasurer (*wakil amīn al-ṣundūq 'āmm*) H. Ahmad Habib Syakir Semarang
11. First treasurer (*amīn al-ṣundūq awwal*) K.H. Nuhan Affandi Surabaya

The Assistant Board

1. K.H. Abdul Wahab Chafidl Rembang
2. K.H. Abdullah Sajad Jombang
3. K.H.M. Ali Bahruddin Pasuruan
4. K.H. Mustofa Hambali Aceh
5. K.H. Drs. Sholahuddin Makassar
6. K.H. Habib Abdullah Malahela Malang
7. K.H. Abdurrozaq Imam Sarang Rembang
8. Sayyid Muhammad Baqil Surabaya
9. Ustadh Taufiq Assegaf Pasuruan
10. K.H. Sahil Nawawi Jepara
11. H. Mirza Chasbullah Pekalongan
12. K.H. Muh. Adam Arif Khon Jombang
13. K.H. Zaini A Syukur Jakarta

Decided in Pekalongan, February 28, 2000

Appendix 5: The list of *talqīn* agents of TQN of Suryalaya, year of appointment, and addresses:

No	N a m e	Year of Appointment	Address
1.	K.H. R. Abdullah Syarif	1974	Jln. Raya Sukamantri, Ciawi, Tasikmalaya, Jabar.
2.	K.H. Aang Muhaeminul Azis	1974	Jln. Suryakencana II No.7, Stekmal Cianjur, Jabar.
3.	Ust. H. Ali bin H. Mohamed	1975	Blk. 61 02-1204 New Upper Changi Road Singapura 1646.
4.	Ust. H. Moh. Trang Isa	1978	Lot. 4278, Semariangbaru Pasa II, Jln. Cendrawasih Petra Jaya Kuching, Serawak Malaysia.
5.	Ust. H. M. Otsman bin H. Abdul Latif	1981	Kg. Sungai Ikan Km. 25 Jln. Kelantan 21060 Trengganu, Malaysia.
6.	K.H. Kurdi Mustafa	1984	Desa Sukaurip Kec. Balongan Indramayu, Jabar.
7.	Ust. H. Moh. Zuki bin Shafie	1986	14 A. Kg. Pulau Bidin Mukim Telaga Mas, Alor Setar, Kedah Malaysia.
8.	Ust. Lukman Kamil	1986	Kp. Gresik Ds. Rumak Kec. Kediri, Mataram, Lombok Barat, NTB.
9.	K.H. Komarudin	1986	Rt. 1, Rw. 11 Pencolotan, Sugihwaras Pemalang, Jateng.
10.	K.H. Mahfud Ali	1986	PP. As Shomi'iyah, Desa Sawangan, Aliyah Kebumen, Jateng.
11.	K.H. Noor Anom Mubarok BA	1987	Jl. Bogo No.26 Bandung, Jabar, 311808
12.	Ust. H. Ahmad A. Rahim	1988	Desa Trusmi Kec. Plered Cirebon, Jabar.
13.	K.H. Zaenal Abidin Anwar	1990	PP. Suryalaya Ds. Tanjungkerta Kec. Pagerageung, TSM
14.	K.H. Drs. Otong Sidiq Djayawisastra	1990	Sindanghayu no. 58 Banjarsari, Ciamis-Jabar.
15.	K.H. Abdul Gaos Saeful Maslul	1994	Kp. Ciceuri, Ciomas, Panjalu-Ciamis.
16.	K.H. M. Jejen Zaenal Abidin Bazul Asyhab	1994	PP. Darurrohman. Jl. Warnasari Nagrog Karawang Sukabumi.
17.	K.H. Abdul Rasyid Efendi BA	1994	Komplek Senolama No.21 Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan.
18.	DR. Juhaya S. Praja	1994	Jl. Cipadung Permai III No.54-A Bandung Jabar.

19.	K.H. Abdul Salam Nasution SH.	1994	Jl. Kiaracondong, No.316 Bandung, Jabar
20.	Drs. H. Arief Ichwani As	1994	Jl. Ciporeat No. 100 Ujungberung Bandung Jabar
21.	K.H. M. Ali Saefudin Paruq	1994	Karangdan Mekarjaya, Cisaruni Tasikmalaya Jabar
22.	Ust. Mukhsin Sanusi	1994	Jl. Perintis Kemerdekaan No.36 Cibadak, Sukabumi.
23.	K.H. M. Helmy Ahmad Basyeban	1994	Jl. Jatipulo VII No. 15 Surabaya-Jatim.
24.	Drs. K.H. Toha Abdurrahman	1994	Komplek IAIN Blk. B. No. 9 Yogyakarta. 515-828
25.	K.H. Sholeh Thalib	1994	Jl. Tanjungpura Gg. Kemboja 49 Pontianak, Kalbar.
26.	Ust. H. Muhammad Nur A. Fatah	1994	Jl. Kom. Yos Sudarso Gg Durian III No. 42, Pontianak Kalbar.
27.	Drs. H. Golib Siregar	1994	Palembang, Sumatera Selatan
28.	K.H. Ahmad Jahrie Anwar	1994	Ds. Sepacar, Meduri Tirto Pekalongan
29.	K.H. Yusuf Thobari	1994	YLI Daarul Mutaalimin, Cikaret Jl. Goalpara, Sukaraja, Sukabumi Jabar.
30.	Syekh Abdul Latif Deli	1994	Ds. Terjun Kec. Medan Merelan, Medan-Sumut.
31.	Ust. H. Mansur bin Saleh	1996	Asrama Remaja Inabah, Kamal Peti, surat 322 code 1308 Semprotan, Sabah, Malysia
32.	K.H. Husni bin H. Abdul Khoer	1996	Lio Jambu, Bogor, Jabar
33.	K.H. Mastur Somad	1997	PP. Al Hamdaniyah Siwalan Panji Sidoarjo Jatim.
34.	Prof. Dr. H. Zurkani Yahya	1998	Jl. Sriwijaya No.98 Kompleks Beruntung Jaya, Banjarmasin, Kal-Sel.
35.	Drs. H. Wahfiudin	1998	Jl. Balai Pustaka V/3 Rawamangun Jakarta. 13220.
36.	Dr. H. Syekh Abdul Jabbar Malik	1998	Jl. Banten VI No.203 Rt.04, Rw.01, Kel. 16 Ulu, Kec. Sebrang Ulu II Kotamadya Palembang, Sumsel.
37.	Prof. Dr. H.A.Tafsir, MA	1999	Bandung
38.	Ust. Beben Muhammad Dabas	2000	Tasikmalaya
39.	Ust. Miftah Mintarham	2000	Lumajang, Jawa-Timur

Source: Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, The list of Wakil Talqin of TQN Suryalaya and Yayasan Serba Bakti. See also Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan UlangTahun ke 95 Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (Tasikmalaya, 2000), 87-88.

Appendix 6:

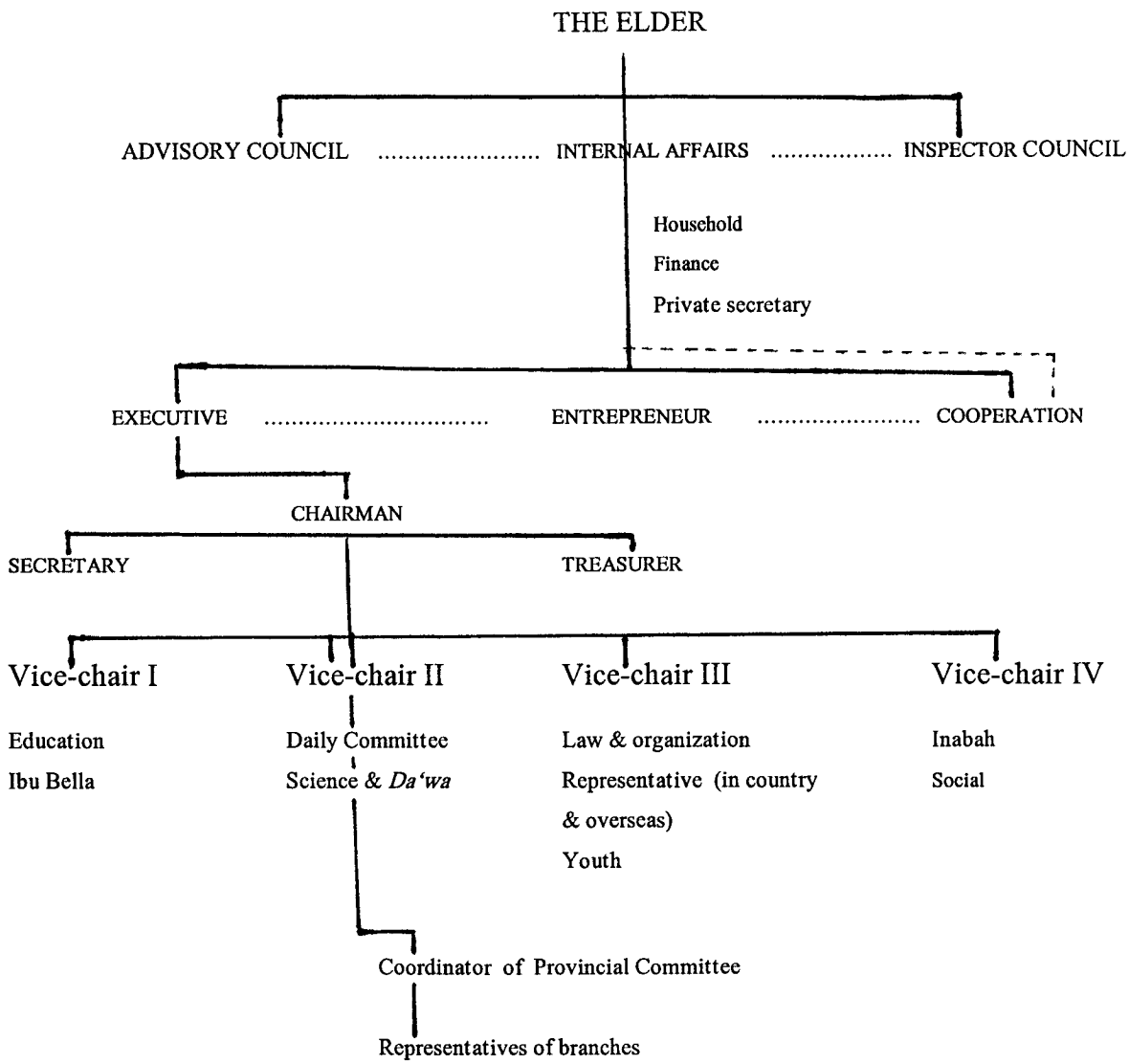
List of the trainers or guides (*pembina*) of Inabah

No	Name of guide	Address of Inabah
1.	K.H. Anang Syah	Cibereum Panjalu Ciamis Telp. 450042
2.	Ny. Hj. Rosliana Gaos	Kp. Cisiri Ciomas Panjalu Ciamis
3.	H. Dani Suhendar	Kp. Pacet Desa Sukapura Kec. Kertasari Ciparay Bandung 40381 telp.022.5954124
4.	K.H. Drs. Otong Siddiq Dj	Jl. Sindanghayu Banjarsari Ciamis 651030
5.	Acep Abdullah	Cibaligoh Cimahi Bandung
6.	Hj. Oom Mintarsih	Gg.H.Issak Wijaya Babakan Ciparay Bandung Telp. (022) 640689
7.	K.H. Anwar Mahmud	Rawa Cilincing Rajapolah Tasikmalaya 450028
8.	Ir. H. Garjita*	Bogor Cilembang Tasikmalaya
9.	H.A. Muhtadi Sobari*	
10.	Moch. Zuky Syafii	Alor Star Kedah Malaysia
11.	H. Jaenal Arifin	Ciseuti Pagerageung Tasikmalaya 455295
12.	H. Syarif*	Cilolohan Tasikmalaya
13.	Drs. H. Sentot Hariyanto*	D.I. Yogyakarta
14.	Subhan Farid	Padarek Garut
15.	Drs. Nanan	Pamoyanan Ciawi Tasikmalaya 455228
16.	Suyud	Sangkan Hurif Kuningan
17.	Ny. Nurdian	Sukamulya Cihaurbeuti Ciamis 335993
18.	H. Bakri*	Cibeureum Tasikmalaya
19.	H. Ali Hanafiah	Jl. Sidotopo Kidul 146-148 Surabaya
20.	H. Mashudi*	Lebaksiu Tegal Jateng
21.	Ustad Usman	Trengganu Malaysia
22.	H. Ijon Sulaeman*	Kp. Seda Kidul Pamokolan Cihaurbeuti Ciamis

*Inabahs that are not presently active. Source: Buku Panduan 1999 Jadual Manakib DKI Jakarta. The new version of the list can be seen in Perjalanan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Kenangan Ulang Tahun ke 95 PP Suryalaya, 103.

Appendix 7:

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA-YAYASAN SERBA BAKTI 1994-1998



-------- = Guidance, _____ = Instruction, ... = Coordination

Notes: This is a modified and updated version of the organizational structure for the period 1988-1992 as given in Harun Nasution, ed., Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah, 363

Appendix 8:

Letter of Decision of the Elder of PP Suryalaya

Number: SKEP 02A/PPS/IX/1994

Date : 5 September 1994/28 Rabī' al-Awwal 1415

The committee of Pondok Pesantren (period 1994-1998) consists of the following:

Internal Affairs	H. Dudun Nur Saidudin Ar.
a. Household	H. Dudun Nur Saidudin Ar.
b. Finance	H. Baban Ahmad Jihad SH
c. Private Secretary	Drs. Yusuf Hamzah
Advisory Council	
Chair	Jend. TNI. (Purn) DR. H. Yoga Soegama
Vice chair	Ir. H. Ucu Suparta Suriakusumah
Secretary	DR. Juhaya S. Praja
Members	1. H.A.R. Wirasoetisna, MA
	2. Prof. DR. Emo Kastama Abdul Kadir
	3. H. Hidayat Wiradilaga
	4. Drs. K.H. Otong Sidik Djayawisastra
Inspector Council	
Chair	Mayjen. Pol. (Purn) Drs. H. Oepa Soeparya
Vice chair	R.H. Unang Sunardjo, SH
Secretary	Drs. H. Lutfi Wahyono, MBA
Members	1. Drs. H. Sarbanan Adimadja
	2. H. Arifin Prawirakusumah
	3. (Let) Kol. Pol. Drs. MD. Tanjung
	4. H. Tutu Ruhijat Mintapraja, BA
	5. H. Adang Iskandar, SKM.
	6. K.H.M. Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul

The Committee Structure of the Yayasan Serba Bhakti within the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (1994-1998)

1. Security Affairs	: Syakhli Udin
	H. M. Idjon Sulaeman
2. Personnele Affairs	: R. Djaja Suratmadja
3. Physical Affairs	: Usman Abdurrahman
4. Dormitory Affairs	: H. Ongko Cabith
5. Protocol and Guest Affairs	: Drs. Yusuf Hamzah
	Drs. Aep Karsono
6. Public Relations	: H. Bobon Setiadji Bustom
7. Administration	: Ohim Sutisna

Suryalaya, 5 September 1994

The Elder

K.H. A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin

Notes: As for as I understand it, this committee is responsible for overseeing the practical internal affairs of the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.

I. Executive	
Chair Person	Mayjen. TNI. (Purn) H.Sukriya Atmaja
Vice-chair I	K.H. Noor Anom Mubarok, BA
Vice-chair II	K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar
Vice-chair III	Deddy Soekria
Vice-chair IV	Yoyo Mulyana
Secretary	Edi Karman
Vice-secretary I	Drs. Suhrowardi
Vice-secretary II	Drs. Agus Supyan
Vice-secretary III	Zainal Asikin
Vice-secretary IV	Ahmad Setiawan
Treasurer	H. Suryana SH
Vice-treasurer I	Ir. Duddi Djumhana
Vice-treasurer II	H. Endang Jafar Sidiq Ar.
Vice-treasurer III	R. Aep Dulkhaer Gultom
Vice-treasurer IV	Rina Kania
<u>Sections</u>	
1. Education	DR. H. Ahmad Tafsir
1.1. Sub. section Formal Education	Drs. Bejo Siswanto Drs. Rahmat Effendi Issak Suwandana R. Mamat Rahmat
1.2. Sub section Non Formal Education	H. Kankan Zulkarnaen TA Drs. Ahdi Nurudin K. Umar Darowi Iyed Tarya S. BA
2. Ibu Bella	Hj. Marliyah Muthohar Hj. Othin Khodijah Chabit
3. Daily Committee of Pesantren	H. Aos Husni Falah Ar
4. Science and Da'wa	K.H. Zezen ZA Bazul Ashab
5. Law and Organization	H.A.S. Nasution, SH
6. Representative (in the country and overseas)	Deddy Soekria
7. Youth	H. Kankan Zulkarnaen Ar.
8. Inabah	H. Didin Khidir
9. Social	Drs. H. Ahmad Djuwaeni, Bsc H. Hikmat Wiradilaga

II. Enterpreneur / Fund	
Chair Person	Ir. H. Kosasih Soekma
Vice-chair	Ir. Duddi Djumhana
Secretary	H. Slamet Rahmat
Members	H. Samsu Sabran
	Ir. H. Adeng Komar
	Drs. Iwa Sewakas
	H. Eddi Sud
	Ir. Bambang Riyadi Soegomo
	Ir. Darno Kabat
III. Pesantren Cooperation (Kopontren) Suryalaya Hidmat	
General chairperson	Ir. H. Ayat Hidayat
Chair I	H. Sa'ud Rustama
Chair II	Drs. Aris Sution
Secretary	Drs. Agus Supiyan
Vice-secretary	Drs. Ahmad Ismail
Treasurer	Asep Kusnandar

Suryalaya, September 5, 1994
The Elder

K.H.A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin

Appendix 9:

Coordination of jobs and tasks of Vice-chairpersons of Yayasan Serba Bhakti PP. Suryalaya period 1994-1998

1. Vice-chair I Task and authority who coordinates:
    1. Section of Education
    2. Section Ibu Bella
2. Vice-chair II Task and authority who coordinates:
    1. Daily section on Pesantren
    2. Section of Science & *Da'wa*
3. Vice-chair III Task and authority who coordinates:
    1. Section of Organization & Law
    2. Section of Representative
    3. Section of Youth
4. Vice-chair IV Task and authority who coordinates:
    1. Section of Inabah
    2. Section of Social

Suryalaya, 5 September 1994

The Elder

K.H. A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin

Appendix 10:

The list of the Committee of Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya throughout the country:

No	Name of Foundation	Name of Committee	Address
1.	Bandung Barat	HE. Kusmana	Jl. Dr. Sam Ratulangi F.45 Cimahi Tengah, Bandung.
2.	Bandung Timur	HM. Roeyadi	Mesjid Al-Hidmat Kaum Rw.11 Dayeuh Kolot, Bandung.
3.	Bandung (Kodya)	Solihin Eko G.	Jl. Jakarta 16/C Komplek Poldam II Siliwangi Bandung
4.	Bekasi	Raden Otoy Sutarya	Jl. Kamper II blok A No.170 Bekasi Jaya Indah 17112 Bekasi
5.	Bogor	-	Ciparahiang No. 8 Bogor
6.	Ciamis	-	Jl. Raya Ciamis No. 38 Banjar-Ciamis
7.	Cirebon (Kab.)	K. Ahmad A. Rahim	Desa Trusmi Ke. Plered, Cirebon
8.	Cirebon (Kodya)	Suryadi Karyonno, Drs	Jl. Kutanegara Gg. Langgar IV No.76 Kel. Jaga Satru
9.	Cianjur	-	PP. Darul Falah Stekmal Jl. Surya Kencana II No.7 Cianjur
10.	Cilegon	E. Amin Abdullah	Jl. Bojonegoro Pagentungan No.1 Cilegon
11.	Garut		Jl Ahmad Yani No.325 Garut
12.	Gersik	Sahidin Nahlim	Jl. Usman Sadar No.90, Gresik
13.	Indramayu	Ust. Khumaidi Ahmad	Jl. Pekandangan Raya No.13 Indramayu
14.	Jakarta Pusat	H. Endi Suamdi, BA.	Jl. Petojo Selatan XIII/4 Roxy, Jakarta Pusat 10150
15.	Jakarta Selatan	H. Endang Hidayat	Kp. Dukuh Rt 02/03 Jl. Jatayu No. 39 Kel. Kembang Lama, Jakarta Selatan
16.	Jakarta Timur	Ir. Sujud Sukarno S.	Jl. Pratama IV No. 14 Jakarta Timur 13220
17.	Jakarta Barat	Mahroji HM.	Jl. Daan Mogot KM. 13, Mesjid Nurul Iman I Tanah Koja No. 37 Rt.08/02 Kel. Duri Kosambi Cengkareng, Jakarta Barat
18.	Jakarta Utara	Dr. H. Dahyan	Jl. Kali Baru Timur III No.29 Kel. Kali Baru Cilincing Jakarta 14110
19.	Kuningan	Dr. H. Syarif Santoso	Jl. Kelapa Gunung No.8, Kerucuk, Kuningan
20.	Karawang	M. Sartiming	Desa Cadas Kerta Jaya, Telaga Sari Karawang
21.	Lampung	H. Yusa'ari Supadin SE	Jl. Pelita II No.3 Labuan Ratu Bandar Lampung

22.	Lumajang	Miftah Mintardam	Jl. Sultan Agung No.12 Lumajang
23.	Medan	Drs. Syamsudin	Jl. Pasai Tigaling 28, Rengas Pulao Medan Merelan Sumatera Utara
24.	Majalengka	Issak	Jl. Jatiwangi No.26, Tonjong Majalengka
25.	Nganjuk		Desa Pisang Kec. Pisang, Rowo Nganjuk 64391
26.	Purwakarta	U. Sugiana	Jl. Peteran Gg.Soka II No. 99 Kebun Kolot Timur Purwakarta
27.	Pekalongan	H. Nasirin M. Noor	Jl. Meduri Tirto No.435 Pekalongan
28.	Pandeglang	H. Hasan Abu Bakar	Jl. Kampung baru Labuan No.179 Rt.01/10 Desa Labuan Pandeglang
29.	Pontianak	H. Zulkipli Mahmud	Jl. Adi Sucipto Gg. H. Hasan No.5 Pontianak
30.	Palembang	H. Rosim Haderi, Drs	Jl. Kartini No.6 Palembang 30135 Phone: 0711-320888, 363717, Fax: 0711-352259
31.	Sanggau	H. Adnan	Jl. Jendral Sudirman Samping BRI Sanggau 78152
32.	Subang	DR. H. Udin S. Nugraha	Jl. Karang Anyar Rt.001/01 Sukamandi Jaya Ciasem Subang
33.	Sumenep	Drs. H. Kurniadi Wijaya	Jl. Seludang No.2 A Sumenep, Jawa Timur
34.	Sampang	Drs. H. Kurdi Said RH	Jl. Raya Sampang Katapang Kec. Kedungdung, Sampang Madura
35.	Sidoarjo	Drs. H. Arif Rahman	Jl. Bandila V Waru Sidoarjo
36.	Serang	-	Jl. Nyi Mas Anjung Blok II No.16 Ciceuri Indah Serang
37.	Sukabumi	H. Ruslan Affandi	Jl. Jenderal Sudirman Gg. Johar No. 3 Sukabumi
38.	Sumedang	Etje Suwardi	Gg. Sukaluyu I No.5 Rt.05/01 Talun Sumedang
39.	Semarang (Kodya)	Drs. Anshari Basuki SU	Jl. Benteng Utara V/15 Semarang 50167 714906
40.	Surabaya (Kodya)	M. Munih	Jl. Kedung Manggu Selatan II Surabaya
41.	Tasikmalaya Utara	H. Junaedi	Jl. Raya Sukamantri Depan RBJ Ciawi
42.	Tasikmalaya Selatan	H. Ahmad Sukarna	Jl. RE. Martadinata Gg. Sayuran No.7 Tasikmalaya 335213
43.	Tegal (Kab.)	H. Busyaeri	Jl. Gatot Subroto No.16C Dukuh Salam Slawi Tegal
44.	Tegal (Kodya)	Drs H. Basukiyatno, Mpd	Jl. K.H. Zaenal Arifin No. 47 Tegal52122
45.	Tanggerang	H.M. Murni Adil	Jl. Flores C-59 Rt.003/06 Cimone Mas Permai Indah Tanggerang
46.	Muara Enim	Sitamabun	Desa Segayam Kec. Gelombang Muara Enim

Appendix 11:

Letter of Declaration

Number : 211.PPS.X.1998

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim

The undersigned:

N a m e : K.H. A. SHOHIBULWAFA TAJUL ARIFIN
Guru Mursyid Thariqat Qadiriyah Naqsyabandiyah /
The Elder of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya

State and appoint : K.H. Noor Anom Mubarok, BA
K.H. Zaenal Abidin Anwar
H. Dudun Noorsaiduddin

to manage and preserve the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. Therefore by this letter, [let it be known] to all leaders of institutions, including *muballighs* and *talqīn* agents within the Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, if there are problems related to the institutional policies, physical building, education and teaching, or the guidance of the *ikhwān* of the TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, please consult with the names mentioned above.

This letter is written in order to make known those related matters.

prepared in: S u r y a l a y a

on the date of : 11 Jumadil Akhir 1419 A.H/ 02 October 1998 A.D

The one who states :

K.H. A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin

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Turut berbelasungkawa atas wafatnya:

Prof. Dr. Hj. Sri Mulyati, MA
Binti
H. Basuni

Dosen Fakultas Islam Nusantara
Wafat: Jakarta, 20 September 2023

"Semoga Husnul Khotimah, Amal Ibadah Almarhumah diterima Allah SWT dan Keluarga yang ditinggalkan diberi keikhlasan dan ketabahan."

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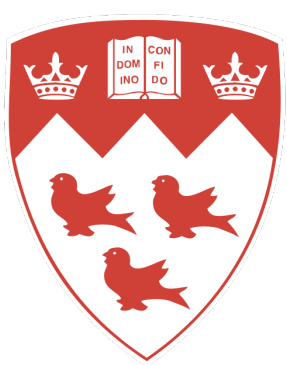

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This work explores the historical and intellectual development of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshbandiyya (TQN), the amalgamated sufi order founded by Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas (d.1875). The book is focused on the TQN of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, West Java as one of the most significant branches of the TQN in present-day Indonesia. It scrutinizes the local development of TQN which is not only taking spiritual role but also functioning as social role and educational tool. Kiyai Haji Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin (better known as Abah Anom) as the charismatic central figure in TQN has a transformative way to heal young drug addicts and victims of other mental illnesses. There are three main discussions covered in this book. The first part tells briefly on the history of Sufi orders in Indonesia. The second part describes the historical background and early development of the teachings of the TQN as reflected in the works of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Kyai Muslih and Kyai Romly Tamim. The third part is the core of the book discusses the historical and development of the TQN in PP Suryalaya by reviewing the profile of Abah Sepuh as the founder of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.

Sri Mulyati
Dr. Hj. Sri Mulyati, M.A, Ph.D is a lecturer of Faculty of Theology and Philosophy, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University. Dr. Sri Mulyati has received her Ph.D degree in The Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada 2002.

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